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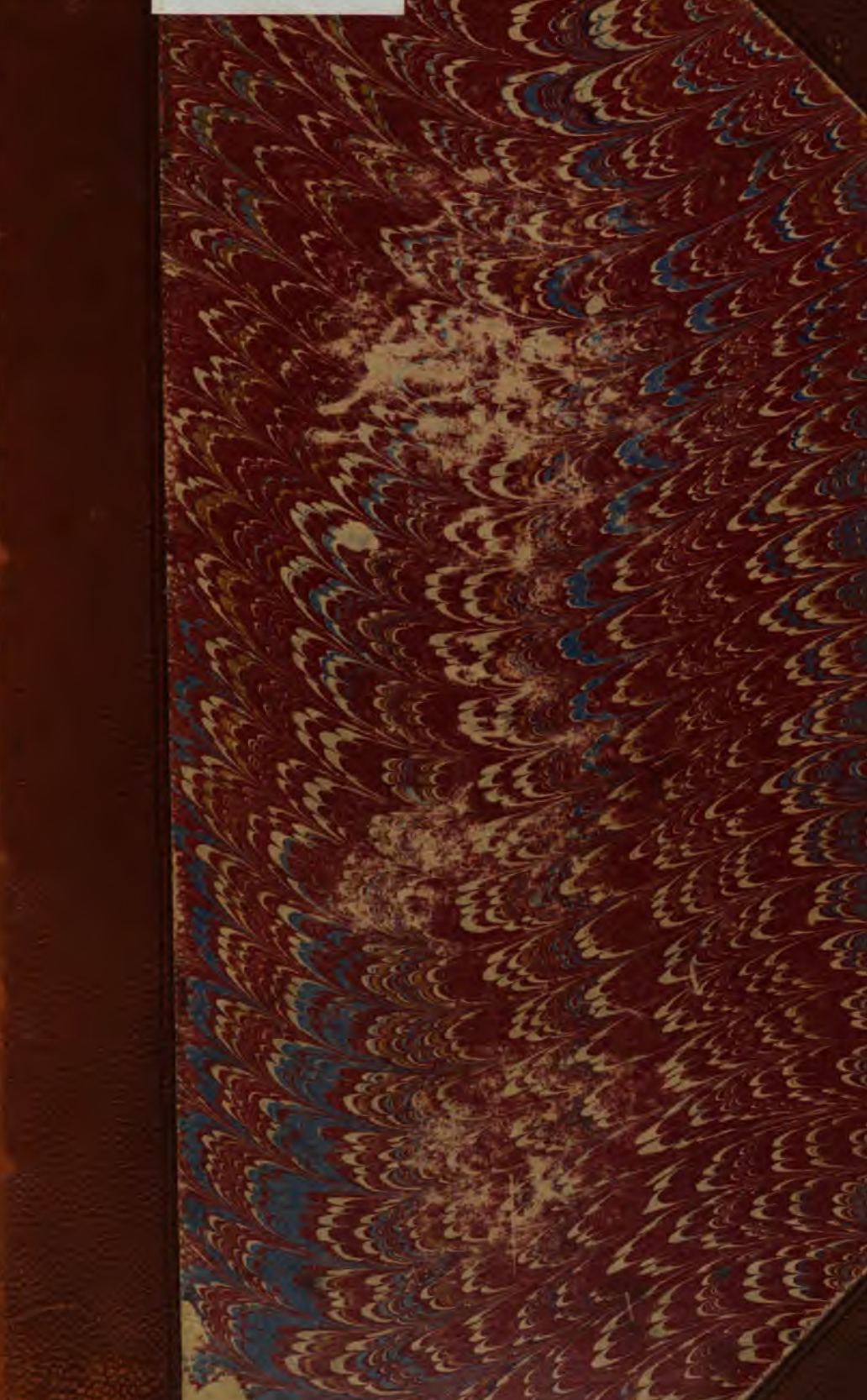

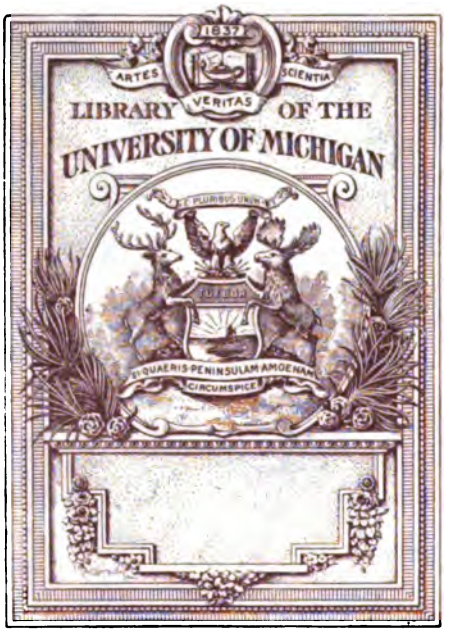
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2. *Studies in Colonial Nationalism.* By Richard Jebb. London: Arnold, 1905.
3. *Imperial Organisation.* A paper read before the Royal Colonial Institute, April 11, 1905. By Sir Frederick Pollock, Bart.
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THE British nation is perhaps somewhat weary just now of speeches and writing about the British Empire. The more fastidious and delicate-minded men, fatigued by eulogies not always in the best, and often in the worst of

taste, may be inclined to turn away from the whole subject, and almost to share Edward Fitzgerald's regret for the days when England was a self-contained little nation. Consciously a few, and unconsciously a larger number go beyond weariness of Empire; they are actively opposed to it. In this sense writes Mr J. Hobson, to whose well-reasoned and interesting though depressed and depressing book, 'Imperialism,' we refer at the head of this article. In his view, the government of the autocratically ruled part of the Empire is corrupting for the rulers and enervating for the governed, and is the greatest obstacle in the way of federation of the United Kingdom and the other self-governing States in the Empire. Following in the steps of the author of that remarkable book, 'Civilisation and Decay,' Mr Hobson contends that Empire means centralisation of wealth and power in London, decline of industry and defeat of democracy at home, exhaustion of energy and wealth in the remote dominions of the Crown, the rise of plutocracy, militarism, bureaucracy, and the ultimate decay and death of the whole Britannic civilisation and that of the regions on which it is parasitically fastened.

'Imperialism' (he says) 'is a depraved choice of national life, imposed by self-seeking interests which appeal to the lusts of quantitative acquisitiveness and of forceful domination surviving in a nation from early centuries of animal struggle for existence. . . . It is the besetting sin of all successful States; and its penalty is unalterable in the order of Nature.

Whether the choice is noble or depraved, it has long ago been made. Was it a choice at all? Given our character and history, how could it have been otherwise? At what point in their history could the English have refused to accept Empire? They did not go to India in order to conquer it. They conquered India because India was India, and they were there for trade. Even Mr Hobson can suggest no real way of escape from our present position; he can but moan like a minor prophet of Israel. Democracy, speaking through him and others, feels, and feels not unjustly, that the ideals and activities which we sum up, for want of a better word, as 'Imperialism' are on the whole opposed to its own. But

order and discipline and the due subordination of man to man in a common great world-enterprise are as least as good words to write on one's banner as liberty, equality, and majority. Nor is there reason, especially if we are wise enough to divide our provincial authorities and legislation from the Imperial, why social reforms should be made impossible by Imperial extension. Democratic government is suitable for the internal affairs of small states which can be included in empires. Whether it can be adapted to the requirements of world-states as heterogeneous as ours is a question which awaits solution. In any case we cannot go back or retreat; we must fulfil our destinies, and it is useless to stand lamenting. The English race can never return to the fresh childhood mirrored in the pages of Froissart and Chaucer, nor to the gay and irresponsible adolescence of Elizabethan days. It is now mature and has to bear the burden of its achievements and follow on its path, come what may. In everything there is a balance of good and evil, loss and gain; and on the whole it is best to take things as they are, with their consequences, which will be what they will be. 'Thus is it willed there where is power to do That which is willed.' It is idle indeed to grieve that autumn is not spring and that it will be followed by winter. With truisms such as these we must bid farewell to our melancholy friend, Mr Hobson, to whom perhaps not even the late elections will bring hope and joy, and pass on to where stand more cheerful spectators of 'the full, eternal, mundane spectacle.'

Certainly, whether they rejoice or whether they fear, those whose interest lies in the theatre of the world and not in that of religion can find nothing more entrancing than the evolution to which we give the name of Empire. Current talk and writing, extravagant and poetical as it often is, shows at least that we have arrived at the point of consciousness of Empire reached by the Romans in the days of Horace and Virgil. The comparison with Roman history and system is always interesting. At the beginning of the second Punic War, Roman dominion was, save for a Mediterranean island or two, confined within the borders of Italy and not, as Hannibal proved, firmly planted even there. Within two hundred and fifty years from the end of that war the Roman Empire had attained

to its full greatness. In about the same space of time, for one may take the conquest of Jamaica in 1655 as a starting-point, the present British Empire has grown to its existing dimensions. It is a short period; many trees and houses in England have stood longer than that. It is less than a third of the period which has elapsed since the Norman Conquest 'high-mettled her breed and ennobled the blood in our veins.' So long did it take to forge, in civil wars at home, in wars against stubborn French and Scottish neighbours, and in political and commercial developments, that mighty instrument of Empire, the race of conquerors, administrators, and colonisers.

Indeed when the great chance arrived and new worlds were opened out by the daring of Spanish and Portuguese and Dutch explorers, the English were hardly ready to take their full part in the adventure. But since the seventeenth century the Empire has, save for one great check and diminution, grown continuously. The frontier has been incessantly driven outwards. In some parts of the world the process has been one of blended conquest and colonisation, in others of colonisation only, in others of pure conquest and administration. Virtually unoccupied countries have been annexed by the Saxon method of colonisation, crowded and tropical territories like India by the Norman procedure of conquest and administration. And, as the Empire extends, a solidifying process continually goes on within it. In the colonies founded by settlement, groups of settlers, loosely held together by Crown administration, grow into self-governing States which in all main political respects resemble the mother-country. In our Indian possessions, gradually widening out from the old trading settlements on the sea, nebulous spheres of influence have been solidified one by one into territories officially ruled or strongly controlled, while in the further distance kingdoms once quite independent have become spheres of influence. The same process is taking place in tropical Africa. In West Africa the remarkable though little noticed victory at Bida in 1897, due to Sir George Goldie's energy, is as epoch-making as that of Clive at Plassey in 1757. It added to the Empire a country a third the area of India, with thirty million or more inhabitants, and with immense possibilities of wealth

and population. In East Africa, too, the solidifying process is going on. By the most delicate alchymy Egypt has, in the last twenty-five years, been transformed from a vassal-state in the Turkish Empire, as it still is in theory, into a virtual portion of the British Empire, much in the same position as Mysore or Hyderabad.

The colossal political organisation called the British Empire holds together, as the recent census Blue-book shows, some 400,000,000 of people, divided by every degree of race, colour, language, religion, history, and stage of civilisation. The Empire lives and grows almost with the blind unconscious life of a tree. Fresh domains have been added, never so much by reason of the will and intention of the central Government as by the energy and initiative of individuals in frontier provinces. Our borders have constantly been enlarged by the thirst for fighting and promotion, the love of taming reluctant dragons, the longing of men of action to put down Satan under their feet, aptly symbolised in the device of the Order of St Michael and St George.

Yet, though the Empire lives and grows, it is extraordinarily defective in uniformity of structure. Seen from one point of view, covering nearly 350,000,000 of subjects, it is an autocratic regime ruled by power from above independently of the express choice and consent of the governed. The supreme or ultimate control is centred in London in a small group of men, representing the population of two small islands, and chosen, strangely enough, by an indirect process of election turning mainly, as a rule, on local questions. From another point of view the Empire is politically a loose alliance between several free nations obeying the same king. Seen from the India Office, the Empire is a bureaucratically ruled dominion interspersed with vassal princes strongly controlled. Seen from the departments of the Colonial Office which deal with Crown Colonies and Protectorates, the appearance of the Empire is much the same. But the Secretary of State for the Colonies acts a double part. So far as he deals with Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and to a large extent with South Africa, he is rather in the position, though the difference is considerable, of his colleague at the Foreign Office treating with foreign Powers. Any one whose mental capacity were large enough to allow

him to study all the papers in the India Office and the Colonial Office would acquire an unrivalled knowledge of the peoples, systems, and problems of administration on this planet.

Till recent times singularly little study, relative to its importance, has been devoted to the subject. Officials in the departments concerned, or in the Indian and Colonial services, are too much specialised and crushed by the details of daily work to investigate, compare, and generalise. The historians of the last generation, men like Freeman, Froude, Lecky, Macaulay, Arnold, Grote, Stubbs, Gardiner, were absorbed in classical or European history, or in studying English political history and the growth of the English Constitution. The change began to take place in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Sir Alfred Lyall in various writings did much to quicken interest in the problems of the Indian Empire. Sir John Seeley, at Cambridge, in his vivifying way, spread the idea that the real interest of English history lay in the fact that this island was the nucleus of the greatest of World-Empires. Events—chiefly the rise of formidable rivals—have hastened the process. Affairs in north-eastern Africa, the borders of India, and in South Africa, turned attention outwards. The royal pageants of 1887, 1897, and 1902 in London, and the Imperial celebrations at Delhi in 1902, have impressed the idea of empire upon minds incapable of perceiving except through concrete manifestations. Men of action and of thought, statesmen, orators, poets, have contributed to the spread of the idea. The names of Beaconsfield, Chamberlain, Tennyson, Dufferin, Cecil Rhodes, Rudyard Kipling, Milner, Curzon, call up very different personalities, but they mark a whole tide in thought and history. The foundation by the late Mr Beit of a chair of Colonial History in Oxford is a sign of the times (this kind of new pious founder, by the way, is much dreaded by Mr Hobson), and may become in the hands of eminent men, who should be something more than learned historians, a powerful instrument for promoting a sound Imperial policy.

Another sign is the publication of many books like those mentioned at the head of this article. Whatever one may think of the merits of the writers, no one can look through the remarkable collection of essays entitled

'The Empire and the Century' without being struck by the magnitude and vast interest of the general theme. In this multiform and very complete study the Empire is considered in all its regions and from every point of view by men who, for the most part, have had much to do in practice with its administration. Books like those of Prince Heinrich of Reuss, M. Houdeau, M. Speyer, and M. Bérard show that our Imperial problem compels the attention of intelligent men of other nations. The chief questions which arise are, (1) What are the forces which now hold together all these diverse populations? (2) What will be the future form of the whole organic structure?

Two or three of the writers in 'The Empire and the Century' point to the immense and increasing importance of the Crown as a universal bond of empire. Monarchy, as one of them points out, is, as it always has been, the 'essential form of English Government,' and is now, in form, the source of power and jurisdiction not only in the United Kingdom but throughout the Empire. This is the technical side; the personal relation is even more important. The person of the King is the centre to which lines of allegiance from every individual in the Empire converge. He is chief of the British race; to the Indian he is the lord of lords, the highest ruler. Sir Francis Younghusband, in one of the most interesting and moving chapters of the book, says:

'By their religion Hindoos are taught to be loyal and obedient to their chief as appointed by Heaven; and the strength of their attachment to the chief few who have not actually lived in a Native State can fully realise. . . . Through evil report and good report the people remain touchingly and immovably loyal to their chiefs. It is a wonderful trait in their character; and what is equally remarkable is that this same loyal attachment to their own chiefs is given to the chief of their chiefs—our Sovereign.'

Sir Francis quotes some striking evidence on this point. The chiefs themselves, the greatest and proudest of them, ruling, like the Nizam of Hyderabad, over States which can compare with the lesser European nations, can, without loss of dignity, yield allegiance to the head of a world-wide Empire. Their dignity is indeed increased by being stars in such a constellation.

The King then is the personal centre of this marvellous network of all individuals in the Empire. And more especially he is the chief of all the civil and military services, the head of the modern orders of chivalry, the source of all honours. He is also the connecting link between the free States in the Empire. The power of the so-called 'Imperial Parliament' does not extend in reality, though it does in theory, to the self-governing colonies. One of the writers in 'The Empire and the Century' quotes this sentence from a speech of Sir Wilfrid Laurier: 'The British Empire of to-day is composed of nations; it is an aggregation of nations all bearing allegiance to the same Sovereign,' and goes on to say:

'If this allegiance to the same Sovereign, this bond ... between the Governments of self-ruling States and a common centre were taken away, the one universally uniting element would be lost, and these nations would be but allies and soon, perhaps, not so much as that. But, because this allegiance exists, it is possible to contemplate, even if but as a vision of a far-distant future, the rise of a stronger union, and the development of a true Imperial Government and Council, directly representative of the Empire, occupied in its common affairs, and free from the internal business of the United Kingdom or any other State. The English realm, with all its institutions, arose out of the relation of each unit to the King, and the same centre of union may gradually and, as it were, by natural force of attraction, draw into a more perfect confederation the free States of the British Empire.

Below the Crown comes the official hierarchy. It is difficult to overestimate the importance of the fact that the great Imperial offices in London, the India Office, the Colonial Office, and the Foreign Office, and the chief posts abroad, in India, Canada, Australia, and now South Africa, have always so far been held by a group of men who can understand each other, whichever British party be in power, because they are connected among themselves by birth and breeding and by education at the same kind of schools and colleges. They belong to the families with an hereditary instinct for great affairs, like the old Roman *gentes*. Two Mintos and two Elgins have ruled in India. In the first decade of Victoria's reign an Earl Grey at the Colonial Office was corresponding with an Earl of Elgin in Canada. At the present time an Earl of

Elgin holds power at the Colonial Office, while an Earl Grey admirably discharges in Canada those delicately blended functions of the representative of a constitutional monarch and a British ambassador which compose the work of a Governor-general. It is precisely because there still are families of this kind on both sides in British politics that, as recent events have shown, Empire and Democracy, naturally diverse and opposed, can still be driven in double harness. In a lower circle, in India and the Crown colonies and dependencies, come the great services, civil and military, officered by men drawn from the lesser families and professional classes in these islands. Then again there is the race of men of commerce coming and going, and the settlers in the colonies, who regard England as home to the second and third generation. Sports and pastimes, clubs and literature—all these have their part in holding together the scattered British race. The security given by the flag leads to a greater investment of home capital within the Empire. This is one reason, perhaps the chief reason, why trade within the Empire is greater in proportion to white population than it is with foreign countries. Capital goes out in the shape of manufactures and interest returns in the shape, chiefly, of food and raw material. These forces make for union in a high degree. They are ties both of sentiment and of interest.

On the other hand it is indubitably true—and this is the main thesis of Mr Jebb's book, 'Colonial Nationalism'—that the main tendency of all the self-governing colonies is to become in all respects distinct States with national instead of colonial self-consciousness. The longer they grow, the more distinctly do they become separate nations in lieu of groups of Britons settled in distant lands. Men, as they grow older, grow less like each other than they were as boys. Their distinct and separate characters tend to greater diversity under the diverse moulding influences of life. So also is it with peoples. Despite these tendencies towards severance, the white population of the Empire has hitherto been chiefly held together, apart from the common attachment to the Crown, by the diffusion and cohesion of the race, British by birth or ancestry. But this race in Canada and South Africa shares the arena with other non-British races,

prolific in natural increase and stubbornly tenacious of their distinct character. In Australasia distance, insularity, and smallness of immigration from home continually make for the development of separate nationality.

Politically all these States are independent though interdependent. 'The British Empire,' said Sir Wilfrid Laurier in 1902, 'is a galaxy of independent nations.' Over them the Imperial Government reserves no rights of any importance. Even its power of negotiation with foreign Powers seems likely to become mainly formal in cases where the relations solely or primarily affected are those between a foreign government and a particular colony. It is a singular relation, that which exists between the Government of this country and those of the other self-governing States in the Empire. There is no political, fiscal, military, and naval unity to compare with that existing between the States of the German Empire and the American Republic. Nor, on the other hand, are these colonies bound to us by written and formal treaty. In case of a war against Russia in the East we can, for the next ten years at least, reckon more certainly on the active assistance of Japan than on that of Canada, though the probability of receiving Canadian assistance would be great. In defending against critics the assistance given in the South African war, Sir Wilfrid Laurier said, 'What we did, we did in the plenitude of our sovereign power.' And yet one of the causes of that very war, the leading and final cause in the view of the Boer Government and people, was the assertion made by Mr Chamberlain of the existence of the British 'suzerainty' over the Transvaal. Not for a moment would Canada or Australia have admitted the expression, more especially if used, as it was in South Africa, to justify British interference in such essentially internal domestic affairs as the admission of outsiders to the electoral franchise.

This then is the point of the history at which we stand. The American War of Independence was due to the idea, then questioned by hardly a mind in England, that in all affairs, and certainly without a doubt in all matters of trade and commerce, the Imperial Parliament and Government had as much real as well as theoretical right to legislate for colonies by statute and Order in Council as it had to legislate for Kent or York-

shire. This claim has long been abandoned, though, with regard to South African affairs, there is just now a very dangerous tendency to revert to eighteenth century ideas. Cases in which such legislation still exists, such as copyright or merchant-shipping law, are mere survivals, maintained with difficulty by a policy of no fresh extensions or amendment. Sooner or later they must be abandoned like the rest. Disraeli once expressed regret that when the mother-country gave self-government to the colonies it did not make free trade within the Empire a condition. The regret is needless; the condition could not have been maintained. In this, as in other matters, the States of the Empire must pass through the stage of virtual independence to what destiny time may bring.

We have then at present, so far as regards this part of the Empire, a group of States united by allegiance to one crown, but not otherwise formally bound together. One of them, the United Kingdom, continues on her course majestically, drawing with her a vast planetary system of dependencies and Crown colonies, much as if no self-governing colonies existed. Her Government calculates her military and naval forces, and the cost of maintaining them, without making allowance for the uncertain and voluntary aid which may be obtained in war from these colonies. Treaties and alliances are made with foreign Powers to which these colonies may or may not adhere. So important an arrangement as the recent alliance with Japan was made without even any consultation with the colonial Governments.

This formless condition of the relation between the United Kingdom and the other self-governing States in the Empire has made thinkers and writers and statesmen look for some closer union. No one now supposes, as many optimists did a few years ago, that there is, within practical range, any prospect of uniting the States of the Empire under a federal parliament and government with legislative and executive powers. The tide has receded far from that high-water-mark of hope. Neither the people of this country nor, still less, those of the colonies are prepared to sacrifice so much of their independence. If the appearance of a great statesman should coincide with great events, such as a war for existence, the thing might be done; but at present there is not nearly enough

wind to take the ship to that harbour. The physicians of the Imperial body-politic are divided in their views. Some, like Mr Jebb, who may perhaps claim to have expressed the idea most clearly, say: let us abandon frankly all the existing remnants of the old idea of metropolis and colonies. Let us also cease to pursue the academic idea preached by Sir John Seeley and others that the colonies are but an expansion of England, that there is really but one nation diffused through the world, and that the change from England to Canada is or ought to be no more than the change from Scotland to Devonshire. Let us accept the fact that these States are so many independent nations. Then let us build on this solid foundation, treat them as such, enter into true diplomatic relations, and make treaties of alliance in regard to foreign affairs, commercial affairs, and military and naval co-operation. These countries have ceased to be colonies and have become nations. We had better adapt forms to modern realities and not try to put new wine into old vessels.

Mr Chamberlain, in his practical way, has followed this line after trying the other. He made some attempt at the Conference of 1902 to recommend the formation of a real 'Council of the Empire' which might at first be advisory merely, but eventually be clothed with 'executive functions and perhaps also legislative powers.' But he found that the leading colonial representatives were not prepared to move one step in this direction; and he threw himself with vigour into a scheme of commercial treaties between different States designed to place their exchange of produce on more favourable terms than those existing between any of them and foreign countries. Obviously this is a policy which, so far as it is practicable, must command the assent of every reasonable man. No one, for instance, could object to the wines of Australia and the Cape being admitted on more favourable terms than those of France and Germany in consideration of a preference given by those colonies to our manufactures. In the same way, and for similar considerations, preference might be given to colonial tea, sugar, and tobacco. This is not Protection, but something quite different, and has repeatedly been arranged with foreign Powers, as, for instance, in the Cobden treaty with France. Unfortunately it was necessary, in order to carry out the proposals

made at the Colonial Conference on a large scale, not only to reduce in favour of the Empire existing duties here, but to impose new ones, and that on articles of food which, having at one time been heavily taxed, were, after a bitter struggle, freed, and are now naturally regarded as sacred by the mass of the people. The preferential system might have been introduced prudently by degrees; but the situation was otherwise directed by strong forces of personality and by party passions.

The resolution passed by the Colonial Conference of 1902 was the spark which has raised a great conflagration in England, of which the end is not yet seen. With Mr Chamberlain and his immediate followers, Tariff Reform has become a dominant passion, almost a monomania; and they are, or were, inclined to say that those who are not with them in this particular road are not on any road at all which leads to the better union of the Empire. But the point now to be noticed is that the proposal to enter into commercial treaties with the colonies is the strongest possible recognition of their standing as independent nations. It is a wide departure from the old colonial system of regulated commerce which rested on the sovereignty of the Imperial Parliament, and it is the fullest recognition of the independent status of the colonies. Evidently it is a good deal on this ground that the proposal meets with so much favour from the Canadian Premier. Sir Wilfrid Laurier said at Sorel, in September 1904:

'My vindication of the preference policy was given, not at Ottawa or on Canadian soil, but in the heart of the Empire, at London, at the Colonial Conference, when I declared to the Empire that I and my colleagues of the Government were ready to make a trade treaty. We said, "We are ready to discuss with you articles on which we can give you a preference and articles on which you can give us a preference. We are ready to make with you a treaty of trade." Mark those words coming from a colony to the mother-country without offence being given or taken.'

Sir Wilfrid sees in Canada a state owning, as it happens, allegiance to the same sovereign as the United Kingdom, but otherwise quite independent. It is free to assist in war or not, as it pleases. It will have an entirely

independent army and navy, though it may make use of the experience of the War Office and occasionally borrow officers, as any other close ally might do. At the present moment it will be glad to enter into commercial treaties with the United Kingdom as it is actually doing with South Africa and Australia. It may, however, equally well give preferences to foreign nations over the mother-country. This position has been recognised to the full by Mr Chamberlain.

Meanwhile a rather different ideal has been pursued by the group of men, more or less acting together, whose existence has been indicated to the public chiefly through the utterances of Sir Frederick Pollock. While recognising, as every one must who has studied the question, that these quondam colonies must now be treated as sister nations, Sir Frederick Pollock and his friends seem to think that the efforts made by Mr Chamberlain at the Conferences of 1897 and 1902 to promote closer political confederation between these States and the United Kingdom were not sufficiently persevering, that he was too easily repelled by the coyness in this respect of Canada and Australia, and that he too readily adopted the view that special commercial alliances were the only road open. Sir F. Pollock and his friends have studied the question whether it is possible to devise any means more effective than those which now exist for bringing the States of the Empire to consult and act together in harmony. They have in the first place entirely discarded the old idea of any Imperial assembly and government possessing legislative and executive powers. This ideal is banished to a future far more remote than that formerly contemplated by the Imperial Federation League. It is, however, proposed that the Colonial Conference should become the basis of an Imperial Council, to consist of much the same persons and with the same functions, viz. the discussion of matters of joint concern.

Sir F. Pollock next proposes to establish an Imperial Secretariat. The chief official is to be the secretary of the Imperial Council, when it meets; he is to keep its records and to spend the intervening time in preparing questions for its consideration. Sir F. Pollock says:

'His work should not encroach upon local or other enquiries which are wholly within the competence of the Colonial

Office, the Foreign Office, or the India Office. . . . But there is a considerable field, at present no-man's land, where the spheres of two or more departments intersect. Merchant shipping and copyright are the first examples which come to hand. . . . As things are now, the several States of the Empire have neither full nor exact knowledge of one another's doings in the same or kindred matters; and the result is that difficulties of various kinds arise, and there is useless diversity or even conflict in legislation for identical purposes.'

In fact, the Imperial Secretariat is to discharge in civil affairs the same kind of functions as the secretariat of the Imperial Defence Committee discharges in military and naval affairs. It is to gather and circulate information, and to prepare subjects for final decision by supreme authority. There is no doubt that such a secretariat, if planted, would grow, and would grow at the expense of the Colonial and India Offices.

Sir F. Pollock proposes, thirdly, to establish

'a permanent Imperial Commission whose members would represent all branches of knowledge and research, outside the art of war, most likely to be profitable in Imperial affairs. Not only learned and official persons would be included in such a body, but men of widespread business, travellers, ethnologists, and students of comparative politics might all find scope for excellent work.'

He suggests that the title of 'Imperial Commissioner would be conferred on these selected persons.' They are to be, as it were, a special jury-roll whence are to be drawn committees to enquire and make suggestions with regard to matters which might come before the Imperial Council. It is suggested that such matters as a plan for a single final Court of Appeal for the Empire, copyright law, the uniformity of law within the Empire, and various affairs of communication and inter-state commerce would afford scope for the work of expert committees selected from the members of such an Imperial Commission.

There arises the vision of a large building containing rooms occupied by an able chief secretary, his assistants and clerks, and also various committee-rooms. In these would be sitting committees of elderly gentlemen composed, by skilful blending, from the list of Imperial Commissioners, some belonging to this country, some to

India, some to the colonies, discussing questions referred to them, taking evidence, collecting documents and statistics, and preparing leisurely reports.

But would not these Imperial Commissioners tend to become a kind of glorified Colonial Institute? We rather dread that blend of 'learned and official persons'; we look not without suspicion at those 'travellers, ethnologists, and students of comparative politics.' The energies of the Secretariat, which should be directed chiefly to the next meeting of the Imperial Council, would be consumed in providing sufficient knowledge for the capacities of Imperial Commissioners like Sir F. Pollock or Mr James Bryce. Eminent geographers and ethnologists might at once bore and despise energetic financiers and ex-officials. There is too much of the Royal Society and too little of the positive political institution about this part of the scheme. It is not, however, essential to the realisation of Sir F. Pollock's idea, which deserves serious consideration as a plan calculated to bring about a better comprehension of Imperial questions and colonial views, the removal of obstructions to unity, and a harmonising of national and inter-colonial interests.

Mr. J Buchan, writing in 'The Empire and the Century,' describes the machinery as

> (1) an Imperial Cabinet, consisting, to begin with, of the British Cabinet enlarged by Colonial Premiers, and meeting at stated times in an Imperial session; (2) an Imperial Committee of the Privy Council, advisory in its functions, and sitting more or less continuously. This in turn would be fed by (3) an Imperial Commission, or Intelligence Department, organised on a broad basis, and directed by a permanent secretary.'

By 'Imperial Cabinet' he means that, whenever the Colonial Conference takes place, the colonial Premiers or representatives should sit for the time being as part of the normal Cabinet of this country, who would, while this lasted, discuss Imperial questions. This object is, however, sufficiently served at the existing Colonial Conferences, to which, after the precedents of 1897 and 1902, any British minister can be summoned whose department is concerned in matters under discussion. There is no particular object in collecting round the same table colonial Prime

Ministers and such members of our own Cabinet as the Chief Secretary for Ireland, or for Scotland, the Home Secretary of State, or the chiefs of the Local Government Board or Board of Agriculture, or the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, who, if the British Constitution resembled that of the United States, Germany, Canada, and Australia would be sitting in provincial cabinets. This idea is not business-like and is merely sentimental. It would be a time-wasting procedure. If there is to be an Imperial Cabinet, the British contribution should be that of those ministers only who have to do with Imperial affairs—the Prime Minister, the Foreign, Indian, and Colonial Secretaries, the heads of the Treasury and Military and Naval departments, of the Post-office, and Board of Trade.

Mr Jebb's proposal is developed in an essay in the same collection, and is true to his general view of the Empire. He also wishes to make the existing Conference 'a permanent institution.' 'It could be done' (he says) 'partly by utilising the cables, partly by the appointment of deputies to represent the colonial Premiers in London.' Occasionally there is a conference of the great Powers; normally they transact business through their resident diplomatic representatives. So, according to Mr Jebb, it would be with Great Britain and the other self-governing nations under the Crown, except that the conference would be held at fixed intervals, that there would be more co-operation of permanent representatives, and that the States concerned would be permanent allies. Mr Jebb would also, so far as possible, institute Co-operative Imperial Boards for definite and practical purposes. One such already exists—the Joint Board of the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, controlling the Pacific cable. Another board, for instance, might regulate and assist white migration from one part of the Empire to another. There might here again be joint contribution and joint control.

All these, and many more, are the views of private thinkers and writers. But there is now in the field a state paper, the Encyclical Despatch, addressed by Mr Lyttelton, in the name of his Majesty's Government, to the self-governing colonies on April 20, 1905, and published with the replies at the end of November. The despatch

begins by tracing the development of the Imperial Conference from its first meeting in 1887 under the present Lord Knutsford to the more definite shape which it acquired in 1897 and 1902. The despatch says:

'It will be observed that these Conferences have, step by step, assumed a more definite shape, and acquired a more continuous status. Their constitution has lost the vagueness which characterised the assembly of 1887. The Conferences now consist of the Prime Ministers of the self-governing Colonies, together with the Secretary of State for the Colonies, assisted, when the subjects of the discussion make this advantageous, by other high officials of the United Kingdom and the Colonies. Again, the first three Conferences met in connexion with the presence of the Colonial Representatives in London incidental to important Imperial celebrations. But, by the resolution passed at the last Conference, . . . future meetings will be at prescribed intervals, and will be solely for the transaction of business. It may therefore be said that an Imperial Council for the discussion of matters which concern alike the United Kingdom and the self-governing Colonies has grown into existence by a natural process.'

The despatch, after suggesting that the name 'Imperial Council' might be more appropriate than that of 'Colonial Conference,' expresses a doubt

'whether it would be wise or necessary to give by any instrument to this Council a more formal character, to define more closely its constitution, or to attempt to delimit its functions'; adding that 'the history of Anglo-Saxon institutions, such as Parliament or the Cabinet system, seems to show that an institution may often be wisely left to develope in accordance with circumstances, and, as it were, of its own accord, and that it is well not to sacrifice elasticity of power of adaptation to premature definiteness of form.'

Beyond suggesting a change of name, which might be important in its results, the late Government, then, did not propose to make any change as to the meetings or constitution of the Colonial Conference. The federation of South Africa and the union of Newfoundland with Canada would in course of time diminish the disparity between the States constituting the Conference. Ultimately the Conference should consist of the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa,

with a special representation of the Government of India. The interests of the Crown colonies would be safeguarded by the Secretary of State. The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom should be the president of this Conference or 'Imperial Council.'

After dealing with the history and constitution of the Colonial Conference, Mr Lyttelton's despatch makes a new and practical suggestion. The colonial Prime Ministers, he says, cannot stay long in London.

'It is therefore desirable that subjects which they may agree to discuss should be as much as possible prepared beforehand by a body on which they would be represented, and should be presented to them in as concise and clear a form, and with as much material for forming a judgment as possible.'

He points out that in questions of defence this work is already done by the Imperial Defence Committee, on which also his Majesty's Government desire to obtain from time to time the presence of colonial representatives, so that his proposal relates to civil questions alone. Mr Lyttelton proposed, accordingly, that there should be a joint permanent Commission, consisting of representatives, appointed and paid by the United Kingdom and other States which take part in the Conference, and acting like other Royal Commissions, that is to say, that they should investigate facts and suggest policy on questions definitely referred to them. The references would be made either by the Colonial Conference at its meetings, or at any time by agreement between two or more of the Governments concerned. The Commission would consist of permanent paid members, and could call in assessors for special questions. It would have its office in London, 'as the most convenient centre,' and a secretary and adequate staff. It was suggested that the secretary should also act as secretary to the Colonial Conference or 'Imperial Council' when it met, and should be responsible for keeping all records both of the Council and the Commission. Thus, by means of the Commission and the Secretariat, a greater continuity would be given to the work done by the Colonial Conference.

Mr Lyttelton's despatch of April 20, 1905, and the replies received, were published a few days before Mr Balfour's Government resigned office. The replies of

Australia, Cape Colony, and Natal were virtually acceptances of the changes proposed. The Government of Newfoundland appears to have failed to understand the project; and that of New Zealand had not sent any definite answer. The Canadian Government replied in a more reserved and critical tone. They evidently dislike the proposal to change the title 'Colonial Conference' into 'Imperial Council,' and dread the effect which words have on things. They apprehend that the change

'would be interpreted as marking a step distinctly in advance of the position hitherto attained in the discussion of the relations between the Mother-Country and the Colonies. . . . A Conference is a more or less unconventional gathering for informal discussion of public questions, continued, it may be, from time to time, as circumstances external to itself may render expedient, but possessing no faculty or power of binding action. The assemblies of Colonial Ministers which met in 1887, 1897, and 1902 appear to fulfil these conditions. The term "Council," on the other hand, indicates a more formal assemblage possessing an advisory and deliberative character, and, in conjunction with the word "Imperial," suggests a permanent institution which, endowed with a continuous life, might eventually come to be regarded as an encroachment upon the full measure of autonomous legislative and administrative power now enjoyed by all the self-governing Colonies.'

The Canadian Government suggest that the title 'Imperial Conference' might be less open to objection; and indeed it would be, as things stand, a more exactly expressive name. But, if the passage just quoted be compared with that previously taken from Mr Lyttelton's despatch, it will be seen that there is a wide divergence of view. On this side of the Atlantic the Conferences are alleged to have developed into what is, virtually, a true Council; on the other side they are still 'unconventional gatherings for informal discussion.'

The Canadian Government express themselves as more favourably disposed towards the proposal of a permanent Joint Commission to prepare and complete work for the Conference. They 'cannot, however, wholly divest themselves of the idea that such a Commission might conceivably interfere with the working of responsible Government,' and therefore desire to adjourn discussion

of the scheme till the next Conference meets. Their idea presumably is that it might be morally difficult for the Canadian Government not to accept the recommendations of a Joint Commission; and that such a Commission, sitting in London, might be warped by the insidious ideas and sentiments of the Imperial capital.

As the assent of Canada is essential, and as the Canadian Government are probably even more reluctant than their reply shows, no practical result yet is likely to come from Mr Lyttelton's despatch; but the correspondence has been none the less very useful. It is a reconnaissance which has thrown light upon the positions held by various Governments; and it will facilitate discussion when the Conference meets next April. The impression produced is that the despatch is ahead of the times. The tendency towards greater union produced by the South African War has been followed by a natural reaction or relaxation. Mr Lyttelton's despatch is, perhaps, a forward wave in an ebbing tide. The views of the oldest and most leading colony have been adversely declared; and in England itself the recent elections have brought to power the party which has an hereditary tendency to question and distrust Imperial ties and expansion. The present Government, in Lord Elgin's despatch of February 22 last, have to some extent disassociated themselves even from the modest proposals made in Mr Lyttelton's despatch, although, on the other hand, their announced decision that India shall, in some way, be represented at the next Conference may eventually lead to results far wider than they contemplated when they came to that decision.

One practical question may be asked here. All these schemes turn upon the increased activity, as a permanent council, of the existing Colonial Conference. It is assumed that the free States of the Empire have business in common, business which cannot be adequately discussed by written correspondence, sufficient to make it worth while to assemble the Prime Ministers in London at short and regular intervals of years. Is this so? Does the utility of the Conference repay the trouble? The question might easily occur to a Prime Minister who has to travel from Australia and back. Ordinary business can be transacted without any such meeting. Special subjects, such as

postal arrangements, merchant shipping laws, copyright legislation, and the like, often are, and certainly always can be, discussed by conferences of expert officials. On the other hand questions of foreign policy cannot wait for a quadrennial Conference. They have to be dealt with as they arise, often very suddenly, and with much secrecy and despatch. There are indeed a few big subjects, such as definite proposals to enter into special commercial relations by means of preferential tariffs, or schemes of common defence, for the discussion of which an occasional assembly of Prime Ministers would be desirable. It would in reality be a congress convened to do a big thing, to establish, even in a modified form, a *Zollverein* or a *Kriegsverein*. But, if large proposals of this kind lead to nothing, is there much which could not be as well discussed by despatch or by conferences of experts?

It is well to point out the danger that, if the system of Prime Ministers themselves attending conferences is to continue, busy and practical statesmen may come to think that the advantage hardly compensates the trouble. The absence of warmth and zeal with regard to the Conference apparent in Sir Wilfrid Laurier's despatch is probably due to his feeling that either the Conference will become too strong, and threaten by its decisions the independence of the colonies, or will be barren of results and hardly worth attending except for sentimental reasons.

This hesitation may be a sign of the future, and may some day, for a very different reason, be shared by the Tory party. During recent years the invitation to closer union in political forms has, on the whole, proceeded from the mother-country, while the reluctance has been on the side of the colonies, especially Canada, fearing as they do the over-great dominance in any such formal confederation of this wealthy, populous, and well-equipped central State. But the day may come, as the colonies grow to be equal or superior in wealth and population, when the demand will be made by the allied States in the Empire and the reluctance will be on the side of the United Kingdom. It is certain that any proposal for joint management of foreign naval and military affairs, and for a share in the supreme control exercised in London over India and the Crown colonies and dependencies, would be strongly resisted, whenever it was

made, by the great departments and civil and military professions which have so much interest and power in preventing change; and it would be far from acceptable to the British aristocracy and middle class. The colonies are still young and fearful of encroachments upon their autonomy, while this proud island does not yet fear invasion of its monopoly of the power which by its own might it has established over more than three hundred million denizens of Asia and Africa. But to brook diminution of power costs no less than to lose independence. In the end, therefore, the centre of resistance to closer forms of political union may well be transferred from Ottawa to London.

Is it possible that, notwithstanding the natural reluctance and resistance both here and in the colonies, our destinies ordain for us a real central government for Imperial affairs, based upon the consent of the several states of the Empire and having in some real degree the powers and duties of the central governments in Germany and the United States? Mr F. S. Oliver, whose original and remarkable book is noticed at the head of this article, has made, for our edification, a study of the clear-visioned and state-building man to whom, more than to any other, is due that Federal Union which, with all its defects, has held together half a continent for over a hundred years of storm and calm. Alexander Hamilton, with the steady support of Washington, overcame difficulties which, in Mr Oliver's view, were greater in some ways, if less in others, than those which oppose the federal union of the free states of the British Empire. It is no doubt true that steamships and telegraphs, soon perhaps telephones, make communications more rapid on the whole in the British Empire than they were in 1790 in the United States. Yet it is more difficult to build unity out of sea-divided lands than out of those forming part of one continent and lying within a ring-fence. The sea, if it is only the Irish Channel, breaks that chain of personal touch, that continuity of interest and emotion, based on the relation of men in one parish to men in the next which, for instance, links John o' Groat's House to Land's End. The States of the British Empire are not, like those of America, one by nature; and no postal services can compensate for the absence of the parish-to-parish touch.

Yet the strongest work is made from the most difficult material. As a strong nation was built out of families and tribes, so may a strong federal Empire be built out of nations. In his opening address to the Colonial Conference of 1902, Mr Chamberlain said:

'Our paramount object is to strengthen the bonds which unite us, and there are only three principal avenues by which we can approach this object. They are, through our political relations in the first place; secondly, by some kind of commercial union; in the third place, by considering the questions which arise out of Imperial defence.'

M. Speyer, whose lucid study is well worth the attention of serious students, after carefully examining these three roads, is brought to the conclusion that we are most advanced towards a practical union on that of joint defence, and that in the military and naval sphere the development of existing institutions, especially of the Imperial Defence Committee, should allow the colonies to share in the 'haute direction.' If this came to pass, it should lead to much else as the colonies grow and as they develope the class from which good civil and military officials are drawn. The process will probably be slow; on the other hand, events may precipitate results. M. Speyer asks:

'Qui saurait dire quel serait l'effet sur les destinées de l'Empire de quelque grande guerre où l'Angleterre, luttant pour son existence, ferait appel au concours de tous ses enfants? C'est dans la confraternité d'armes d'une guerre victorieuse que disparaient les dernières résistances qui séparaient encore les divers États Allemands; ce sera peut-être de quelque convulsion mondiale que naîtra l'unité fédérale de l'Empire Britannique.'

War is the father of things, and patient endurance is the mother. Our business is to maintain cordial relations between the States of the Empire and to improve them as occasion may offer, keeping, like the wise virgins, our lamps trimmed and our lights burning so that all things may be ready when the hour comes. 'Tout vient à qui sait attendre.' Yes, if one knows *how* to wait.

Art. II.—THE GROWTH OF THE HISTORICAL NOVEL.

A Guide to the Best Historical Novels and Tales. By Jonathan Nield. Third edition. London: Elkin Matthews, 1904.

MR NIELD has set himself a useful task, and he has done it well. Thousands of people every year owe to fiction their first love of history. From an 'Ivanhoe' or a 'Last of the Barons' they learn that a study of past ages does not necessarily confine them to a dreary road, marked at intervals by inanimate figures of the kings and queens who serve as chronological milestones. From such books they discover, often for the first time, that history may be made as full of human interests, of passion and pathos, of tragedy and comedy, as is the life of their own contemporaries. It is to them that Mr Nield most strongly appeals in his admirable 'Guide to the Best Historical Novels and Tales,' classified according to the date of the period or events with which they are concerned.

Twenty years ago there appeared in this Review an article on 'The Growth of the English Novel.' It is referred to here because its contents supply what may seem to be gaps in the following pages; for the subject of the present article is wholly different from that of Mr Nield. It is not concerned with the question, what are the best historical novels which have been written on any particular period. It rather seeks to indicate by what stages historical novels came to be written at all.

The scope of the enquiry is best defined by two striking features in the growth of novels and of historical fiction. The first is the fact that before 1748 English literature includes only two novels which are still read—if indeed either can be called a novel—namely, 'The Pilgrim's Progress' and 'Robinson Crusoe.' The second feature is that the first historical novel, which still holds the field, was not published till 1814. Periods of splendid literary achievement came and went, leaving imperishable poetry, plays, essays, memoirs, but, with the two exceptions noted, not a single novel, and no historical romance. How is the lateness of this development to be explained? The answer is that novels, and for a still longer period historical romances, were, so to speak, in search of them-

selves; they had no conscious purpose, no clear perception of their true domain. Writers felt that poetry and tragedy and comedy and satire did not exhaust the literary methods of representing human life. They perceived that over distant ages, remote civilisations, ancient heroes, there hung those mists and shadows which heighten picturesqueness. They recognised that the twilight of the past is ready-made poetry, throbbing with the mystery which is the soul of romance. They saw that there was room for another imitative art. But its form, its boundaries, even its aim, were concealed from their knowledge. So they groped their way blindfold, sometimes on, but more often off, the true road, towards a definite position in literature.

The progress of historical fiction cannot be traced without studying the growth of the novel, which was its parent. The relationship is natural, for it was inevitable that the realities of the present should be reproduced with some success before the realities of the past could be attempted without inevitable failure. Until novelists reached a certain stage of perfection, attained some definiteness of purpose, and grasped the true scope of their art, historical romance was impossible. The instrument which Scott applied to the materials of history was the same instrument which Richardson and Fielding and a long line of predecessors had perfected. But, from the first, novelists seem to have been inspired by a sense that it was possible to apply their methods to the imitation of life in past ages. As they realised the limits of their special art more and more clearly, their efforts after historical romance become more and more definite in aim. It is the object of the following pages to study the growth of this idea of historical romance out of, and side by side with, the development of the novel, and to trace the elaboration of the romantic picture of the past by means of the hints and suggestions that were dropped in the gradual perfecting of the parent form of prose fiction.

It is unnecessary to trace the origin of English novels back to epic poetry, through Greek and Latin tales, monkish legend, medieval romances of chivalry, German jest-books, Italian, French, and Spanish fiction. As the tide, now of idealism, now of realism, swept over the literary world,

each advancing wave was enriched by something that its predecessor had left behind. In the operation of this law of action and reaction the weapons of the novelist were tempered and polished. The drama, diaries, journals, letters, essays, character-sketches, biographies, memoirs, each added something to the perfecting of the instrument. To the same progress the homely detail of Bunyan, the minute circumstantiality of Defoe, the fine analysis and laboured pathos of Richardson, the organic unity and humour of Fielding, the farce of Smollett, the sentiment of Sterne, more directly contributed. In the works of great masters the methods of handling the materials of literature approximate. From Richardson and Fielding the novel gained that self-knowledge which was denied to the efforts of their predecessors. The eighteenth century closes what may be called the childhood of prose fiction. Beyond it lie the stages through which the English novel passed in its growth from youth to maturity.

Historical romance waited many years for its full development. But, when its hour came, its triumph was for the time even more brilliant; and prose fiction of every kind profited by Sir Walter Scott's prodigious success. The world of polite literature was revolutionised. Not only did Scott enlarge and define the field of fiction; he also raised the position of the novelist. Henceforward novels resembled the east wind in spring; nothing could escape their ravages. Within a few years scarcely a bone of our ancestors was left undisturbed; not a distress or danger of love, lawful or unlawful, was undescribed; not a mystery of fashion was unknown in the pantry. Like Aaron's rod, prose fiction devoured every other kind of literature. From the Land's End to John o' Groat's 'Apollo's self might pass unheard'; but every door flew open to the novelist. 'The mob of gentlemen who write with ease' was reinforced by a larger mob of similarly gifted ladies; women who, two centuries ago, would have left behind them a chest of letters and a stout volume of recipes, occupied their pens in writing novels. If a statesman sought to explain a policy, a reformer to expose an abuse, a Protestant to reveal the mine over which society slumbered, prose fiction became the recognised channel of communication. Ethical treatises, political pamphlets, social dissertations, scarcely dared to venture

abroad without an amatory accompaniment. Abstruse points of divinity led to a conjugal *dénoûment*; philosophers broached their theories side by side with an unhappy attachment; travellers who collected their wild adventures said with Byron, 'I want a hero'; even Dr Dryasdust played the troubadour, and required a heroine to display the costume of the period.

Unlike the Caliph Vathek, who built a separate palace for each pleasure, the novelists attempted to crowd into one volume the imagination of the poet, the reflection of the philosopher, the observation of the essayist, the dramatist's power of representation, the insight of the historian, the wit of the worldling. A perfect novel is at once the phœnix of literary zoology, and a first-rate test of first-rate talents. One result of the degrading position from which the novel suddenly leaped into glory was the perfect freedom enjoyed by the novelist. He obtained this license because, in the first instance, critics ignored his work as outside the pale of art. Fiction was the Alsatia of literature, and novelists exercised the liberty of Bohemians because they were outlaws. It was partly this liberty which made the novel both in England and France the expression of the Romantic revolution with which the eighteenth century closed and its successor opened.

In sixteenth-century England the truest expression of the spirit of the age was found in dramatists and poets. Historical plays and poems, together with a pile of tracts and pamphlets, occupied the greater part of the space subsequently filled by novels. Hardly any work of prose fiction belonging to the Elizabethan age is known except to students of literature. If our ancestors wished to stretch their limbs and gaze on wider horizons, they made their own romance, scoured the Spanish main, or singed the beard of the King of Spain. The prose stories read by those who remained at home in the spacious times of Elizabeth were romances of knightly deeds, adventurous tales of low life, or short stories translated, imitated, or adapted, from Spanish or Italian sources.

For a moment it seemed as if there might spring up an Elizabethan school of historical romance. The wild adventures of Jack Wilton in Nash's 'Unfortunate Traveller' (1594) belong, indeed, to the Spanish school

of picaresque fiction. But the scene is laid in the times of Henry VIII; historical personages, like the Earl of Surrey, are introduced; and the episodes are described with a realistic force which, for more than a century, was not rivalled in English literature. In a similar vein, but of less literary importance, were Lodge's two historical romances, 'The History of Robert, Second Duke of Normandy, surnamed Robin the Divell' (1591), and 'The Life and Death of William Longbeard' (1593). The first of these two books professes to be 'drawne out of the old and ancient antiquaries'; and the author claims to 'stand not so much on the termes as the trueth.' To the same school also belonged Thomas Deloney, whose 'Pleasant History of John Winchcomb' and 'Thomas of Reading or the Sixe Worthie Yeomen of the West' were probably published about the same time. The scene of 'Thomas of Reading' is laid in the times of Henry I; and its hero, Thomas Cole, really existed in history. The 'Sixe Worthie Yeomen of the West' were six clothiers of 'great credit, namely, Thomas Cole of Reading, Gray of Glocester, Sutton of Salisburie, Fitzallen of Worcester, Tom Doue of Excester, and Simon of Southampton, alias Supbroth.' Their journeyings to London, their meetings with the three northern clothiers, their merriments at Jarrat's Hall, their exploits and diversions, are chronicled in bald style. But the murder of Thomas of Reading by the 'Oast' and 'Oastess' of the 'Crane' at Colebrooke is told with a simplicity and directness which are not without power. There is no attempt to delineate character, no effort to restore the life of the past or to paint a historical background. Incident only, without picturesque detail, is relied upon for the interest of the story.

Other forms of prose fiction proved stronger than this national growth of historical romance, which could only thrive in a more sophisticated age. The sanctity of history was unknown to the Elizabethans; they had no conception of geography or chronology; they cared nothing for exactness in the reproduction of the manners and customs of the past. Fiction flowed into other channels. The 'Euphues' of John Lyly was published in 1579–80. That 'exquisitely-pleasant-to-read and inevitably-to-be-remembered manual' of wit, though treasured as their lives by the Sir Piercie Shaftons of the day, was

ridiculed by Shakespeare and Ben Jonson. Yet its influence was great. Lyly was the first English stylist, the first literary artist. His book founded a school, of which Sir Philip Sidney, Thomas Lodge, and Robert Greene were the most distinguished members.

Sidney's 'Arcadia' (1588) was not, indeed, of native origin. That 'simple image of his gentle witt and golden pillar of his noble courage' was based on the 'Arcadia' of the Neapolitan Sannazaro and the 'Diana' of George de Montemayor and the Spanish romances of knightly deeds. Its poetic prose delighted Spenser and Shakespeare; it supplied dramatists with plots, furnished Charles I with a prayer, gave Richardson the name of a heroine. It was imitated by Lady Mary Wroth in her 'Urania' (1621), and by John Reynolds in the 'Flower of Fidelitie' (1650). But its influence on the development of prose fiction was comparatively slight.

In Lodge and Greene Lyly found more direct imitators. To the first of these writers belong 'The Delectable History of Forbonius and Prisceria' (1584) and 'Rosalynde: Euphues golden Legacie' (1590), the most popular of his romances, which supplied to Shakespeare the plot and several of the characters of 'As you Like it.' Lodge's adventurous life is commemorated in his works. 'Rosalynde' is said to be 'fetcht from the Canaries,' whither the author had voyaged with Captain Clarke. On an expedition with Cavendish to Brazil he wrote 'A Margarite of America' (1596), which he professes to have found 'in the Librarie of the Jesuits, in Sanctum [Santos], in the Spanish tong.' The poetic prose of Lodge, interspersed with 'Æglogs' and lyrics, is embroidered with a profusion of rich descriptions of castles standing by the side of gracious silver-floating rivers; environed with curious planted trees to minister shade, and sweet smelling flowers to recreate the senses. Within are sumptuous chambers whose doors are carved from whitest marble; the beds are of ebony inlaid with gems; the walls are hung with tapestry, beautified with gold and pearls, and showing how Apollo caused the woods to leap and the Hebrus to stay his course with his amorous lament. In the same poetic and sometimes pedantic vein wrote Greene. Neither he nor Lodge profess to analyse character or describe contemporary society, or represent actual life.

Throughout the seventeenth century the development of a national school of fiction in England was interrupted by the popularity of French writers; and the literary history of the English novel is bound up with that of France. Early in the period appeared two books which helped forward the growth of historical romance, though they differed widely from one another in aim and treatment. One was the 'Argenis' of John Barclay (1621), the other the 'Astrea' of Honoré d'Urfé (1610–27). Both were once widely popular; both are now forgotten.

'Argenis' is, from one point of view, a political treatise, akin to More's 'Utopia' or Harrington's 'Oceana.' From another point of view it is a historical romance dealing with the immediate past, introducing, under classical names, real personages such as Philip II of Spain, Henry III and Henry IV of France, Queen Elizabeth, Catherine de Medici, Calvin, and the Guises. Nor are the actors merely names; some attempt is made to individualise their characters. 'Argenis' was translated into English, possibly at the suggestion of Charles I; it was studied by Richelieu 'too much,' says Myles Davies, 'for the good of his neighbours'; it was praised by Cowper for its entertainment, and by Coleridge for its Latinity. To-day little more than its name survives.

More popular than 'Argenis' was D'Urfé's pastoral romance. The dust of two centuries of oblivion lies thick upon the volume; yet 'Astrea' was a queen who once ruled the fashionable world with an absolute sway which few books have ever rivalled. Both its publication and its construction reveal the gulf that divides society in the seventeenth century from that of to-day. The first two parts appeared seventeen years before the fourth and fifth, which were posthumously published (1627) two years after the author's death; only a patient leisured age could wait so long to know whether Celadon and Astrea were made happy. Nor would our taste tolerate the seventy subordinate histories which retard the progress of the main story and yet are only interludes in dissertations on love. But St François de Sales, Bishop Camus, La Fontaine, Boileau, acknowledged Astrea's charm. From the romance Bossuet borrowed his panegyric on St Bernard, and Corneille 'conveyed' some verses for his 'Cid.'

Of contemporary society 'Astrea' became the breviary.

It gave the tone to the men and women who assembled in the famous *salon bleu* of the 'incomparable Arthenice' at the Hôtel de Rambouillet. It was in fact a protest against the coarseness of the preceding period. It ushered in a new age of politeness. Men had often shown that they could die for women; but, with rare exceptions, they had not learned to live in their company. They had approached the other sex in the libertine spirit which is bred of contempt; now they courted them with the respectful homage that is paid to divinities. 'Astrea made women the centre of society; it treated them as objects not only of pursuit and desire, but of respect and worship. Cupid ceases to be a naked boy. In the pastoral he masqueraded as a shepherd; in the new heroic romance he dons the armour of an ancient Roman and the curling wig of the Grand Monarque.

It is, however, to other causes that D'Urfé owes his place among the founders of the historical novel. As Don Quixote moves in the midst of the real scenery of his own Sierras, so Astrea inhabits a real district, chosen because it was D'Urfé's birthplace, and because he knew it best. The scene is laid in Le Forez, in barbarous Gaul of the fifth century. Not only are the natural descriptions true, but in his historical background the author has attempted to paint, though with scanty and inaccurate knowledge, details of the customs, antiquities, and institutions of the period. In the art of representing life he has served his apprenticeship by copying real figures. The story veils the gallantries of the Courts of Henry III and Henry IV as well as his own love for Diane de Châteaumorand. He has laid bare some of the secrets of his heart, though the self-revelation does not belong to the modern type, but is disguised in the form of immaterial idealised creations. Finally, with D'Urfé, love is not the impersonal, general, uniform emotion which it had been in chivalrous romance, and was to become in the new school of heroic romance. On the contrary, he has subtly discriminated the different shapes which love assumes in different characters. Here he is the predecessor of Marivaux. Yet he has the heart of Prévost, for he still treats love as a veritable passion, without allowing it to dissipate its force in the scholasticism and metaphysics of amorous gallantry.

The practice of introducing real characters into prose fiction spread. In her 'Urania' (1621) Lady Mary Wroth probably alludes to the gallantries of the Duke of Buckingham. So Gombaud in his 'L'Endimion' (1624), which was translated into English by Hurst in 1637, tells his passion for Marie de Medici. The amorous adventures of Henry IV, the eventful wooing of Marguerite de Rohan by the Chevalier de Chabot, the love-story of Madame de Longueville and Coligny, all appeared under the disguise of fiction. Through the long-winded romances of La Calprenède and Madeleine de Scudéry runs the same thread of reality. In their structure, or want of structure, these new tales resembled the old romances of chivalry. In both a hundred subordinate narratives are tacked to the central history, distinguished from it and from each other only by the names of the actors, turning on the same incidents with wearisome monotony.

The craving for action still ruled. Pastoral insipidity revolted the men who had fought in the Thirty Years' War, or conspired against Richelieu or Mazarin; they demanded mighty sword-play. But the new literature must also gratify the growing taste for reality, and pass the new criticism of the *salon*. In the first place it begs the protection of history. For the impossibilities of the older school were exchanged the improbabilities of the new. Gone are the giants and dwarfs, the enchanted castles, the magic unguents, dragons, and necromancers. They make room for historical personages whose stature is raised to superhuman proportions till they become as gods and goddesses. Instead of imaginary or legendary heroes of involved lineage and generally illegitimate origin, the actors strut the stage as Cyrus, or Alexander, or Horatius Cocles, who had at least lived and acted a part in real history. In the second place, throughout the older tales knightly enterprise had played a greater part than love; glory was the mainspring of action and beauty the reward of its attainment. In the new romance, love under the form of veneration, sublimated to an essence, cold as an Alpine air, as impersonal as a law of nature, was the master-spirit; and knightly exploits were the tribute laid by an adorer at the feet of his divinity.

Before the newer style of romance the pastoral withered and faded. The artificial world of 'Astrea'

suggests a vision of elegantly attired shepherdesses, their faces rouged and patched, dressed in low-necked, short-sleeved robes looped up with ribbons and flowers, wearing high-heeled red shoes and tiny hats perched on the right sides of their heads. They sit beneath ever-flowering hawthorns, each maiden holding in her hand a crook, and each accompanied by a lamb which appears to mistake its guardian for its mother. At their feet or by their sides sit or recline young exquisites, dressed in elaborate silks of delicate shades of colour surmounted by rich mantles of gold and silver tissue, waving hats surcharged with plumes, while they weave for their ladies garlands of sonnets, odes, and madrigals.

Society, like literature, delighted in masquerade; and from such an unreal vision it is but a slight transition to the *chambre bleue* of the Hôtel de Rambouillet at the close of 1644. Round the hostess gather all that is most distinguished in the Parisian world of wit, beauty, and fashion. Here are the Duchesse de Longueville and the Duchesse de Chevreuse, two women capable of saving or overthrowing a kingdom; here are Madame de Sévigné, a bride of one year's standing, Mademoiselle de La Vergne, a child of eleven, and Madeleine de Scudéry, ugly, yet already famous. The company have assembled to hear Corneille read a tragedy. But how pass the time till he arrives? It is proposed to bind the eyes of Mademoiselle de La Vergne for a game of blind-man's buff. Madame de Rambouillet consents. The girl has been led blindfold to the centre of the room, and is just cautiously advancing, with outstretched hands, when the door opens and the inseparable pair of brothers enter, Pierre and Thomas Corneille. So the gay party settle down to hear the great Pierre read his grave tragedy of 'Théodore,' while the young Bossuet fidgets in his seat with impatience as the author misses all the points of his declamation. Imaginary as the picture may be, it brings together Mademoiselle de Scudéry, in whose hands the new school of romance attained its highest popularity; Corneille, whose tragedies banished that cumbrous instrument for the representation of heroic action; and Mademoiselle de La Vergne, who, as Madame de La Fayette, wrote the one French novel of the century which is still read, and guided romance towards the attainment of its true end.

In heroic, as compared with pastoral romance, though the transition towards realism may be slight, yet a step is made. The artificiality remains a question of degree, but there is a distinct advance towards reality. French romance writers chose their characters from history. In thus imitating the example of contemporary tragedians they issued their challenge to the stage. Historical romance became for a few years the favourite form of ideal fiction. Even those who most grossly caricatured history appealed most strenuously to its support. La Calprenède and Scudéry assert that truth must reign as the Queen of romance, and parade their authorities even when a Cyrus and an Alexander discourse on the metaphysics of love as if they frequented the Hôtel de Rambouillet or the Saturdays at the Hôtel du Marais. It was this travesty of history which makes Boileau denounce Scudéry for presuming

'Peindre Brutus galant et Caton dameret.'

Yet, from another point of view, Boileau's condemnation is praise. When he complains that Scudéry never painted an ancient Roman except from a living model in contemporary Paris, he admits her title to be a realist.

Thus the two tendencies towards realism on the one side and a historical background on the other, may be traced through the wildest unrealities of heroic romance. Even Gomberville, who, in his 'Polexandre,' blends the impossibilities of chivalrous fiction with the improbabilities of the newer school, quotes Diodorus Siculus, contributes a mass of geographical detail, and is at pains to indicate those passages of his work where he has most departed from fact. La Calprenède, the best of the writers of heroic romance, in his 'Cassandre' (1642) 'Cléopâtre' (1648), and the unfinished 'Faramond' (1661), produced a compendium of universal history for the periods which he covers in the trilogy. He quotes among his authorities Tacitus, Plutarch, Suetonius, Velleius Paterculus, and Josephus. He distinguishes between romances like the 'Amadis' cycle, which have no truth, no probability, no charters, no chronology, and his own works, which contain only history, embellished by invention and decorated by fancy. Neither in 'Cassandre' nor in 'Cléopâtre' is there, he asserts, anything opposed to

truth, though there may be matters beyond truth. In 'Faramond' he admits that he has exercised a greater license, because the period is less familiar. Yet even here he claims to be consistent, and prides himself on speaking of knights and lances, a license that he had not allowed himself in works treating of an earlier period. Writers of this school used history as a cloak for their absurd improbabilities. Out of the distant past they selected for their hero a famous personage and plunged him into a complicated series of adventures which were incompatible with his real character, his true career, or the civilisation of his day. In half a dozen pages they asserted their respect for history; in as many volumes they proved their contempt. Promise and performance were ludicrously out of keeping. Yet the promise itself, hypocritical though it was, is significant.

Madeleine de Scudéry, in her most famous romance, 'Artamène, ou le Grand Cyrus' (1649–53), adds another kind of reality. Her book is a masked pageant—a gallery of portraits, idealised, yet recognisable by contemporaries, of the princess and princesses, the great lords and ladies, the courtiers, the soldiers, the ecclesiastics, the academicians who composed society in the reign of Louis XIII, and under the regency of Anne of Austria. Artamène, for example, is Condé; Madame, the Duchesse de Longueville; Cléobuline Queen of Corinth, Christina of Sweden; Sappho, Mademoiselle de Scudéry herself. The wars in which Artamène is engaged are real wars. The siege of Cumes is the siege of Dunkirk (1646); the battle of Thybarra, a minutely circumstantial account of the battle of Lens (1648); and the commanders under or against Condé appear under feigned names and titles. The amusements are those of the French aristocracy at the period. Life at the baths, water-parties, picnics, concerts, are described, not because they were the recreations of the Medes, but because they were the rage in contemporary France. In the Cours la Reine, the fashionable promenade of Paris (Suze), with its four shady alleys by the banks of the Seine (Choaspe), the most beautiful women, in smart carriages, and the handsomest men, magnificently dressed and mounted, bow, converse, pass and repass. Sport was a passion of the seventeenth century both with men and women. In 'Le Grand

Cyrus' the woods echo with the horns of the huntsmen and the gay laughter of the spectators as the stag is skillfully driven past the places where they are stationed. Collecting was a craze of contemporary Paris. In 'Le Grand Cyrus' Prince Mexaris invites the Princess Penthea to see his magnificent collections of pictures, statues, plate, and furniture. Ballets, in which were represented scenes from history or mythology, were a favourite amusement of the Court; and in 'Le Grand Cyrus' the famous ballet of Arion, in which Angélique Paulet bestrode the dolphin is minutely described.

Long-winded, incoherent, without plan or delineation of character, heroic romances offered a challenge to tragedy by aiming at the same object and working in the same material. Both portrayed the struggle of great souls against circumstances; both professed to draw from historical sources; both disdained—the one frankly, the other hypocritically—to study the external features of social life which distinguish the present from the past. But the drama could show with unrivalled power how types of character would act in given circumstances. In dealing with man as opposed to men its methods were more direct, its style broader, its effects more concentrated, its strokes more telling. It represented emotion, not in narrative but in action. It was incomparably the more powerful instrument. The great masterpieces of Corneille and Racine drove out of the field the lengthy rambling productions of La Calprenède and Scudéry. But where the novel justifies its existence is in the representation of human life through the minute delineation of individual character and the careful observation of its ordinary surroundings. The drama only brings the actor on the stage ready-made, as a type or incarnation. The novel can trace the growth of character, distinguish its subtle gradations, exhibit its moral complexities, discriminate its delicate shades, note its local, casual, personal peculiarities. It is to Madame de La Fayette's honour that, in the 'Princesse de Clèves' (1678), she suggested the field in which the novel meets the drama with superior weapons. It is not claimed that she did more than suggest the change. Much remained for her successors. But the book is a notable one—the first romance in the French school which can even claim to live at the present day.

The scene of the 'Princesse de Clèves' is laid in the reign of Henry II. Court life at the Louvre under the house of Valois perhaps sufficiently resembled court life at Versailles under Louis XIV to excuse the absence of local colour and historical background. Probably writer and public were scarcely conscious that people thought, spoke, behaved differently a hundred years earlier. Certainly no effort is made to distinguish the manners and customs of the previous century from those which prevailed in the days of Madame de La Fayette herself. The descriptions are general, not particular; the humanity is cast in the heroic mould, and beyond our strength to attain. So far the book differs little from the romances of the day. But the plot of the story is definite. There is a preconceived plan of composition; in form it is short and compact; it has unity, and is not disturbed by minor plots or subordinate narratives. There are a taste and a feeling for natural landscape. Above all, the 'Princesse de Clèves' is a tragedy of the human heart and of married life. Hitherto pastoral and heroic romances had turned on the question whether the hero and heroine would marry or not; with the settlement of that problem the story ended. The title under which Loveday translated 'Cléopâtre' might have served for every previous romance; 'Hymen's Prœludia' might be their general name. Madame de La Fayette knew that after marriage women's hearts still beat; and her 'Princesse de Clèves' marks the twilight before the dawn of a new era.

In the heroic romances of the seventeenth century the rise of the tide of realism is clearly marked. It may not be true, as Furetière maliciously insinuates, that great ladies paid to have their portraits hung in Scudéry's gallery. But it was an element of the success of 'Le Grand Cyrus' that the likenesses should be recognised by the sitters and their friends. In France, as well as in England, the realistic movement was favoured by the triumph of comedies of real life; by the success of character sketches, like those of Overbury, Izaak Walton, or La Bruyère; by the multiplication of diarists and memoir writers; by letters and autobiographies. From the ideal and aristocratic creations of heroic romance there was a reaction towards the equally exaggerated farce of novelists of low or middle-class life. Writers like Sorel,

Scarron, and Furetière were, indeed, parodists rather than exact delineators of ordinary life. Truth lay between the two extremes, and was the immediate object of neither. Yet from the very nature of their subjects this group of writers were constrained towards reality.

In Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, Cervantes, while satirising contemporary fiction, had rendered the reign of chivalric romance impossible. To a less degree the same fate befell the ideal creations of pastoral and heroic romance. Parodists and satirists protested in the name of common-sense against the excesses of the imagination. They doubtless degraded ordinary life as much below truth as their rivals raised it above verisimilitude. But they painted from living models figures which were more powerful than their satire in undermining the older school. In 'Francion' (1622) Sorel, if indeed that unacknowledged work is really his, sketches the history of a poor gentleman, with a short temper and a long sword, from the commencement of his career at the Collège de Lisieux in Paris. It is not the smallest merit of the book that it discovers how great an interest may lie in a record of the impressions made upon a lad by the torture of an education which resembles that bestowed on Gargantua.

'Francion' is in the style of Rowlandson's caricatures. It is a coarse, farcical picture of lawyers and men of letters, the parish priest and the peasant, respectable citizens, professional thieves and vagabonds; it gibbets pedantic schoolmasters and venal judges, details the shifts of needy authors, scoffs at the self-advertisement of literary clubs. It thus presents a more exact and universal view of France in the seventeenth century than the idealised portraits of leaders of aristocratic society which were painted by writers of heroic romance. In the 'Berger Extravagant' (1639), Sorel's Lysis is the Don Quixote of pastoral fiction. The hero mistakes 'Astrea' for a picture of real life, and tries to live in the Paris of Louis XIII like a shepherd of ancient Gaul.

Scarron belongs to the same school as Sorel. His 'Roman Comique' (1651–7) is a book without a plan; one chapter suggests another, one adventure a second. Yet its haphazard construction is well adapted to the happy-go-lucky lives of a band of strolling players, who knew not in the morning what might be their fate at nightfall.

Less gay than Scarron, less panoramic than Sorel, with a deeper, more ironical purpose than either, Furetière completes their work in his 'Roman Bourgeois' (1666). Much of its interest is due to the object with which the two parts are composed—its picture of citizen life as it was, its warning of what that life would become if it aped the manners of the Court.

The same methods were applied to aristocratic society. The 'Mémoires de M. d'Artagnan' (1701) of Gatien Courtilz de Sandras, and Hamilton's 'Comte de Grammont' (1713), were, in a sense, realistic. It was impossible to deviate far from the truth, because every reader knew the originals and could compare the copy with the model. It was not now a question of some figure, drawn from the dim historic past, moving through imaginary countries, plunged in indefinite surroundings which were equally adapted to the Mede, the Merovingian, the Moor, or the seventeenth century Frenchman. But, when Courtilz de Sandras drew a Mazarin, when Hamilton sketched a Buckingham or a Castlemaine, when Le Sage painted a Duke of Lerma or an Olivarez, Marivaux a Cardinal de Fleury, or Prévost a Henrietta of England, the likeness could be criticised. As with the actors, so with the stage. Cyrus, or Horatius Cocles, or Faramond might woo his lady-love in the stately palace of the Louvre or in the garden and park of Fontainebleau. But in dealing with more or less contemporary life it was necessary that the surroundings should be in keeping with reality. Incidents occurred in definite places; and, whether the scene was a royal antechamber or a squalid alehouse, it must be accurately described.

It is with Le Sage and 'Gil Blas' (1715–35) that the realistic novel awakens to a conscious purpose. The book has not entirely escaped the improbabilities of heroic romance. Such a mass of adventure could not be condensed into one human experience. It is still tinged with the farcical one-sided exaggeration of the satirist or comic dramatist. Yet, on the whole, it gives a truthful representation of the details of ordinary life—a faithful picture of manners, full of minute and homely touches. But there is no preconceived plan of composition. The materials are gathered rather than arranged, accumulated, not collected for a purpose; and there is little de-

lineation of character. For these reasons the novel, even in the hands of Le Sage, misses the complete justification of its existence as a separate branch of imitative art.

It was on French fiction that seventeenth century England was mainly fed. During part of the period our ancestors were engaged in making romance; the spirit of Puritanism was hostile to idle fiction; and after the Restoration the stage proved a formidable rival to novelists. In this country there was nothing like the *situation nette* so often reproduced in France, where the literary tastes of the nation change as a whole or not at all, where literary despotisms are overthrown, the laws of the dethroned monarchs labelled as *épiceries* or *perruques*, and new tyrannies created, in their turn to be destroyed by as complete a revolution. Here chivalrous romance held its place for a longer period. 'Don Belianis of Greece,' 'Prince Erastus, Son to the Emperour Dioclesian,' and even the sixth part of the 'Famous and Renowned History of Amadis de Gaule,' appeared in the days of Bunyan.

In its main stages English fiction follows the same lines of development which were pursued in France. Pastoral romance took no firm root as a native growth. Numerous translations of La Calprenède and Scudéry were, however, eagerly read. In the style of 'Le Grand Cyrus' Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, afterwards Earl of Orrery, wrote 'Parthenissa' (1654–65), but without the peculiar realism of his model, and without a tithe of its success. In Protestant Puritan England women held a subordinate position. The drawing-rooms of the Duchess of Newcastle and Lady Sunderland never rivalled the Hôtel de Rambouillet. So little interest was taken in the fortunes of Artabanes and Parthenissa, that Boyle never completed the book, or revealed the secret of the thicket in which the heroine is left with a youthful knight.

How poor was the output of English fiction down to the last quarter of the seventeenth century may be seen from the preface which Francis Kirkman prefixes to his 'Famous and Delectable History of Don Bellianis of Greece, or the Honour of Chivalry' (1671). Kirkman recommends to his readers a course of English fiction. His list includes the following: 'The Seven Wise Masters,' 'said to be of great esteem in Ireland'; 'Fortunatus: Don Bellianis of Greece,' 'purposely fitted with storyes

acted and done in England and Ireland'; 'Parismus and Parismenos,' 'Mountelion Knight of the Oracle,' 'Ornatus and Artesia'—all 'Written in English by one Person'; 'Valentine and Orson'; 'Seven Champions of Christendom'; 'History of the Destruction of Troy,' 'by means of which the reader will be able to understand any Peece of Poetry.' Similar stories are recommended because they were the work of English writers: 'Fragosa and his Three Sons'; 'Bevis of Southampton'; and half a dozen others, whose titles it would be a weariness to repeat, together with 'Amadis de Gaule,' the sixth part of which had been 'translated from the French' by Kirkman himself. Both in number and in 'worth and quality,' the heroic romances translated from the French exceeded our English productions. Even these, says Kirkman, are fallen into disrepute 'owing to the present slighting and neglect of all books in general by the particular esteem of our late English stage-plays.'

In the hands of English writers romance took a didactic form, and easily passed into allegory. 'Satiated by the fluency and luxuriance of the French gallantry' (so writes Edward Phillips in his translation of the 'Illustrious Shepherdess' (1656) of Perez of Montalvan), 'it will not be amiss to give a taste of the Spanish reserve and gravity.' With the same object more original work was also done. The 'Aretina' (1661) of Sir George Mackenzie, for example, is a rambling pedantic work, which is dignified by the title of 'a serious romance.' The heroine is the daughter of Monanthropus, ex-chancellor of Egypt, who had followed Sir George's advice ('A Moral Essay, preferring Solitude to Public Employment') and abandoned human society for the wild woods. But the preface is an interesting 'Apologie for Romances.' Romances are denounced, says the author, as being both the fire and the faggot which kindle and feed the flames of love, as wasting precious time, and as being lies. But their influence is the contrary. Who, he asks, that has seen the Philoclea of Sidney or the 'Cleopatra of Scudérie' will love a modern lady? If the novel is abject, it is thrown away; if it is excellent, time is spent, though not misspent. They cannot be lies, for they are not intended to deceive. None need 'blush to walk in the paths which the famous Sidney, Scudérie,

Barkley, Broghill have beaten for them.' Romance is more valuable than history, 'because one teacheth us onely what is done, the other what should be done.' Romance presents 'Vertue in its holy-day robes.' It is 'the vessel which strains the crystal of virtue from the puddle of interest.' It allures the lazy lady and the luxurious gallant to spend hours in their chambers, 'which else the one would consecrate to the Bed and the other to the Bordell.' He blames the old romances of chivalry, such as 'Amadis de Gaule,' because they are stuffed with things wholly 'impracticable,' and asserts that henceforth all novels will be cast in 'the mould of Scudérie,' in natural conversation and in natural events.

Another romance of the period deserves notice because it is even more avowedly serious. It brings us a stage nearer to the masterpiece of English romantic literature in the seventeenth century—'The Pilgrim's Progress.' Nathaniel Ingelo's 'Bentivolio and Urania' was published in 1660. It is directed against the 'impertinences of mankind' and the human follies which are incompatible with the dignity of reasonable souls. Among these Ingelo includes 'the writing and reading of Romances.' He praises Montaigne for saying 'Quant aux Amadis et telles sortes d'escrits, ils n'ont pas eu le credit d'arrester seulement mon enfance'; and he wishes all were like the famous Frenchman. His hero, Bentivolio (Good-will), is a worthy champion, who 'subdues several Bravos which infested the Regions of Anthropion,' such as Eristes (strife), Gynœpicria (peevishness), Gelosia (jealousy), Bellona (war). The countries in which Bentivolio, Urania, and Panaretus (all-virtuous) play their parts are similarly allegorical, such as Argentora (the covetous state), Piacenza (the voluptuous state), Vanasembla (the hypocritical state), and Theoprepeia (the religious state). Their adventures are interspersed with discourses on the existence of the deity, on the vanity of human life, or on empty pretenders to religion.

In Bunyan's 'Pilgrim's Progress' (1678–84) the heroic romance of seventeenth-century England reaches its highest perfection, as in France it culminated in Madame de La Fayette's 'Princesse de Clèves. What a multitude of national and social differences are summed up by the juxtaposition of the two books! Bunyan has been too

exclusively treated as a great allegorist. He may also, and with equal truth, be regarded as the first great novelist. All the necessary gifts are his in rich abundance. In the 'Pilgrim's Progress' there are rapid narrative, vivid characterisation, crisp dialogue, purposeful description. Each actor lives. A man of few books, but saturated, through the Authorised Version of the Bible, with the purest English, Bunyan's style is perfection. The allegory never overpowers the pictorial side of the story; the dramatic instinct is stronger than the reflective; the teaching is rarely obtruded. Bunyan sees the world which he imagines with a clearness and intensity that enable him to reproduce his mental vision with marvellous force. Milton's pictures of heaven and hell are magnificent as literature; but they are faint, shadowy, unreal, beside the vivid imaginings of Bunyan.

Meanwhile the tendency towards realism was helped forward by novels of low life. Translations and adaptations of Sorel and Scarron were read. But the only important English work of the school is 'The English Rogue' (1665). What, at a later period, 'Ned' Ward, without the disguise of fiction, did for the taverns and alehouses of London, that Richard Head did for its low haunts of vice in his autobiography of Meriton Latroon. Probably only its indecency has saved the book from oblivion; but it forms a valuable connecting link in the history of that realistic school of fiction which reached its triumph in the hands of Defoe. It is not here so much a question of his 'Robinson Crusoe' (1719), or even of his 'Memoirs of a Cavalier' or his 'History of the Plague.' His pictures of harlots, pirates, and sharpers, in such books as 'Captain Singleton,' 'Colonel Jack,' and 'Moll Flanders,' are painted with a vigour, correctness, and individuality which leave him without any real predecessor or successor. Yet all Defoe's novels seem to stand, to some extent, in a class apart. They are triumphs of hard, matter-of-fact circumstantiality and detail. They are intended to deceive, to pass as real histories. Delusion was Defoe's aim, and not that higher object of illusion which aims at suspending the critical faculties by means of imaginative force of representation.

Finally, as in France so in England, a certain sort of realism invaded the Court and the drawing-room. The

form differed in the two countries. Scudéry painted an idealised artificial picture of contemporary society among the French aristocracy. Anthony Hamilton, with infinitely greater skill, threw upon his canvas a living group of brilliant leaders of court life. In England three women, Mrs Behn, Mrs Manley, and Mrs Haywood, sketched partly from the nude, partly from their own imaginations, the political, social, and moral intrigues of their aristocratic contemporaries. They flavoured the artificiality of 'Le Grand Cyrus' with a coarseness which was all their own; they rivalled the 'Mémoires du Comte de Grammont' only in their audacity, which won for Mrs Manley the honour of arrest, and for Mrs Haywood the wrath of Swift and Pope. As literature, their novels are worthless; in literary history they are not unimportant, because in their portraits of contemporaries they were constrained to present some likeness to the originals.

In all three writers the growing taste for reality is marked. It is, for example, from her own impressions of Surinam, and her own recollections of the chieftain, that Mrs Behn derives the local colour and distinctness of 'Oroonoko' (1684–88). Mrs Manley, however, affords the most complete illustration of that blend of idealism and realism which has been traced in French literature. In her dedication to 'The Power of Love' (1720) she puts her fiction under the protection of history.

'These novels' (she says) 'have Truth for their Foundation; several of the Facts are to be found in Ancient History; to which, adding divers new Incidents, I have attempted, in Modern *English*, to draw them out of Obscurity, with the same Design as Mr *Dryden* had in his Tales from "Boccace" and "Chaucer."'

In her more famous work, 'The Secret Memoirs of the New Atlantis,' she adds the other element which Scudéry had introduced into 'Le Grand Cyrus.' In a highly artificial framework, and under the thin disguise of classical names, she paints a coarse, scandalous picture of contemporary life. The book is in four parts. In the first two Astrea revisits the earth in order to see whether humanity is still as defective as when she had first fled from the terrestrial world in disgust. The episodes of the remaining parts, which include descriptions of Poland

and of Charles XII of Sweden, occur or are narrated to the Earl of Peterborough and Cardinal Polignac. By these slender threads the incidents hang together, without any other plot or connecting link.

The 'New Atlantis' opens with the death of William III, and the consolation which 'great Anna' and her 'she favourite' find, not in tea, but in 'sparkling Champaign.' The scene is London (Angela) and Hyde Park (the Prado). One after another, all the well-known figures are brought before Astrea; and few of the Whig nobility escape some scandalous charge. The Duke of Marlborough, the Duchess, and her mother, Mrs Jennings, are ferociously handled. Reference is made to the story of General Talmash, 'sent upon a desperate attempt to lose his life upon a distant shore.' The private morals of Somers and Halifax are attacked with circumstantial details. As a popular orator, none is 'more vigorous, fuller of Motion, vehement in Speech and Gesture,' than Bishop Burnet; but his character is 'marred by the snares of Beauty, Pride, Faction, and some other Vices.' Sir Richard Blackmore is described as an 'Œsculapius run mad after Apollo,' who 'prescribes in Verse, eats, drinks, sleeps, walks, rides in Verse.' Addison is Maro, whom 'Politicks and sordid Interest have carried out of the Road to Helicon.' Mrs Behn is 'the younger Sapho'; Mrs Centlivre is 'a wonderful gay lady,' who 'sings well, or fancies she does.' 'That black Beau (stuck up in a pert Chariot), thick-set, his Eyes lost in his Head, hanging Eyebrows, broad Face, and tallow Complexion,' is Richard Steele. As an aspirant to dramatic fame, Mrs Manley handles actors tenderly. Mrs Bracegirdle is 'the usefullest as well as the most agreeable Woman of the Stage'; while Betterton, 'born for everything that he thinks fit to undertake,' would have been 'eminent in any Station of Life he had been called to.'

We have seen romance abandon the impossibilities of tales of chivalry for the improbabilities of the heroic school. We have traced its increasing tendency towards truth of representation in its choice of real or historical personages, who move among natural surroundings. But hitherto little had been done by novelists in the analysis and portrayal of character; still less progress had been made towards the development and construction of

historical romance. But in the first thirty years of the eighteenth century a great advance was made in both directions by two Frenchmen—by Marivaux in 'Marianne' (1731); by Prévost in 'Manon Lescaut' (1732), 'Cléveland' (1732), and the 'Doyen de Killerine' (1736).

Marivaux is the last of the French writers who, before the advent of Richardson and Fielding, influenced the growth of the English novel. Whether Marianne was the parent of Clarissa Harlowe may be doubted, but the dates make the relationship possible. The task which Marivaux set himself was to show how the characters of his actors were modified or influenced by differences in their conditions and circumstances. In England he was popular for his fidelity to nature. He excelled in the art of analysis, and especially in the analysis of the various manifestations of love in different temperaments. There is no dimple in which Cupid might lurk that has not been probed by his scalpel, no scruple too light to be weighed in his scales of cobweb. But he does not enlist sympathy. He works without passion or feeling, and with the cold-blooded precision of the scientist. His use of the microscope is so habitual that he cannot comprehend the larger emotions. His prose fiction is wearisome from the minuteness of his observation, the abundance of his moral reflections, his intolerably leisured advance. The tedious effect is heightened by the intricate refinements of his style. Master of every air and grace of coquetry, he practises them all in his narrative.

Prévost is an incomparably greater story-teller. In his 'Histoire du Chevalier Desgrieux et de Manon Lescaut' (1732) he combines true delineation of character with that passion and pathos which were wanting in Marivaux. He was the first to see that love is a sudden irresistible emotion which shatters all barriers of law, prudence, and virtue, resists the deepest wounds to self-respect, and often not only fails to bring happiness, but plunges its victims into tragedies of misfortune. Great lovers of this absolute kind, he believed, were to be found, not among the aristocracy, but in the middle class or among the people. 'Manon Lescaut' is free from the wild improbabilities of 'Cléveland' and the 'Doyen de Killerine,' in which assassinations, apparitions, trap-doors, subterranean passages pile horror upon horror and mystery on mystery.

Yet, even here, the incidents are saved from absurdity by the sincerity of the writer and the genuine intensity of his sensitiveness to pathos. Thus Prévost is not only the predecessor of Rousseau, but the precursor of Mrs Radcliffe, of Monk Lewis, and the youthful Victor Hugo. In another respect he anticipated Walter Scott. It is not only that his details are carefully studied, that the surroundings of his actors are minutely observed, and that his descriptions are precise and particular, not vague and general. Prévost made a yet vaster stride in advance. Hitherto the protagonists of romance had been historical personages, with whose careers liberties could not be taken. On them was concentrated the attention of the audience. If their actions were ridiculously at variance with truth, the absurdity was conspicuous and could not be ignored. Now the whole perspective of the historical novel was altered; and romance was brought, as it were, to the foreground. The principal actors were creations of the imagination; historical personages were robbed of their importance, and, as subsidiary figures, were relegated to the background. Thus the atmosphere was primarily romantic, and only in a secondary sense historical.

In the work of Richardson and Fielding the novel of character was revealed, the interest of individuality vindicated, and prose fiction entered upon one side of its triumphant career. But historical romance waited another half-century for its full development. What was the reason of the delay? The best answer probably is that the material, as well as the audience, was wanting. In 1750 the preparation had begun. Antiquaries were already the butts of satire; the virtuoso and the dilettante were venturing abroad. Men began to turn aside from the familiar conditions of contemporary life in order to dwell upon aspects of bygone civilisation which seemed by contrast to be picturesque. They endeavoured to evoke from distant ages those visions of beauty which seemed to have fled from their own surroundings. What they found and reproduced was not so much the conditions of the past as the impressions created by those conditions in minds educated by very different circumstances. As, at the Renaissance, fragments of Greek culture were pieced together into a mosaic of the classic

world, so, at the romantic revival, relics of feudalism were grouped in a picture of medieval society.

Side by side with this movement went a reaction against the characteristics of eighteenth century literature. The writers of the age of Anne and the first two Georges were clear without depth, limited, in their range of human interest, to the Court and the town, confined, in their appreciation of nature, to its artificial aspects. They were self-restrained, deferential to authority, always intelligible. They dwelt upon the universal attributes of humanity; they preferred the abstract to the concrete, the general to the local, the typical to the peculiar. The romantic revival, on the other hand, produced a literature which was often obscure because it tried to express new ideas, a literature which embraced all conditions of society, was enthusiastic over the grandeur and solitude of physical nature, eager for local colour, the *mot précis*, the natural little circumstances of life. It worshipped not the abstract but the concrete; it studied all that was local, characteristic, individual, in humanity. The political outcome of the classic era was the worship of the universal brotherhood of man; that of the romantic reaction was the passion for nationality.

It has been said that the materials for historical romance were wanting in 1750. Men of the school of Pope despised medieval art and literature; they regarded the romances, chronicles, legends, and ballads of the Middle Ages as fit only for university pedants. They preferred the cold perfection of the classic temple to the aspiration and mystery of the Gothic cathedral. They patronised and remodelled Shakespeare, improved Spenser, and modernised Chaucer. But, at the close of the first half of the century, the new spirit was stirring. History began to be understood. Between 1754 and 1776 Hume and Robertson and Gibbon were writing. The study of literature no longer started with Dryden, when three editions of the 'Faery Queen' appeared in one year (1758), when Thomas Warton published his epoch-making 'History of English Poetry' (1774–81), and when Chaucer was edited in scholarly fashion by Tyrwhitt (1775–8). Runic mythology and Celtic antiquity inspired poets. Natural scenery was loved and interpreted. Hurd's 'Letters on Chivalry and Romance' (1762), Sainte Palaye's

'Mémoires sur l'ancienne Chevalerie' (1759–81), and his 'Histoire des Troubadours' (1774), marked the growing interest in the Middle Ages. Gothic architecture was studied; ancient armour and coins were collected; heraldry again became a science; forgotten arts like painted glass and illumination revived. Percy's 'Reliques (1765), Evans's 'Ancient Welsh Bards' (1764), and the works of such men as Grose, Jamieson, Pinkerton, Stewart, Johnes, Todd, Strutt, Ellis, Way, and Ritson, all mark the new taste and fostered its development.

Walpole's Gothic castle at Strawberry Hill, Macpherson's 'Ossian' (1760–3), Chatterton's Rowley poems (1765) illustrate, in different ways, the passion for romance. Writers began to turn their attention to historical fiction. John Leland led the way with 'Longsword, Earl of Salisbury' (1762). In his wake followed Walpole's 'Castle of Otranto' (1764) and Clara Reeve's 'Old English Baron' (1777). Their imitators between 1780 and 1810 may be numbered by the score. Even Mrs Radcliffe recognised that the reign of her tales of terror was threatened, and with 'Gaston de Blondeville,' written in 1802 but not published till 1826, attempted to strike the new note. But, out of fifty historical novels of that period, only Jane Porter's 'Scottish Chiefs' (1810) survives.

Scott was in fact the real creator of historical romance. Beyond him the story of its growth need not be carried. With the publication of 'Waverley' (1814), a new world was opened to the novelist. This is not the place to examine Scott's merits and defects. The great point is that he was peculiarly fortunate in his opportunities, his preparation, and his powers. He caught the tide as it turned to flow strongly in the direction of poetry, romance, and nationality. The field of historical fiction was scarcely touched, though pioneers had revealed its future possibilities. When he began to write, time had mellowed, without effacing, the incidents of recent history. The meetings of the Jacobites were events of yesterday; men still lived whose fathers had been hunted down by Claverhouse and Dalzell. The Highlands were still an unknown region in which lingered a wild and picturesque loyalty. In the Lowlands the stern spirit of the Cameronians yet

survived. With a poet's eye for scenery, Scott had for the setting of his stories magnificent landscapes, now savage, now tender, as his mood required. The tales and legends which he snatched from the brink of oblivion, the clearly-marked features of society that he preserved, the manners he noted, the strongly individualised characters that he drew, were already growing dim; yet, if they were no longer easily perceptible to the many, they had not yet passed into the region of history. Hardly had he ceased to write when change and improvement destroyed much of the material that could alone yield a similar harvest. The plough, as it were, passed over the whole country; local growths were buried; and the same crops were everywhere cultivated.

Scott was also peculiarly fortunate in his preparation. Lame and weak in his childhood, he shaped his own mind before it was forced into the framework of mechanical education. His grandmother and aunt stored his childish brain with Border tales as he lay crumpled up in the window seat at Sandy Knowe. At the age of four he vociferated the ballad of 'Hardy Kanute' in the ears of Dr Duncan. Two years later he was determined to be a 'virtuoso, one, that is, who wishes to, and will, know everything.' At Edinburgh he continued the same omnivorous self-education. His long illness in 1784 enabled him to ravage the stores of the circulating library, made up of ponderous tomes of 'Cyrus' and 'Cassandra' and the latest works on chivalry. Under the plane-tree at Kelso he devoured Percy's 'Reliques'; and the Bishop of Dromore would have been astounded at the stone which he had set rolling. He carried from school and University no philosophy or science, and little Latin and less Greek. But he had accumulated treasures of romantic lore, wide knowledge of history, and stores of archæological learning. His real school had been the Old Town of Edinburgh, a raid into the Highlands or a foray into the Lowlands. As a child he had been the companion of the milkmaid and the 'cow-baillie.' As a man he possessed the same powers of gaining the confidence of those he met. He was kith and kin with every man. Even the 'Blenheim cocker' which barked at the 'acrid quack' fawned at his feet. As he sat by the side of Old Mortality on the gravestones, or walked

the rounds with Edie Ochiltree, or caught from the lips of Elspeths the songs which they crooned to the humming of their wheels, he stored in his tenacious memory those singularities of look, speech, habit, or movement, which give life and individuality to a portrait. When he sat down to write he had not to accumulate materials in a mass of minute incoherent particles for each novel that he produced. His knowledge was not acquired for a purpose; it was rather the atmosphere in which his mind was steeped. Thus, in his earlier and best work, he was neither tempted to overvalue his details nor reluctant to omit any of his information, nor satisfied to leave his scaffolding up after he had finished the building.

Scott is not to be called an eighteenth century novelist, for he combined elements which the novelists of that century kept separate. Poet and artist, realist and idealist, a master of dialogue, a born story-teller, combining matter-of-fact sagacity with poetry and sentiment, blending keen observation of detail with the power of seizing broad effects, he sums up, as it were, much of the progress which two centuries had witnessed in the perfecting of the romance. But he is not a modern novelist. His actors are superficially individualised; he is not an analyst of character; his reflective powers are comparatively weak, while his sympathies and perceptions are abnormally strong. He belongs to a period of transition, to a generation which intellectually had not passed the barriers of the French Revolution.

With the advent of Scott the historical romance, as well as the novel, was firmly established in literature. Their future development lies beyond the scope of the present article. The differences between fiction before and after Miss Austen and Scott are scarcely less marked than those which exist between the peach-coloured coat of Goldsmith and the evening dress of men of the present day. The distinction is made up of many details; but the effect is summed up in the contrast between accretion and growth. Early forms of fiction had shown little constructive skill. Romance writers attempted no plot; rather they piled incident on incident, patched description to description, introduced episode after episode, or strung adventure to adventure like beads upon a thread. But there was room only for accumulation. There was no

analysis of character; heroes or heroines were faultless in virtue or full-blown in vice. Born into the world demons or angels, they could not develope. The fact that they loved or hated was relied upon to interest the reader in the plots and counterplots which assisted or retarded the climax. The internal history of their minds remained a sealed book; external events produced only outward results; conversations consisted of narrative, or rhapsodies on love, or stilted moral reflections. The spirit of more matured works of fiction is growth rather than accretion. The interest still turns upon a struggle, but the sphere of action is transferred from without to within; and the dramatic development of character, not the accumulation of incident, occupies the principal place. Thus the progress of English fiction is marked by the same stages which belong to the growth of a human being. It passes from the childish love of incident to the romantic sentiment and passion of youth; it leaves ideal extravagances for the realities of life, as it gathers the experience and employs the wisdom of active manhood; in the meditative spirit of advancing years, when the fire and passion of youth has died down, it exercises its brain on cold psychological analysis; and, to complete the metaphor, it returns in its dotage to the tastes of its childhood and luxuriates in blood-curdling tales of impossible adventures.

The differences may be put in another way. In its particular course of development the novel illustrates the growing sense of the 'mystery in us which calls itself I.' It is more and more absorbed in

> 'This main miracle that thou art thou,
> With power on thy own act and on the world.'

The exhibition of character has grown to be the highest aim of literature, its distinguishing failure, its greatest triumph. The evidence of this new and absorbing interest lies on every side. It is seen in the method of writing history, biography, poetry, and, above all, in fiction. Early novels contain no picture of the mind, no inner history carried on by means of the development of the action; there is little individuality in persons or in places; there are characteristics, but not characters. But, as the nineteenth century advances, we pass from vice and virtue

personified in human form to the composite beings whom we meet in everyday life. As superficial distractions tend to disappear, as men's minds, like pebbles rolled together, round off by contact their rougher edges, we are forced to distinguish national peculiarities, class idiosyncrasies, professional characteristics, and finally to discriminate between the finer shades of difference which mark off men and women who in all external points resemble one another. It is not that men and women differ less completely than heretofore, but they differ less prominently. We must look below general aspects to find the lines of demarcation which are hidden beneath uniform surfaces.

Nothing perhaps has more contributed to the decay of the drama and the corresponding rise of the novel than the reflective complicated character of modern life, the growing interest in personality, the increased need for subtle discrimination, and the consequent necessity for a freer, more elastic, more penetrating form of composition than a play designed for scenic representation. We are no longer satisfied with the results of an internal struggle; we desire to know the fluctuations of the contest and the composition of the contending forces. Civilisation has grown so complex that dramatists can only give a rough crude sketch; something more complete, more discriminating, is needed, and in the novel the want is supplied. In the same direction has tended the all-embracing influence of science. Methods of scientific study are applied to fiction; human nature is observed, analysed, and classified in the scientific spirit; and the ideal 'Carte du Pays de Tendre' of Scudéry becomes the experimental science of realistic novelists, and studious writers of historical romance.

ROWLAND E. PROTHERO.

Art. III.—THE CHARITY ORGANISATION SOCIETY.

1. *Charity Organisation Reporter*, 1872–1884.
2. *Charity Organisation Review*, 1885–1906.
3. *Annual Reports of the C.O.S.*, 1870–1905.
4. *Occasional Papers of the C.O.S.* Series 1, 2, and 3. Published by the Society at their offices, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W.
5. *Annual Charities Register and Digest; with introduction, 'How to Help Cases of Distress.'* By C. S. Loch. Fifteenth edition. London: Longmans, 1906.
6. *Walker's Original (with Dr Guy's additions and comments)*. Sixth edition. London: Renshaw, 1885.
7. *Social Duties considered with reference to the Organisation of Effort in Works of Benevolence and Public Utility.* By a Man of Business (William Rathbone). London: Macmillan, 1867.
8. *A Brief Record, being selections from Letters and other writings of the late Edward Denison, M.P.* Edited by Baldwyn Leighton. Privately printed, 1871.

And other works.

In the spring of 1905 the Charity Organisation Society left the old house in Buckingham Street, overlooking the York Water-gate, which had been its home for thirty-five years, and moved to Denison House, where the accommodation is less restricted and the tenure more secure. To the older generation of charity organisers, No. 15 Buckingham Street was identified with innumerable memories of old friends and fellow-workers long since passed out of sight, and of all that is signified by many years of strenuous work in one place. To them the move is a reminder that they in their turn must soon give place to others, and render an account of their stewardship. The following article is an attempt to sketch briefly some leading features of the history of the Society from the beginning, in the hope that the record may be a source of interest and encouragement to a new generation of workers, and with the object of giving to a wider public a more comprehensive and better proportioned view of the work and aims of the Society.

The origin of the Society is veiled in some obscurity. Long ago a member of the council spoke of it as being

'as undiscoverable as the sources of the Nile.' For several years after its foundation a Homeric contest raged as to who could claim to be its founder. These disputes have long since been obliterated by the dust of time. All that is remembered now is that every one of the disputants played his part as pioneer, and has earned the gratitude of his successors. The foundation of the Society was, in truth, due to many causes and many men, and was a matter rather of evolution than of design.

It is certain that the Society first began to work under its present name early in 1869, and that it sprang immediately, and more than half equipped, out of the London Society for the Prevention of Pauperism and Crime—a society of which Dr Hawksley was the chief promoter, and which numbered amongst its principal supporters Mr Ruskin and Captain (afterwards Admiral) Maxse. In that year the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism and Crime altered its name, and to some extent its scope, at the instance of Lord Lichfield, who contributed more than any other man to the establishment of the C.O.S. upon its present basis. He was its first chairman. He guaranteed the expenses of the central offices for the first year, and had to pay them. He specially engaged Mr Ribton Turner as the first organising secretary of the Society. He started the first district committee—that in Marylebone. It was through him that a considerable number of influential men were early drawn into the movement. We find in the second year of its existence that, at a meeting held at the house of Lord Ebury, an income of 1500*l.* a year was temporarily guaranteed to it, pending the receipt of sufficient subscriptions from the public to enable it to carry on its work.

We have said that many causes, as well as many men, contributed to the formation of the Society; and the economic conditions prevailing at the time were undoubtedly a leading factor in the matter. The history of poor-relief has always been one of ebb and flow, of action and reaction. Cold fits succeed hot fits, and the poor are by turns petted and repressed. The nineteenth century was no exception to this rule. In 1834 came the first great reaction against free and easy poor-relief, and a new poor-law. An enormous reduction of pauperism

followed. By the early sixties the lessons of 1834 had been, to a great extent, forgotten, and the pendulum had begun to swing in the old direction. There was a violent recrudescence of pauperism. Certain boards of guardians in East London were sitting under police protection, besieged by threatening crowds of paupers, and the rates were going up by leaps and bounds. Every one was agreed that immediate action was necessary. In 1869 Mr Goschen issued his circular defining the limits of public relief—the last of its kind to come from the Local Government Board. About the same time some of the best men of the day turned their attention to the subject. Mr Fawcett published his papers upon pauperism; Mr Fowle undertook his book upon the poor-law. In 1868–9 Edward Denison, nephew of the Speaker, and a member of a family long distinguished in the public service, who had gained his first experience as an almoner of the Society for the Relief of Distress, became a pioneer 'settler' in East London, and recorded his experiences and conclusions as to the causes of poverty. His observations attracted general attention. Mr Denison founded a new school of charitable thought and endeavour, of which the C.O.S. was but the outward expression.

The Society had from the beginning to break entirely new ground. It had to formulate a policy which was at first largely experimental. It had to invent a machinery to carry that policy into effect. It met with many rebuffs from outside; it was at times far from unanimous internally; and its policy was welded by much hard hitting both from without and from within. The first definite declaration of its policy is set out in a memorandum drawn up by Mr Bosanquet, the secretary of the Society, in 1874; and the main points in it are precisely those for which the Society is still contending. The one and only object of the Society being 'the improvement of the condition of the poor,' that object is to be forwarded by reform in the administration of relief, both public and private. The Society is to bring about co-operation between existing charitable agencies and between charitable agencies and the poor-law, upon the basis that it is the duty of the poor-law to relieve destitution, that of charity to be preventive and remedial. The council are to perfect their own organisation through their district com-

mittees, the duties of these committees being to organise charity in their several districts, and to accept a limited responsibility for relief 'in the last resort.' The duties of the council towards the public are defined as being, first, to 'review all existing charities, and to furnish information to the public, in order to direct benevolence aright; secondly, to enquire and report as to begging appeals by individuals.' Amongst the work already undertaken are enumerated special committees and reports upon night refuges, soup-kitchens, crèches, voting charities, provident dispensaries, 'with a view to relieve medical charities.' The 'Charity Organisation Reporter' was established as the organ of the Society in 1872.

The early vigour of the Society is remarkable. Within eighteen months of its birth district committees had been established in every part of London—a fact sufficiently noteworthy when it is remembered that, only a few months earlier, the rent and expenses of the central office had been defrayed by the chairman. But the mere formulation of regulations for a Society which, being in its essence critical, is itself obliged to maintain a specially high standard of efficiency, is no mean task; and the fact, that the system was organised in so short a time upon a basis which has stood the test of thirty-five years, is a high testimony to the zeal and capacity of the executive.

But the Society did not confine itself to the details of its own organisation, arduous as these must have been. From the first it plunged into that preventive work upon which its founders had laid such stress. It is often alleged against the Society nowadays that it has been purely obstructive and negative in regard to proposals for social legislation. A very slight knowledge of its history is sufficient to repel such a charge. It is probable that no other society has set so strong a mark upon constructive legislation. It has always taken a foremost part in promoting legislation which it has believed to be consistent with its main object, namely, the preservation of the independence of the industrial classes. It has worked to this end mainly through a system of special committees appointed to enquire into various social questions—committees which it has endeavoured to make representative of all shades of expert opinion with a view to exhaustive discussion and the discovery of the truth. A short enu-

meration of these committees will outline to some extent the organising activities of the council of the Society from its earliest years.

The first was the vagrancy committee of 1871, consisting of eighty-one members, of whom eleven were peers, forty members of Parliament, the rest experts from all parts. The committee sat for more than a year, and finally reported early in 1873. The gist of the report was a plea for greater uniformity of treatment, and a suggestion that industrial homes, with powers of detention, should be provided for certain classes of vagrants. The report remains a standard authority upon the question of vagrancy; and at the end of thirty years it seems likely that some of its recommendations may bear fruit.

The next great subject taken up, almost simultaneously, was that of the housing of the working classes. In 1873 a special dwellings committee was appointed, with a membership of about sixty, comprising the best-known experts upon that subject, such as medical officers of health, managers of industrial dwellings, representative working-men, and many others. Lord Napier and Ettrick was the chairman; and the Marquis of Westminster, Lord Shaftesbury, Sir U. Kay-Shuttleworth, and Miss Octavia Hill were prominent members. This committee collected a vast amount of information, and reported at the end of 1873. The subject was pressed upon the notice of the Home Secretary, Mr Cross, by a deputation in the same year; and Sir U. Kay-Shuttleworth moved a resolution upon the subject in the House of Commons. In 1875 the Act known as 'Cross' Act' was passed; and the principal recommendations of the committee were embodied in that measure.

In 1874 a special committee upon the industrial training and welfare of the blind was appointed. Representatives from fourteen blind charities joined the committee—amongst them the late Dr Armitage. The committee sat for about two years, and reported in January 1876. The work of the committee, and its report, paved the way to some important reforms in charities for the blind, notably the extension of facilities for industrial training.

In 1876 a special committee to consider the treatment of idiots and imbeciles was formed. The committee was

'representative of county administration, professional experience, and charity organisation.' The chairman of the Metropolitan Asylums Board was a regular attendant. The enquiry was eventually extended to Ireland. The committee sat for about a year, and reported in 1877. The substance of its report was that separate provision should be made for idiots and imbeciles who had till then been herded with lunatics and other insane. On May 10, 1877, a deputation, headed by Sir Charles Trevelyan, who had been the chief mover in the matter, brought the subject to the notice of the President of the Local Government Board; and shortly afterwards there was legislation in the direction desired.

In 1877 a special committee reported upon the employment of Italian children who were imported by 'padroni' for begging and immoral purposes, being leased from their parents in Italy upon agreements for two years. The evidence showed that these children were 'imported, sold, stolen, transferred from one master to another . . . that there were actually depôts of them in London and many provincial towns.' A deputation to the Home Secretary urged immediate and stringent action by the police; and begging Italian children have now disappeared from our streets.

Meanwhile the Society was dealing with a variety of other matters, through its own standing committees and subcommittees, by public meetings and conferences. From the first it applied itself especially to the great question of the better administration of the poor-law. Many of its members became guardians in various places, and endeavoured by precept and example to fight against lax administration and to bring about co-operation between charity and the poor-law, upon the basis of Mr Goschen's circular of 1869. The effects of their work are still manifest in several London unions. The ventilation of the question led, amongst other things, to the institution of poor-law conferences, which are now held in all parts of the country—conferences which were in the main planned, organised, and maintained by leading members of the Society. The 'case-paper' system recently adopted in several unions was initiated by it.

The great question of the organisation of medical relief was attacked in very early years; and a Hospital

Out-patient Reform Association, which ultimately developed into the Provident Medical Association, was organised and set in motion. The question of the reform of voting charities was hotly pressed, and culminated in the formation of the Charity Voting Reform Association. Conferences were held, and reports presented, upon the work of soup-kitchens, shelters, and crèches. The Society itself was engaged in prosecuting fraudulent charities —a practice since discontinued, as being rather a matter for the police. It was soon discovered that many of the worst offenders escaped owing to legal technicalities; and the experience of the Society in this matter led it to draft a Bill, which was introduced by Lord Shaftesbury in the House of Lords, for the 'Prevention of Frauds upon Charitable People.' The Bill was rejected; but the question remains as pressing as ever.

The migration and emigration of labour, the personal visitation of the poor, and other questions which are still constantly before the council, were being discussed in the early seventies. It is interesting to note, in view of recent developments, that a proposal for a 'scientific house, in which the Charity Organisation Society would take offices, was discussed by the council in 1873. But a full enumeration of all its activities, even in those days, would far exceed the limits of the present article.

We may now pause to enquire what effect this work was having upon social conditions. At the annual meeting in 1873, Lord Shaftesbury, in moving the adoption of the report, referred to the operations of the Society as 'very bold, grasping as they did some of the greatest questions of the day . . . and the greatest question of all, the domiciliary condition of the working classes.' In 1878 the chairman, Lord Aberdare, summarised the work of the Society up to that time as follows. He referred to its action in establishing provident dispensaries and also in regard to charity-voting reform, and to its general influence in 'discouraging a dependent spirit in the industrial classes.' He pointed out that its propaganda in questions of poor-law administration had in nine years led to the reduction of outdoor pauperism in the metropolis from 160,000 to 44,000. Much of the work, he continued, had marked important features in legislation; and the Society had shown itself to be 'the eye of

the Legislature.' He referred especially to the recently passed Artisans' Dwellings Acts, in regard to which the Home Secretary had acknowledged his indebtedness to the Society. At the same meeting Lord O'Hagan, speaking for Ireland, said that his attention had first been called to the subject of the treatment of idiots and imbeciles in that country by the report of the special committee of the Society. 'In Ireland a whole class of people had hitherto been utterly neglected. . . . Now, by the action of the Society, these conditions were things of the past.'

In 1878 the Reserves were called out; and the question arose as to the maintenance of the wives and children whilst the men were with the colours. The crisis was a short one; but the Society then pointed out that in its opinion the chief responsibility rested with the Government. In the same year Mr George Howell was appointed an additional member of the council; and in connexion with this it may be stated that the Society had from the first endeavoured to enlist the sympathies of the representatives of labour in the work of charity organisation. Mr Alsager Hay Hill, always an earnest advocate of closer co-operation with working men, took a leading part in this work. In 1872 he established and maintained a small paper—'The Labour News'—somewhat upon the lines of the present 'Labour Gazette' of the Board of Trade, his object being to promote mobility of labour and better communication between employer and employed. Attempts to enlist the sympathies of representatives of labour have not met with the success which was at one time hoped for; but the Society still ventures to believe that a day will come when the best representatives of labour will recognise that there is no truer friend of labour than the Charity Organisation Society. In the same year Canon Blackley's scheme for compulsory national insurance—the forerunner of the multifarious subsequent schemes for old-age pensions—was examined and adversely criticised by the council.

In the winter of 1879 distress was apprehended in London; and the utility of the district committees of the Society in collecting trustworthy information beforehand, and preventing panic, was first demonstrated. For many years past the Society has acted as the 'eye of the Legislature' in that connexion.

From 1875 onwards the Society was engaged for about eight years in administering, through its district committees, a large sum of money, placed at its disposal by Mr Francis Peek, 'for the relief of School-board cases,' or, in other words, of necessitous children attending public elementary schools. Some thousands of cases were dealt with; the experience gained was very large, and is of special value in view of the revival of the question of underfed children at the present moment. That experience confirmed the Society in its belief that to deal with the child without regard to its parents is the surest way eventually to increase the evil. The form of assistance commonly asked for by the teachers was that of boots for the children; and some of the district committees, whose economic virtue was not proof against the possession of considerable sums of money for relief, gave boots upon a large scale, with little enquiry or regard to family conditions. It was soon conclusively proved that many parents kept their children back from school in order to establish a claim for boots, and that the provision of boots for the child often only meant the expenditure of so much more money in drink by the parents.

In 1880 the Association for Promoting Trained Nursing in Workhouse Infirmaries was started by Miss Louisa Twining and others, and strongly supported by the Society. In the same year a special committee was formed to deal with convalescent homes. The Society took a large part in advising as to the administration of Mr Gardner's bequest for the blind. Undeterred by failure in earlier years, it organised a deputation to the Home Secretary with regard to fraudulent charities. The Provident Medical Association was started as a separate society. In 1881, the 'Charities Register and Digest,' a work involving enormous labour, was first compiled, with a preface by Mr Loch; this is, in fact, a manual covering the whole field of charitable work. It is now revised and issued annually.

In 1885 and 1886 there was a set-back in trade, and a succession of hard winters; and the Society was engaged chiefly in considering the question of how to deal with exceptional distress. Information was collected, as usual, through the district committees; and a special committee was appointed to consider the question. That committee

issued a report with suggestions, which have since been the basis of the Society's policy in dealing with distress due to want of employment. In 1886 the fund known as the Mansion House Fund was originated at the Mansion House. The Society protested against it from the first, and dissociated itself from all responsibility. The result of that fund is now a matter of history. When it had once become inevitable, however, the Society did not stand aside, but endeavoured, by advising decentralisation and thorough enquiry, to minimise the evil. It cannot be said that its advice had much effect.

The year 1886 marks also the launch of another independent society from 15 Buckingham Street. For some time past Mr Allen Graham had been organising the visiting, through district committees of the Society, of sick and crippled children at their homes after leaving hospitals. By 1886 the work had attained such proportions that it required an independent organisation; and the Invalid Children's Aid Association started its career. In 1887 and 1888 we find the subject of farm colonies under discussion by the council. Elaborate reports upon foreign labour colonies were presented by Mr Willink, a member of the Society. About the same time the Society memorialised the House of Lords upon the subject of poor-law and charity in a paper drawn up by Mr Mackay.

In 1889 a special meeting, with Lord Hobhouse in the chair, was held to consider the Local Government Act of the previous year, with special regard to its probable effect upon questions coming within the scope of the Society. From that time forward special meetings of the council have become an increasingly important feature of the propagandist and educational work of the Society, and have obtained an established position and large and regular audiences. In the same year the Society again attacked the question of the better organisation of medical relief by a petition to the House of Lords, which led to the appointment of a select committee upon the subject.

About the same time a special committee drew up a report upon the 'Audit of Charitable Institutions' (for which Messrs Van de Linde, the well-known accountants, were largely responsible), and circulated it to all leading charities. Special committees also considered the question of shelters and the houseless poor, and that of better

provision for the feeble-minded and epileptic. The report of the latter committee led to the formation of the National Association for the Care of the Feeble-minded, and to the institution of farm colonies for the epileptic at Chalfont St Giles and elsewhere. But the Society urged at the same time, and still continues to urge, that better provision should be made by the State for those unfortunate classes of the community who are neither sane nor insane, neither physically fit nor yet entirely physically unfit. The special committee upon shelters and the houseless poor, reported in 1891; and an attempt was made to form a council representative of the various existing charities of that description. The attempt was unsuccessful.

In 1891 Mr Booth of the Salvation Army put forward his scheme, the details of which were set out in 'Darkest England, and the Way Out.' The Society was of course asked for its opinion concerning it. It carefully examined the scheme, and reported that it dissented for many reasons. In the first place all experience had gone to show that large centralised and widely-advertised schemes such as that of Mr Booth are predestined to failure as a cure for poverty. Then again there was already a large provision, both civic and philanthropic, for the very classes of poor with whom Mr Booth proposed to deal; and the creation of a vast new machinery, without regard to that already existing, was the surest way of increasing the numbers of the classes in question. The real remedy was to be found rather in the 'concentration and organisation of existing charitable forces.' Mr Booth's scheme has now been in operation for over fifteen years. Vast sums of money have been spent; but it has not brought us nearer 'the way out' of darkest England.

In 1891 the Society appointed its provincial sub-committee as a standing committee, with the object of extending and bringing into line charity organisation work in the provinces. This branch of its work has from the first been regarded as of the utmost importance. Charity organisation societies had been started in Scotland and some important towns in England almost as soon as in London. Quite early, too, the scheme crossed the Atlantic and has thriven in America. A little later we find it in Melbourne and other important Australian

towns. In the United Kingdom most towns of any size or importance have a Charity Organisation Society, or its equivalent, in correspondence with the central Society; and there are now some one hundred of these societies in correspondence with the provincial subcommittee.

Naturally many of these societies, though bearing the same name, differ widely in their methods, and even in their interpretation of principles. The provincial subcommittee is endeavouring, by annual conferences, by correspondence, by interchange of workers, to bring them into line with one another. It also helps with advice as to the formation of new societies, and distributes a large amount of literature. All these societies have the common object of improving the administration of relief, and of promoting wise methods of helping the poor. They are gradually building up a body of opinion upon the subject which cannot fail to be for the benefit of the country. On the Continent the growth of charity organisation has been slower; but of late years the subject has been repeatedly discussed at international congresses, and many foreign visitors have come to study English methods.

In 1894 the Parish Council Bill was introduced, in the last days of a Liberal Government. The Society strongly urged the omission of the poor-law clauses from the Bill; and an amendment to that effect dealing with London was introduced in the House of Lords. The Government, however, refused to accept the amendment; and at the end of ten years we find a recrudescence of pauperism in London rivalling that of the sixties. It is noteworthy that the then President of the Local Government Board stated in reply to those who viewed the change in the law with alarm that he relied upon the central control to prevent lax administration. At the end of ten years we see in places like Poplar and West Ham what that central control is worth. When the Act was passed the Society published an 'Address to Electors,' pointing out the danger it anticipated; but that address could do little to arrest the forces set in motion.

In the early nineties there were several hard winters. The question of exceptional distress was once more constantly before the Society; and the report of the special committee which had dealt with the subject some ten years before was again revised and circulated. That

report deprecated the formation of central funds, and advocated the strengthening of existing charities, and the dealing with distress from want of employment case by case rather than in masses.

The Society had, as already stated, set itself from the first to promote the organisation of medical charity, and especially that of the out-patient departments at the hospitals. In 1894, more than twenty years after it put its hand to the work, the first step forwards was taken by the Royal Free Hospital, which appointed an almoner for its out-patient department in conjunction with the Society, the Society bearing, at first, half the cost. The duty of the almoner was to make enquiry as to the circumstances of the applicant for free medical relief, and also to deal with the numerous cases in which something more than medical relief was required. Since then several of the larger hospitals have followed suit; and a real advance has been made in the direction desired by the Society. Again, the Society has advocated for many years the formation of a central hospital board. The good work already done by the committee of King Edward's Hospital Fund is sufficient proof that such a body can materially improve the administration of hospital relief.

The Society has always regarded the promotion of thrift as a most important part of its work. In the earlier numbers of the 'Reporter' we find frequent advertisements of the Provident Knowledge Society, of which Mr (now Sir) G. C. T. Bartley was the founder and organiser; and the subject of thrift was constantly before the council. In 1891 a special committee upon insurance and saving published a useful handbook. In 1898 a special committee was formed to promote the foundation of collecting savings-banks. It was argued that, if such commercial societies as the Prudential and others could, through paid agents, collect enormous sums from the working classes, a large proportion of which went to the benefit of shareholders and the payment of collectors, it might be possible, by the employment of voluntary collectors, to retain these profits and disbursements for the benefit of the working classes themselves. At the present moment there are a large number of these collecting savings-banks in operation.

The Society has always attached especial importance to the Friendly Society movement as a method of industrial insurance which is congenial to working-men themselves, and one through which they may hope to work out their own independence. The district committees have therefore all along been doing everything in their power to support the Friendly Societies in their respective districts. Many members of these committees have joined Friendly Societies themselves in order to work with them from within. Thrift subcommittees in many parts of London are trying to promote the movement amongst boys leaving elementary schools. Every effort has been made to enlist the sympathy of school teachers and managers, with very encouraging results. In some cases juvenile Friendly Societies have been formed in connexion with Board-schools. The whole work is now gradually being co-ordinated by the central thrift committee.

Another branch of work which has been taken up in connexion with this is that of endeavouring to get children leaving school into skilled employment, instead of leaving them to become office boys, van boys, errand boys, and the like. Experience shows that distress from want of employment is chiefly acute amongst those who have no 'trade in their hands'; and it is believed that much might be done by social workers to remedy this. Several district committees are now endeavouring to organise work of this kind, and especially the revival of apprenticeship, in their localities. The effort has met with a very cordial reception from school teachers.

Reference has already been made to the experience gained by the Society in the methods of assisting school children in connexion with Mr Peek's gift, which was discontinued in 1884. Later the pressure for free meals for school children became acute; and in 1891 the Society resolved to institute experiments in selected poor schools with a view to ascertaining (1) the extent of the need, (2) the best means of dealing with it. Accordingly two or three schools were picked out for their poverty; and careful enquiries were made in all cases in which children were alleged to come to school insufficiently fed. The result of the enquiry went to show that the number of cases in which want of food was the real cause of the unsatisfactory condition of the child was extremely small,

and that the cause of the evil was much more deeply seated. More recent experiments have over and over again confirmed that conclusion. It has appeared plain that, so far as the question is one of food, it can be sufficiently met by voluntary means.

Towards the end of the last century the agitation for old-age pensions grew in strength; and from 1899 onwards there were numerous Bills concerning them before Parliament. The Society, according to its practice, called together a special committee of leading actuaries, members of Friendly Societies, poor-law administrators, and other experts, whose duty it was to review the Bills before Parliament, and to report. That committee published a series of papers upon the subject which it circulated to all members of Parliament and many besides; and it eventually issued these papers in a small volume. There can be no doubt that the action of the Society was instrumental in preventing hasty legislation. Later the Society strongly opposed the 'Outdoor Relief (Friendly Societies) Bill,' which it regarded as a blow struck at the independence of the best class of working-man. The Society was unsuccessful in its opposition; but it seems likely that the Act in question will remain a dead letter.

The sudden outbreak of the war in South Africa found the military charities unprepared to bear the strain of the administration of the large sums subscribed by the public for the assistance of the wives and families of the men who went to the front. The Society at once offered the services of its organisation; and its offer was accepted. The brunt of the work fell for some time chiefly upon the district committees of the Society in many parts of London; and a large proportion of the work continued to be done by members of the Society down to the end of the war. Without such aid there might have been a serious breakdown. The Society also took a large part in assisting men discharged after the war.

An important recent development of the work of the Society has been the formation of the City council for the organisation of charity in the City, of which the present Lord Lichfield is vice-chairman, and which has already had marked effects in improving the administration of several City charities. Among the recent phases of the organising work of the district committees may be

mentioned the formation of Public Health Societies in Hampstead and Westminster, and of social workers' associations in Finsbury, Stepney, and elsewhere. These, though independent organisations, owe their origin to various members of the Society, and are intended to bring about better co-operation between social workers in the various areas.

It only remains to recall the names of some of those who have taken a leading part in the building up of the Society. Lord Lichfield and Sir Charles Trevelyan have already been mentioned as towers of strength in the earlier years. But in reading the old records we find the names of many others scarcely less prominent. Mr Charles Bosanquet, for example, and Mr Ribton Turner played the chief part in the internal organisation of the Society. Mr Alsager Hay Hill worked for it till his health broke down. In 1875 the Society had the singular good fortune to secure the services of Mr C. S. Loch as its secretary. So great has been the effect of his personality upon every branch of its work that it is difficult to think of one without the other. It would be impossible to exaggerate the debt of gratitude which his genius, courage, and patience have imposed upon the Society as well as upon the public, although it has not yet received general recognition. Mr Loch came to the Society fresh from Balliol, and brought with him some men of his own time, notably Mr Arthur Dunn Gardner and Mr T. Gage Gardiner, who became the nucleus of a second generation of active charity organisers. Both these passed away in the prime of life; and probably few, even within the Society itself, are aware how much it owes them.

For many years past it has been becoming more and more clear that the work of the Society will never make any progress proportionate to the labour bestowed upon it unless it can create a definite public opinion upon the subjects with which it deals. For that reason increasing attention has been paid of late years to what may be called its educational work. For the last thirty-five years the district committees have been centres for the study of practical sociology for all who care to avail themselves of the opportunity. But it has been gradually perceived

that more than this is necessary, and that a definite attempt must be made to attract students to an organised system of study. It is to this end that, some four years ago, the lecture system of the Society was reorganised under a new name as the 'School of Sociology,' with a director of studies and a regular curriculum. The school is experimental and as yet in its infancy, but it has already attracted numerous students. Its specific feature, differentiating it from other educational bodies, is that it combines social economic study with demonstration in practical work upon district committees. It is believed that the training of social workers is one of the most pressing questions of the day.

It is perhaps hardly enough known that the Society has at its disposal a mass of information of a kind which is quite unique. Each of its forty district committees in London possesses carefully preserved records of from 5000 to 15,000 cases of distress which they have dealt with during thirty and more years. The evidence upon these cases is the testimony of almoners visiting the poor in their homes, and having personal knowledge of the life of the district. The facts relative to the cases have, so far as possible, been verified, and the results of the attempts to assist them carefully watched and recorded. The knowledge gained in this way is continuous, and is passed from one generation of workers to another; and the knowledge of one committee is the common property of the whole Society. The council have from the beginning been gathering and sifting, studying and placing on record, the sum of their experience.

The difficulties which the Society has met with in its educational work are mainly two. The first is that of inducing the public to consider the matter seriously at all, or to believe there is anything in it which cannot be settled by rule of thumb. The second is that there are many people, whose opinion is entitled to all respect, who refuse to accept its teaching, and especially that with regard to the limitation of action by the State. That is, of course, a perfectly fair position, and one which the Society must face. It lays no claim to infallibility. There is this to be said, however, that most of those who dissent from it upon these grounds do not say that its judgments are wrong, but only that they are not final

or eternal; of course the Society has never made any such claim. The real gravamen of the charge is that it has opposed State pensions, and State provision of work for the unemployed. Again, the great majority of the objectors upon these grounds have never been through the routine work of the Society, and have never watched the effect of State action upon individual cases over a lengthened period. Yet it is only personal work of this kind which supplies the experience and knowledge requisite for forming an opinion.

Last year the Society vigorously but ineffectually opposed the 'Unemployed Workmen Act,' which it believes to be the surrender of a vital principle in the reformed poor-law, and a recognition by the State that it is its duty to find work for the unemployed. It has been repeatedly denied that this is the intention of the Act, and the Act has been defended upon the ground that it is 'only a little one'; but it must be remembered that in poor-law administration a door which is partly opened is soon forced open to its widest extent, and that the Act has partly opened a door which had been closed for more than seventy years. No one is better aware than the Society of the evils of distress from want of employment, which it has been dealing with, off and on, for more than a generation. It does not believe, however, that the remedy is to be found in legislation of this kind, but rather in the expansion of trade, unhampered by the enormous burden of rates, in the greater industrial efficiency and personal responsibility of the individual workman, and in the better organisation of unskilled labour.

In view of the fact—universally admitted—that the crux of the unemployed problem is to be found in the mass of unskilled and casual labour, the Society attaches the greatest importance to this last question. As a contribution towards its solution it has recently appointed a special committee, with a wide reference, to enquire into the conditions of the engagement of unskilled labour. It is a well-known fact that the London Dock companies have, by the reorganisation of their system in 1892, very largely 'decasualised' their labour; and that the result has been satisfactory both to employers and employed. There would appear to be no reason why labour should not be similarly 'decasualised' in other industries.

The enquiry work of the Society—the 'review of charities' and investigation of begging appeals—described as part of its programme in 1874, is perhaps better known to the public than any of its other activities, and is widely utilised by many of those who are most exposed to begging appeals. Still it is remarkable how large a proportion of those who give money to strangers still refuse to avail themselves of its services. No one now need give without enquiry on the ground that there are no means of enquiry; yet many continue to do so. There are even those who give to people whom they know to be impostors. They fail to see that gifts of this kind are a poison to the recipient, body and soul; and that they are *pro tanto* subtracted from the help of cases in which monetary relief can be of real use.

We have now briefly described some of the most important work of the Society, but it is impossible to give here any adequate conception of its extent. Most of it is unseen, much is unknown. Nothing has been said of some 1100 almoners and others who are working upon its behalf in all parts of London, endeavouring by precept and example to raise the standard of charitable work. Yet it is upon their action that the foundations of the Society are laid. Though it makes no claim to be a relief society, and has, in fact, always protested against the suggestion that its claims to public support are based upon such a contention, yet, in fact, it raises and administers from 30,000*l.* to 40,000*l.* a year in relief, the labour of raising which is of itself enormous. It is still more difficult to gauge the effect that it has had upon public opinion. Yet there are signs of this on all sides. Even the fraudulent charity-monger now baits his hook with charity organisation phrases.

No one is better aware than charity organisers themselves that, though something has been done, it is as nothing in comparison with what remains to be done. They are fully conscious that they have failed in much, and that there is yet much which they have not even attempted. They are aware that the Society is widely disliked, and that its unpopularity interferes with its powers of usefulness. There is nothing new in this. Lord Shaftesbury, who took the chair at the annual

meeting in 1875, said that he had received numerous letters of protest, amongst them one telling him 'that all his past fame had gone to the dogs, and that he had become a shrivelled specimen of bygone benevolence.' Later another chairman of an annual meeting read a number of similar letters. In 1884 a determined attempt was made to break up the annual meeting by means of forged admission cards. Eminent clergy were preaching violent sermons against the Society so far back as 1886. It may safely be said that, with few exceptions, it has had no friends in the press. Public men of all parties and professions have, especially of late years, treated it with marked coolness. And yet it has been, and is, constantly consulted by various public departments, and still remains in many respects 'the eye of the Legislature.' Its assistance has been found to be essential in every public enquiry with regard to questions affecting the poor. Newspapers consult it with regard to the publication of charitable appeals, and are not backward in asking for interviews for the purpose of copy. In fact, the general position with regard to the Society is that it is widely abused and still more widely used.

Charity organisers like unpopularity no more than other people; and they perhaps feel that, as they are undertaking extremely difficult work, the need for which is acknowledged by every one, and as they are the only people who are even attempting it, they are entitled to more generous treatment. Possibly, however, there is no help for it. The Society is bound to criticise if it does its duty; and critics are never much loved. As the adviser of the charitable public, it considers it its duty to demand a high standard in charitable work. But this brings it into constant collision with all sorts and conditions of people, many of them personally admirable, but inclined to turn a blind eye to defects in the charities with which they are themselves associated, defects which it would be inconvenient to remedy. Again, its necessary advocacy of economic principles is distasteful to a large section of the charitable public. Speaking generally, it is doubtful whether the Society can ever be popular in the ordinary meaning of the word. But a large amount of the dislike with which it is regarded is due to misunderstanding; and that, at least, it hopes some day to

remove. Yet in spite of apparent failure, open rebuffs, misrepresentation, disregard, charity organisers believe that they can see signs that their work is making headway, even in an age when all the omens are against it.

The Society is constantly denounced as being 'negative.' One who has watched its work from outside has summarised its positive objects as follows:—

'To endeavour by every means, by personal action, by instruction and advice, by political action, and by protection from fraud, to improve the position and raise the standard of living amongst the poor, and to preserve their independence. To teach the benevolent by practical example that charity, to be useful, must be painstaking, self-denying, self-effacing, and scientific. To teach the poor to refuse all charity which saps, or tends to sap, their self-respect, and to make it clear that poverty is absolutely distinct from pauperism . . . To stimulate charity, and to direct it towards the helpable, and to prevent it from waste and abuse.'

It has been said of the Society that it 'holds a brief for the independence of the poor'; and most of its activities may be gauged by that test. For the bulk of the population it claims nothing less, and will be satisfied with none of the make-believes which have been put forward of late years, because it believes that real independence for the mass of the people is a condition by which a nation must stand or fall. At the same time it recognises to the full that in every community there must be a measure of dependence which is inevitable; and it welcomes the fact that there is everywhere a desire on the part of the strong to help the weak. For dependence of that sort it claims the whole force of a charity which is none the less Christian because it is guided by thought and intelligence.

In its early days the Society was described as a 'volunteer service equal in work and usefulness to a Government Department.' Thirty-five years have gone by, and it can say that it has conscientiously endeavoured to maintain that standard. But of late years there has been a change in public opinion which has been adverse to its growth and development. It has fallen to some extent under a ban because it has been unable to accept the modern doctrines of State socialism; and at the

present moment it has great need of new workers and fresh blood. A few years ago most young men who came up from the universities to social work in London joined Charity Organisation committees almost as a matter of course in order to learn their work. Now it would be hardly unfair to say that they come up from Oxford or Cambridge with their minds made up upon social questions, and that they consider the teaching of the Society as antiquated and obsolete. This may be right or it may be wrong, but it seriously affects the position of the Society. Again, as it has been tersely put, there has been of late years 'a slump in philanthropy'—not perhaps in the philanthropy which gives money, but in the philanthropy preached by Denison and his contemporaries, which gives time and personal effort. The late Duke of Westminster, a constant friend, and at one time an active worker for the Society, spoke many years ago at a meeting over which he presided of the 'noble work done for the Society by the young officers of the Guards.' There are no young officers of the Guards now working for the Society. Others, again, drifted into the Society because they had spare time on their hands, but eventually became keenly interested and valuable workers. Now all that has changed. Golf and other amusements monopolise the time of men who have leisure; and the Society sees them no more. Meanwhile the need for charity organisation work is greater than it has ever been before. If any one who reads this summary considers that the work is worth doing, he will find plenty of scope for his energies, and will at the same time acquire a fresh interest in life.

Art. IV.—RUSKIN AND THE GOTHIC REVIVAL.

1. *The Beginnings of the English Romantic Movement.* By W. J. Phelps. Boston, U.S.A.: Ginn, 1899.
2. *Modern Painters; The Stones of Venice; The Seven Lamps of Architecture,* and other works. By John Ruskin.

It is common to date the birth of the Gothic revival from the building of Horace Walpole's famous temple of bric-à-brac at Strawberry Hill in 1750. Certainly, in that case, no new-born child ever presented in its puckered features a more grotesque travesty of the future countenance of the 'man' it was to father. That cockney palace, substantial as a stage-castle, and harmonious as a thriving furniture-shop, can hardly be denied to have shown the way towards all that England has since achieved in Gothic; but its light was derived from sources very unlike the 'seven lamps' of Ruskin's Gothic shrine, every one of which would have instantly gone out in its atmosphere of cheap dilettantism and facile vagary. Horace Walpole was, in fact, one of those happy persons whose whims, or 'sports,' become the starting-point of new species; persons upon whom Darwin has conferred an unforeseen importance. His action was casual enough; but the social and psychological conditions of the time tended on the whole to ensure the continued existence of the Gothic species, when once the Horatian vagary had given it the start.

England, in 1750, still recognised the authority, in arts and letters, of that Roman Renascence upon which Ruskin was to pronounce so stern an anathema. But that authority was, nevertheless, being steadily sapped. At countless points the limitations of the Roman or 'Augustan' ideal were becoming apparent. No one could yet have produced, but many would have echoed, those incisive formulas in which the author of 'Stones of Venice' denounced its 'despotic intellectuality,' its 'metropolitan exclusiveness,' its 'pride of science' and 'pride of state.'* Some, remembering how 'reason' appears to be for Pope the cardinal test of poetry, would already have comprehended that other peremptory Ruskinian utterance, which declared the 'grand mistake' of the Augustans to lie in supposing 'that science and art were the same things,

* 'Stones of Venice,' iii, 35.

and that to advance in the one was necessarily to perfect the other'; they would have averred, as decisively as he, that the Renascence, in art and letters alike, had no response for the needs of the unlearned, of simple folks, of the child, the mystic, the poet.

St Francis would have felt alien in St Peter's, George Fox hardly less so in St Paul's; and to William Morris, a spiritual kinsman, despite obvious differences, of both, the great mother-church of Christendom appeared the very type of pride and tyranny, of all that crushes out the love of art in simple people, and makes art a toy of little estimation for the idle hours of the rich and cultivated. To have no shelter for such spirits is a flaw which no magnificence can quite efface. A reception hardly more hospitable would have awaited them, or their like, in that other Renascence palace of brilliantly polished marble, the poetry of Pope. He would have pursued them with cracklings of arid laughter through the interminable gallery of the 'Dunciad.' Distance lends its tender enchantment to books less readily than it does to buildings. St Paul's seen against a stormy sunset, St Peter's rising pale and visionary beyond the purple Campagna against the spectral Alban hills, lose their despotic air, and blend harmoniously with the hushed tumult of the city, the perennial quiet of the plain. But even the passage of two centuries has hardly touched the verse of Pope with any other or more mysterious enchantment than that which it derives from the miracles of expression continually wrought in it with the materials of common-sense.

An open revolt, like that of Horace Walpole, against the despotism of the classical manner, thus naturally found support in a whole congeries of vague sentiments and emotions, whose aid was none the less effective that their precise connexion with the use of pinnacles and pointed arches was by no means clear. At the same time, the intellectual and moral forces which ultimately made for Gothic were far from being all present, even in the germ, in the middle of the English eighteenth century. Nothing like Gothic principle was as yet even approximately formulated. But two distinct kinds of sensibility were already widely diffused which helped to create the disposition to which Gothic appeals—the taste for the unde-

fined and the taste for the irregular; or, in terms which have more application to art, the feeling for the mysterious and the feeling for the picturesque. Milton, who is in so many ways the great master and well-head of the English romantic movement, sounded both notes in the 'Il Penseroso' and 'L'Allegro.' Ardent classic as he was, he first expressed the peculiarly Gothic charm of

> 'The high embowed roof
> With antick pillars massy-proof,
> And storied windows richly dight,
> Casting a dim religious light.'

The sense of mystery here appears as an attribute, almost as a prerogative, of the melancholy man; and nothing in Milton was so contagious, among his early eighteenth century admirers, as his melancholy. A cult of sadness set in, less robust and ingenious than the Elizabethan melancholy of Jaques, less profound than the melancholy of Hamlet, less learned and anatomical than the melancholy of Burton, but capable of making rubicund and thriving elderly gentlemen dwell fondly on the charm of peaceful hermitages in woodland solitudes, of the herb diet and the hair shirt, of ruined towers seen in the eery light of dusk or the moon, and of the quiet grave. Edward Young, the author of the 'Night Thoughts,' was a restlessly ambitious cleric, thirsting for worldly honours and social success; hardly a poem of his but made a calculated bid for notice and preferment; yet he contrived to infuse into his masterpiece an eloquence of majestic, monumental, but quite inconsolable grief which, in an age just becoming alive to the charm of sensibility, sufficed for fame. In the more famous 'Elegy' of Gray we see how easy was the transition from the elegiac mood to the churchyard, where, in the gathering darkness, to the sound of the far-off curfew and the moping owl, it might be securely indulged. But from the churchyard the passage was equally easy to the church; and the church—being in England, and with moping owl and ivy-mantled tower—was bound to be Gothic. Hence the association which had, before the middle of the century, set in between Gothic style and churchyard sentiment, notwithstanding the peculiar tenacity with which the very worst fashions of the decadent Renascence retained

their hold upon the funereal monument. Thus we find in Joseph Warton's 'Ode to Fancy,' published in 1746, four years before Strawberry Hill was begun, the notable appeal to Fancy to join the poet, who is accompanied, it need not be said, by 'the matron Melancholy'; and with silent footsteps to go

> 'To charnels, and the house of woe,
> To Gothic churches, vaults and tombs,
> Where each sad night some virgin comes,
> With throbbing breast and faded cheek,
> Her promis'd bridegroom's urn to seek.'

But the churchyard, with its tombs and vaults, was not the only avenue to Gothic. If the eighteenth-century churchyard led to the Gothic church, the eighteenth-century garden, with its artificial imitation of the wildness of nature, led as appropriately to the Gothic mansion—an artificial embodiment of wildness in stucco. The taste for wild scenery has subtle affinities with the taste for Gothic art, which in the author of 'Modern Painters' and 'Stones of Venice' become highly striking and significant. But historically it emerged about a decade earlier—an isolated symptom not at once fulfilled. Gray, for instance, whose famous sentences on the Grande Chartreuse in 1739 strike the first decisive note of joy in the savage grandeur of the Alps, still judged architecture like Palladio or Inigo Jones. In one and the same letter to West, dated November 16, 1739, this peculiarity of his mental stratification is neatly exposed. 'Not a precipice, not a torrent, not a cliff but is pregnant with religion and poetry,' he wrote from Turin six weeks after the crossing. A few sentences before he had written of Turin itself: 'It has many beauties, and some faults; among the first are streets all laid out by the line, regular uniform buildings,' etc., just as Malebranche, half a century earlier, had illustrated his idea of ugliness from the tortuous streets of old cities.

Some early expressions of admiration for Gothic itself have to be discounted as based upon elements which the Gothic builders had simply accepted from the classical basilica. Thus Blondel, the famous French architect of Louis XIV's time, pointed out that the old Gothic buildings, with all their barbarism of detail, satisfied the

laws of proportion, in their large masses, just as well as the more modern edifices 'built according to the rules of good taste.'* Burke, in his memorable treatise on the 'Sublime and Beautiful' (1756), a mine of romantic ideas in the germ, speaks, with a warmth at first sight startling in a work of that date, of 'the grand effect of the aisles in many of our own old cathedrals.'† But he explains the grandeur from the very feature which the Gothic cathedral derived from the Roman basilica and the Greek temple—which, indeed, he couples in the same illustration—viz. the 'range of uniform pillars on every side,' and he goes on to condemn in severe terms the 'inordinate thirst for variety'—for that 'variety' in which Ruskin was to discover one of the essential elements of Gothic—as being, 'whenever it prevails, sure to leave very little true taste.'‡

Already, however, in the English garden, the spirit of variety, in the accentuated form of 'wildness,' had gained the day. The famous park of the poet Shenstone at the Leasowes in Shropshire, was a marvel of ingenious art employed in turning the beautiful waywardness of Nature into systematised caprice and calculated irregularity. Of all this, Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill was the architectural equivalent. 'I am almost as fond,' he wrote to Mann, 'of . . . Chinese want of symmetry in buildings as in grounds or gardens.' Gothic pleased him precisely because, as he thought, it admitted just that prodigality of costly and curious whim which it was his passion to indulge and his mission to exemplify. Mann did not like Gothic architecture; but Horace gave his 'dear child' good reasons for his own faith in it.

'The Grecian' (he wrote) 'is only proper for magnificent and public buildings. Columns and all their beautiful ornaments look ridiculous when crowded into a closet or cheese-cake house. The variety is little, and admits no charming irregularity. . . . You will be pleased,' he adds, 'with the liberty of taste with which we are struck, and of which you can have no idea.'§

* Fr. Blondel, 'Cours d'Architecture,' pt v, 5-16; quoted by Goethe, 'Von deutscher Baukunst,' 1823 (second treatise).

† 'Sublime and Beautiful,' pt. ii, section 11. ‡ Ib. *sub fin.*

§ Walpole to Mann, Feb. 25, 1750; quoted by Phelps, 'Romantic Movement,' p. 104.

But Strawberry Hill, wild and even libertine as it was, was creative; and its direct product was the Gothic romance, founded upon a Gothic dream, only possible to its devoted inmate. The 'Castle of Otranto' is Strawberry Hill raised to a higher power—the 'perfect round' of whimsicality of which the mansion is the 'broken arc.' Thence took rise the long line of 'Gothic' romances, of which the tale is told in the histories of literature, most of them more serious and laboured than Horace's ingenious vagary, but all, before Scott, retaining more or less distinctly the mark of 'wildness,' of caprice, of irresponsible fancy which his lively and volatile temperament had initiated. All this literature belongs to the second-rate or third-rate class; it has no grip upon real experience; its terror and wonder are concocted in the fancy, and have never been felt along the blood; its very irregularity is an adventure, not a revolt. The specifically Gothic revival itself—the recovery of the secret and the charm of Gothic art—remained likewise for the present inchoate, the mere crude beginning of a process. The currents of poetry, above all, ran aloof from it, nay, at times counter to it; for the strongest inspiration of English poetry in the later decades of the eighteenth century was a kind of naturalism which looked askance on every intrusion of man's hand upon the work of Nature, even on intrusions so glorious as those which raised the soaring arches of Tintern in the glen of sylvan Wye, or carved the traceries of Bolton on the banks of Wharfe. Wordsworth in 1798, as is well known, wrote a noble hymn, inspired by the neighbourhood of Tintern, without so much as mentioning the abbey. But in his comrade, Coleridge, the feeling for Gothic—at least, for Gothic mystery and Gothic eeriness—was richly developed, as we see in the dim lamp-lit chamber of Christabel:

> 'The chamber carved so curiously,
> Carved with figures strange and sweet,
> All made out of a carver's brain,
> For a lady's chamber meet;
> The lamp with two-fold silver chain
> Is fastened to an angel's feet.'

Keats, more than any previous poet, was alive to the richness of Gothic colouring. The famous description of

Madeline praying beneath the storied window of her chamber is a *locus classicus* in the poetry of opulent harmonious hues. But, when all is said, the treatment of Gothic art in greater English poetry is infrequent, incidental, and limited in range; it depends much on casual association, on the music which lingers in the branching and self-poised cells of the fretted roof; on the home sentiment which endeared to Byron the ruined arch of Newstead. A distinct and pervading Gothic atmosphere is, in English verse of the nineteenth century, usually a mark of the provincial and second-rate; it belongs to the kind of poetry in which helmets are called morions and sabres falchions; at best it is the poetry of a Longfellow or a Mrs Hemans.

Where, among the greater poets of the first half of the century, does Gothic architecture become a living thing, pulsing in all its stone filaments and tracery with the genius of tangled light and gloom, of wild buoyancy and audacious adventure, of shy reticence and exultant outbursts, of demonic contortions and maiden meekness, of consummate craftsmanship and childlike faith? Where, in short, do we find any approximate counterpart of Victor Hugo's marvellous rendering of old Notre Dame, or of the belfry of old Flemish cities, with its *carillon* flitting up and down invisible steps and scattering its magic notes from a silver lyre over the slumberous roofs?* For this more intimate and impassioned rendering of Gothic we have to go to France, and for the more profound comprehension and interpretation of it we have to go to Germany, until, when the Gothic impulse and inspiration of both countries has spent itself, both the rendering and the interpretation of Gothic meet us, in unsurpassed and, in England, unapproached perfection in the 'Seven Lamps' and the 'Stones of Venice.' Let us then turn for a moment to the memorials of that intervening period of the Gothic revival in which its focus—the glowing centre of the ideas and ideals which gathered round it—was to be found in Germany or in France. Only thus does it become apparent that the Gothic revival was a continuous evolution; and that

* Hugo, 'Les rayons et les ombres': 'Écrit sur la vitre d'une fenêtre flamande.'

Ruskin's work was not that sudden unheralded revelation which it necessarily seemed to English eyes, but the culminating moment in a prolonged growth.

In the summer of 1770 Goethe, as a young advocate of twenty-one, arrived at Strassburg. Forty years later he gave, in the tenth book of 'Dichtung und Wahrheit,' an account of the months he spent there, which is still one of the most kindling things in modern biography. But it is also a document of the first importance in the history of the forces which have made and moulded modern literature. There, in September of the same year, Goethe met Herder, his senior by only five years, but already acquainted with all the springs of natural song and story, of profound and original poetry, in the literatures of east and west. By Herder he was introduced to 'Ossian' and the 'Vicar of Wakefield,' both in the first decade of their existence; and the charm of Goldsmith's idyll confessedly helped to set going the kindred idyll of Sesenheim. By Herder, too, his eyes were opened to the glory of Shakespeare. But the glory of Gothic disclosed itself to him through the mediation of no other eyes than his own and the masterpiece of Erwin von Steinbach.

'As I wandered over thy grave, noble Erwin, and sought for the stone which should inform me, "In the year of the Lord 1318, Jan. 17, died Master Erwin, master-builder of the Church at Strassburg," and could not find it, nor any of all thy landsfolk that could show it me, that I might have poured out my reverence for thee on that holy spot, I was struck with sorrow to the soul; and my heart, younger, warmer, more foolish and more pure than now, vowed to raise thee a monument of marble or of sandstone, as I might, whenever I should come to the quiet possession of my own.'

So opens that rapturous hymn to the glory of Gothic and of its prophet, the builder of Strassburg, which Goethe wrote, two years later (1772), under the title 'Von deutscher Baukunst.' That title itself asserts a claim which at once marks off this phase of the Gothic revival from all that preceded. It never occurred to Horace Walpole to regard those gingerbread pinnacles and battlements of his, which had to be renewed three times

in a lifetime, as a specially national form of art, whether English or otherwise; he was a cosmopolitan dilettante for whom Gothic art was a curiosity rather more interesting than Chinese, but hardly more kindred with our blood. Whereas, in Goethe, the great Gothic masterpiece of the German builder instantly awakens all the slumbering Germanic passion of his nature; and he exultingly calls his vindication of Gothic, as if it were a matter of course, a treatise 'of *German* building craft.'

His Germanic nationalism is, indeed, fiercely aggressive, as well as, it must be owned, blindly unhistorical. Frenchmen and Italians are naïvely treated as aliens who, having done nothing comparable of their own in architecture, presume to despise the miracle of German art. 'In petty taste,' Goethe makes the Italian visitor say, as he surveys the minster and passes on. 'Childish!' lisps the Frenchman, and exultingly taps his Grecian snuffbox. And the lover of truth and beauty is bidden close his ears to the jangle of the æsthetic controversialists, and come forth, and feast, and gaze. 'Or, if it should make an ill impression on you, or none at all, then farewell, order your carriage, and off with you to Paris!' Goethe, in short, identifies himself entirely as yet with that revolt against the dominant prestige of France which had its mightiest champion in Lessing. He does not mention Lessing, but he does battle as his virtual ally; only, while the success of the struggle hitherto had been mainly due to Lessing's powerful appeal from the literature of the later Renascence to that of the Greeks and of Shakespeare, the young Goethe appealed from the plastic art of the later Renascence to the 'Gothic' builders. That he called them, with too little qualification, Germans matters little; the essential thing is that he divined in that Gothic art, as Lessing had divined in Shakespeare and the Greeks, vital elements of an ideal in which the German people would fulfil their own most deep-rooted aspirations as master-spirits of a new Renascence, in whose service was to be their perfect freedom.

If the characteristically nineteenth-century mind in literature can be said to have distinctly emerged at any moment or in any spot, it was surely in this momentous seventh decade of the eighteenth century in Germany, when these three great sources of emanci-

pating thought and feeling were apprehended, not as alien or distracting forces, but in their inmost kinship. To Dr Johnson that Gothic-Greek-Shakespearean pantheon would have seemed a flagitious violation of all the congruities. To Voltaire it would have possessed at most the congruity of the barbaric with the infantine and the inebriate. Rousseau, despite his quick and varied sensibility, had not the deep and versatile culture needful for its acceptance. Gray, critically alive to the distinguishing excellences of all three, lacked the dynamic quality of genius which forces diverse elements of culture to fall into coherent order as symbols of the same truth. In France and England half a century had to pass after the death of Rousseau and of Gray before those three wells of inspiration could fertilise in common the same poetic brain; before Keats should sing of Madeline's Gothic chamber and of the Attic urn in verse nearer than any other to the unsought felicities of Shakespeare; before Hugo should enshrine Shakespeare and Æschylus alike in the exuberance of his Gothic speech.

What then was it that rendered Shakespeare, the Greeks, and the Gothic builders alike capable of becoming constituent elements in the new Humanism of Germany? The young Goethe at Strassburg would have answered with exulting confidence: it was, that they were all alike artists working in the spirit of 'Nature.' From the standpoint of English æsthetics, as propounded at a much later date than the eighteenth century, that would have seemed an extraordinary claim for Gothic; at most, a Warton or a Walpole might have said that Gothic is 'wild' and 'irregular' like natural landscape. But that was almost the antithesis of what Goethe meant. Not that he was a whit more in sympathy than Walpole or Warton with the smooth and insipid elegance which the middle generation of the eighteenth century called good taste. Hear his vivid account of the preconceptions with which he had approached the Strassburg minster, and his instant disillusion when he saw it—a paragraph which concentrates a whole chapter of æsthetic history.

'When I first saw the Minster, I had my head full of general notions of good taste. I admired, as was held proper, harmony of mass and purity of form, and was a determined

enemy of the confused caprice of Gothic ornament. Under the rubric "Gothic" I had collected, dictionary fashion, all the synonymous misunderstandings about the "indefinite," "disorderly," "unnatural," "patched up," "overloaded," which had ever passed through my mind. Like the foolish peoples who call the entire outer world "barbarians," I called everything "Gothic" which did not fit my ideas, from the twisted and parti-coloured dolls and carvings with which our civic magnates adorn their homes, to the serious relics of our older German building-craft, which a daring flourish or two sufficed to make me dismiss with the cant phrase as "overloaded with ornament," so that I shuddered beforehand at the prospect of looking on this deformed and bristly monster. With what unexpected emotion did the spectacle amaze me when I stepped in front of it! One great, complete impression filled my soul, which, made up as it was of a thousand harmonious details, I could appreciate and enjoy, but was quite unable to recognise and explain. . . . How fresh it shone before me in the scented morning air, how rapturously I raised my arms to it, gazing on its great harmonious masses, alive in all their innumerable minute parts, even as in the works of eternal Nature all is form and all conducing to the whole.'

But what if some one who feels with him this overpowering effect, which he cannot explain, should object that the art which produces it is not 'beautiful' but only strong and rude. Goethe turns vehemently on the objector.

'Do not let a misunderstanding keep us apart; do not let the effeminate doctrine of modern elegance unnerve you for significant roughness and leave your sickly sensibility able to endure nothing but unmeaning gloss. They want to persuade you that the fine arts arose from our supposed impulse to beautify the things about us. . . . But art is formative long before it is "fine"; and even so it is true and great, nay, often truer and greater than "fine" art itself. For man has an inborn impulse to form, which begins to act the moment his existence is assured. Once emancipated from care and fear, the demigod casts about him for stuff to breathe his spirit into. . . . And, however capricious the shapes he strikes out, they will harmonise, in spite of all material diversity; for a single impulse gave them birth and moulded them into a characteristic whole. Now this characteristic art is the only true art. When it proceeds from an inward, single, original impulse, heedless, nay, ignorant of all alien elements, then, no

matter whether it be the work of savage rudeness or of refined culture, it is entire and alive. . . . The more the soul rises to the sense of the relations which alone are fair and eternal, whose main outlines can be proved, but whose secrets can only be felt . . . the happier and more glorious is the artist, and the more profoundly do we bow before him and revere the anointed of God.'

We easily recognise in this utterance the man who, a few years later, was to manifest the same profound instinct for organic unity in his interpretation of the skull as an enlarged final link in the vertebral column. And that his ardent assertion of the living wholeness of the Strassburg minster rested upon the same genuine insight is illustrated by the charming anecdote which he relates in 'Dichtung und Wahrheit (xi, 50); how, in a company at Strassburg, who were lamenting the lack of the second tower, he declared that the existing tower was itself also unfinished, the four pinnacles being far blunter than the builder meant. 'Who told you that?' asked a genial little man standing by. 'The tower itself,' rejoined young Goethe; 'I have watched it so long and loved it so well that it finally decided to confide to me that open secret.' 'It told you right,' replied the other. 'I ought to know, for I am the overseer of the building; and we still have in our archives the original design, which says the same.'

In all this it is apparent that Goethe's way of looking at Gothic was not only wholly unlike that of the English Romantics, but—despite the touch of incoherence which his mature taste admitted in the style of his early essay * —immeasurably richer, more fruitful, and more profound. To him, as to them, Gothic presented a mode of escape from the insipid and conventional elegance of the later Renascence; but, while they took it to be an escape from mechanical order to piquant vagary, he hailed in it the vital organic unity equally foreign to both. This was in its fundamental basis a Greek idea, the Aristotelian criterion of organic wholeness which is one of the key-stones of the classic point of view in criticism; but Goethe gave that criterion an extension which had occurred to

* 'Etwas Amphigurisches in seinem Stil'—'Von deutscher Baukunst' (1823): 'Werke,' Bd. 28, 362.

no ancient critic when he made the essence of that unity to reside, not in any outward coherence of the parts, but in their truth to the shaping mind and inspiring mood of their maker.

Hence, while it was not unnatural that Goethe afterwards became an equally ardent devotee of classic art and literature, that change of view was by no means the *volte-face* which our current opposition of Greek and Gothic suggests; it was rather the passing on from a less developed to a more developed phase of the same fundamental view. Undoubtedly the æsthetic ideal of which Goethe hailed the embodiment in Strassburg minster was more consciously and continuously carried out in Greek, on the whole, than in Gothic art; and when he at length crossed the Alps in 1787 he saw his dream fulfilled. But Gothic, though it fell into the background of his mind, was never renounced; on the contrary, when the Gothic *furore* began to make a noise in Germany in the early decades of the nineteenth century, something of his old enthusiasm rekindled. He interested himself warmly in the devoted efforts of Sulpiz Boisserée to procure the completion of the cathedral of Cologne, and was pleased, on re-reading his early essay of forty years before, to find how much that he had then hoped had now come true.*

Goethe, then, opened a phase of the Gothic revival which gave it an altogether new and richer significance in nineteenth-century life. Walpole's Gothic movement was allied, in one aspect to the Revolution, in another to the Tory reaction. Its affinities were partly liberal, partly antiquarian; it was in touch with the feeling for wild, unsophisticated Nature, but also, not less, with the feeling for a definite and highly technical historic art. Goethe's Gothic enthusiasm had affinities with quite other orders of ideas—with the new Hellenism and the new biology, with Aristotle and Phidias, with the vast philosophic constructions reared by the advances of Kant upon the groundwork of Greek thought. Yet it is manifest that there were elements in Gothic to which Goethe was unresponsive, or to which he was blind.

* 'Dichtung und Wahrheit,' Bd. ix, 158.

Wonderfully living and real as was his sense of harmony and wholeness, he had the defect of this quality—a distaste for discord and for incompleteness too pronounced to admit of his relishing much that is most intense and characteristic in Gothic art. The grotesque distortion of the Gothic gargoyle, the mysterious unreason, spurning 'the lore of nicely calculated less and more' of the high-poised Gothic vault, he did not relish as such, whatever his admiration for the objects themselves. He hardly entered into the rapture with which Tieck and Wackenroder in 1799 gloried in the crookedness of the Nürnberg streets,* almost exactly a century since Malebranche, and half a century since Gray, had instanced straightness in streets as a mark of beauty.

Victor Hugo's 'Notre Dame' (1826)—a work overcharged no doubt with the quaint, misshapen, and ugly element of Gothic, yet inspired by the most poignant Gothic feeling, he denounced as an 'odious book.'† On the other hand, Goethe's profound realism of mind, his unfailing touch with the concrete, saved him from the theoretic vagueness and abstraction of later German æsthetic thinking. In Hegel and Schelling and their successors we lose sight entirely of the workman at his work; it is not Erwin von Steinbach who stamps his mind on the minster that he designs, but the spirit of romantic architecture which finds expression in it. It goes along with this defect, as Mr Bosanquet has said, that German æsthetic theory ignores altogether those homely manual arts of design with which the workman, as such, has most to do. But, if they neglected the link between the individual worker and his work, they compensated for this in some sense by drawing into fuller view the *nexus* between the work and the community in which it is achieved, though this *nexus* was still conceived in a too abstract way as the necessary affinity impressed upon all its creatures by the spirit of the age.

Now in England there were growing up, during the decade which followed Goethe's death, conditions which, in spite of a plentiful lack of æsthetic thinking and a

* 'Nürnberg, du vormals weltberühmte Stadt! Wie gerne durchwanderte ich deine krummen Gassen,' etc., quoted by Erich Schmidt, 'Charakteristiken,' p. 44. He dates from 1797 the 'discovery of Nürnberg.'

† 'Conversations with Eckermann.'

deplorable profusion of would-be æsthetic performance, in reality contained the germs of a more vital fusion of art with life. In the early forties, speculative theorists were still, it is true, trying to resolve beauty into an agreeable sensation; the Gothic revival had not only triumphed over the old Renascence manner, but had become a fashionable craze—a new cant of pinnacles and crockets as hollow as the old cant of pediment and pilaster. Here was Sir Charles Barry with his Houses-of-Parliament perpendicular; there 'brother Pugin' with those 'half-baked plaster rosettes' which so tried the large tolerance of Bishop Blougram. Nevertheless, outside the sphere of architecture the old crude antagonism between civilisation and Nature which had dominated the English eighteenth century was being transcended and overcome. Wordsworth's poetry—if we distinguish its deeper sense from his own often perverse explanations of it—meant that all that is worth having in civilisation is continuous with Nature, not opposed to it. Turner's painting—with complete unconsciousness of the affinity on both sides—was founded upon the same implicit discovery that the artist in landscape has to interpret, not to compose. Carlyle, pressing the metaphysical ideas of Fichte into the service of his own ethical inspiration, had proclaimed the unity of heroic manhood with the informing spirit of the universe, and found the conditions of man's greatness in his truth.

Between art and Nature, between man's moral and intellectual life and Nature, manifold links were thus established. To a direct connexion between man's moral and intellectual life and art the dogged inertia of Puritan tradition opposed, it is true, a formidable obstacle; but that connexion was clearly implicit, and nothing more was needed but genius, with the persuasive solvent of insight and eloquence, to lay it bare. That was essentially the achievement, as we know, of John Ruskin. We are here on quite familiar ground; and it is only necessary to mark, in briefest outline, the relation which this third, or Ruskinian, phase of the Gothic revival holds to the second or 'Goethean,' and to the first or 'Walpolean.' In the first place, Ruskin's apprehension of Gothic includes and continues Goethe's. That he owed anything to Goethe I do not believe; German Gothic lay quite out

of the line of his predilections, and I question whether he ever heard of several works of Goethe far more famous than the half-dozen pages of 'Von deutscher Baukunst.' Ruskin too, like Goethe, and not less than he, was a man of intuition even more than of ideas. His ideas came to him in and through the absorbed and divining gaze, and throve in proportion as they helped to interpret its data; the things he saw told him their secrets, as they told Goethe; and, as little as Goethe owed to any man the discovery of Strassburg, so little did Ruskin owe to Goethe or any one else the revelation of Venice.*

Ruskin's undergraduate essay on 'The Poetry of Architecture,' or 'The Architecture of the Nations of Europe considered in its Association with Natural Scenery and National Character,' already foreshadows the fundamental thought of his later masterpieces; but the wonderful expositions of that connexion in the 'Seven Lamps' (1848), and in the chapter on the 'nature of Gothic' in the 'Stones of Venice' (1849), more closely recall the profound, half-uttered, divinations of Goethe. The 'seven lamps' of architecture and the 'six elements of Gothic' are independent analyses of Ruskin's ideal, the first more abstract and in terms rather of moral implication than of art, the second more specific, concrete, and technical. But their essential purport is the same. If it could be summed up in one word that word would be *character*. The building is to be, in every part, eloquent of the mind that shapes it. It is to be penetrated with expression; the lamp of Power will glow darkly from frowning cornice and breadth of unadorned and massive wall; the lamp of Life flash forth in the frankness and boldness which despise symmetry, or the glorious impatience which disdains finish. In scorn for mere smoothness, for mechanical ornament, Goethe speaks absolutely the speech of Ruskin. The savagery which Ruskin lays down as the first element of the Gothic mind merely reproduces Goethe's impassioned celebration of the strong, rude, German soul of his master Erwin.

But there are three points in which Ruskin's exposition goes definitely beyond Goethe's. First, in the more vital

* The affinity between Goethe's exposition of Gothic and Ruskin's was first pointed out, we believe, by Mr Bosanquet in a passage of his 'History of Æsthetics' to which the first suggestion of the present study was due.

grasp of the relation of Gothic architecture to Nature. Goethe's delight in Gothic rested largely, it is true, upon the same delight in organic unity which made him a devoted student and discoverer in science; but he recognised no direct relation between architecture and biology. For Ruskin, on the other hand, the Gothic building has not merely this analogy to the animal organism; it belongs, in a pregnant sense, to the scene in which it stands, to the soil in which its roots are planted, to the rock from which its fabric is hewn. Landscape makes an intrinsic part and element of Ruskin's architecture, as the far-off circle of Alpine crests is an intrinsic part of his Venice. Collecting stones had been one of his earliest passions as a child; and the stone that Nature makes and man uses remained to the last a living link between the two. Hence his joy in the rough unhewn masonry of the Pitti, not because it speaks of noble savagery in the builder, but as a 'stern expression of Brotherhood with the mountain heart from which it has been rent.'* Every one who comes to his 'Stones of Venice' fresh from 'Modern Painters' must feel that this is no chance felicity of phrase; that between the building and the mountain, the architecture of man and the architecture of Nature, there is for him a true brotherhood, which has borne fruit in giving a peculiar richness and subtlety to his interpretation of both. From those wonderful chapters in the fourth book of 'Modern Painters' on 'mountain gloom' and 'mountain mystery' and 'mountain beauty' one might gather the counterpart of all the elements that make up, for Ruskin, the 'Gothic mind'; as, conversely, the spell which Venice lays upon him seems to owe much of its power to implicit mountain analogies; a beetling precipice frowns in that jutting cornice, and the tumult of tossing crests in a far-off view of the Alps at sunset is resumed in those 'misty masses of multitudinous pinnacle and diademed tower' in which he saw 'perhaps our sole remaining witness of the faith and fear of nations.'

Again, Ruskin explicitly recognises, without overestimating, in Gothic that element of vague unrest, of undefined aspiration, that 'sense of infinity' which, rendered in Walpole's cheerful burlesque idiom, had appeared as

* 'Seven Lamps' (Power), ed. 1849, p. 75.

deliberate irregularity and wilful caprice, but had found almost no response in the harmonious, classic consciousness of Goethe. The German romantic æstheticians had indeed fastened on this very element with peculiar eagerness; and the 'sense of infinity,' as a key to all the phenomena of Gothic art, threatened to obliterate the very perception of Gothic exactitude and Gothic technique. What this school admirably brought out was the emancipation of the Gothic builder from sordid calculation of utility; exactly the point, we know, which struck the frugal and plain-living Wordsworth when he stood under the soaring self-poised roof of King's College Chapel, so magnificently disproportionate, in its 'vain expense,' to the little band of white-robed scholars for whom it was built. Hegel, in the very same spirit, contrasted the vast spaciousness of the old cathedral nave with the 'nicely calculated less and more' of the Protestant church, built only to be filled, and divided up into the proper number of stall-like compartments.* Ruskin would doubtless have cordially echoed that remark; but, while his rendering of Gothic does full justice, in the spirit and almost the words of Pascal, to 'that strange disquietude of the [Gothic] mind which is its greatness,' yet he never allows that disquietude, with its quick impatience of uniformity, to have at all resembled the licentious revolt against law. Obedience was, on the contrary, as we know, the last and not the least sacred of the 'seven lamps'; and Obedience meant a devout compliance with the grammar of architectural speech as the condition of being eloquent in it, and with the moral and spiritual needs of the people from whose hearts it was to win response. The 'formlessness' of the mystic, and the self-sufficient 'form' of frank paganism, were alike repugnant to him.

This brings us, finally, to the third and most familiar point of Ruskin's Gothic feeling. What we loosely call the 'social' and 'ethical' aspects of Gothic were first fully unfolded by him. Much of this was, it is true, implicit in Goethe's view, and, as we have seen, a relation between national character and national architecture was postulated throughout German æsthetic speculation. But Ruskin was the first to work out this assumption in

* Hegel, 'Æsthetik,' ii, 332.

concrete detail, face to face with the documents and the monuments. We know from his own confession that it was from Venice that he learned the significance of national history. His passion for Tintoretto forced him into the study of the history of Venice, 'and through that into what else I have traced or told of the laws of national strength and virtue.'* Hence the 'Stones of Venice' became, in essence, a demonstration of a proposition in social ethics; having, in his own words,

'from beginning to end, no other aim than to show that the Gothic architecture of Venice had arisen out of, and indicated in all its features, a state of pure national faith and of domestic virtue; and that its Renaissance architecture had arisen out of, and in all its features indicated, a state of concealed national infidelity and of domestic corruption.'†

That recognition of the relation between art and national character was, as Mr Hobson has said, the bridge from his art mission to his social mission. The bridge was not perhaps a perfectly continuous or a strictly logical one; it involved the essentially new perception that noble art, if begotten only in noble character, can also beget it; without which perception the only refuge for a Ruskin in a land of all-popular Pugins and Barrys must have been despair. But Ruskin did not despair of the republic; he railed at it in inexhaustible variety of phrase, but he stood by it, and presently added the eloquence of his persuasion to the strident notes of the great preacher of work, whose gospel had never lacked the implicit eloquence of his example. He mellowed its tone, without relaxing its severity, and made the artist's joy in labour enter into and temper the sternness of duty. Moreover, his disclosure of the ethical quality and mission of art gave a definite direction and matter for many an idealist whom the gospel of work left looking for a task. Carlyle sent Professor Tyndall into his cold tub on winter mornings, and inspired many another to do more arduous things which they did not like; and that was much. But Ruskin, by shattering that old prosaic antithesis of the beautiful and useful, gave a higher consecration both to labour and to art; and, instead of abandoning the palace of art, like

* 'Præterita.' † 'Crown of Wild Olive.'

Tennyson's hero, in a fit of false asceticism, drew it within the scope of the highest ethical idealism by turning it into a workshop. So that, in that very Preraphaelite school which has most exalted the supremacy of art, the artist's passion for beauty has gone along with the deeper sense of its needfulness in all human life, and of the fellowship of all who labour in the meanest craft to create it.

Thus did that evasive and protean thing which we call the Gothic revival, first peeping out with the *sans-gêne* grimace of precocious infancy from behind the sham battlements of Strawberry Hill, grow by degrees in stature and in seriousness until it finally bore the stamp, in the ideas which it embodied or in the enthusiasms which it quickened and diffused, of the most vital intellectual energies of our time—the revolutionary passion for liberty, the scientific quest for organic law, the artist's worship of Nature, the poet's recovery of wonder, the democratic fervour of brotherhood, and that ideal upon which all our fragmentary aims seem tending to converge the promotion of manifold yet ordered, devout, but constructive, human life.

C. H. HERFORD.

Art. V.—THE DUKES OF ATHENS.

1. *I Libri Commemoriali.* Vols. I–VI. Edited by R. Predelli. Venice: Reale Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria, 1876–1903.
2. *Libro de los Fechos et Conquistas del Principado de la Morea.* Edited by A. Morel-Fatio. Geneva: Fick, 1885.
3. *La Espedición y Dominación de los Catalanes en Oriente; Los Navarros en Grecia.* By D. Antonio Rubió y Lluch. Barcelona: Jaime Jepús, 1887.
4. *Sul Dominio dei Ducati di Atene e Neopatria dei Re di Sicilia.* By F. Guardione. Palermo: Reber, 1895.
5. *Chronik des Edlen En Ramon Muntaner.* Edited by Karl Lanz. Stuttgart: Literarischer Verein, 1844.
6. Οἱ Καταλάνοι ἐν τῇ Ἀνατολῇ. (*The Catalans in the East.*) By E. I. Stamatiádes. Athens: Antoniádes, 1869.
7. *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum.* Edited by G. M. Thomas and R. Predelli. Venice: Reale Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria, 1880–1899.
8. *De Historiæ Ducatus Atheniensis Fontibus.* By K. Hopf. Bonn: Lechner, 1852.
9. *Catalunya a Grecia.* By D. Antonio Rubió y Lluch. Barcelona: 'L'Avene,' 1906.
10. Ἔγγραφα ἀναφερόμενα εἰς τὴν μεσαιωνικὴν Ἱστορίαν τῶν Ἀθηνῶν (Documents relating to the mediæval history of Athens). Published by Sp. P. Lampros. Athens: Beck, 1906.

And other works.

NATIONS, like individuals, sometimes have the romance of their lives in middle age—a romance unknown, perhaps, to the outside world until, long years afterwards, some forgotten bundle of letters throws a flash of rosy light upon a period hitherto regarded as uneventful and commonplace. So is it with the history of Athens under the Frankish domination, which Finlay first described in his great work. But since his day numerous documents have been published, and still more are in course of publication, which complete the picture of medieval Athens as he drew it in a few master-strokes. Barcelona and Palermo have been ransacked for information; the Venetian archives have yielded a rich harvest; Milan has contributed her share; and a curious collection of Athenian legends

has been made by an industrious and patriotic Greek. We know now, as we never knew before, the strange story of the classic city under her French, her Catalan, and her Florentine masters; and it is high time that the results of these researches should be laid before the British public. The present paper deals with the first two of these three periods.

The history of Frankish Athens begins with the Fourth Crusade. By the deed of partition, which divided up the Byzantine Empire among the Latin conquerors of Constantinople, the crusading army, whose chief was Boniface, Marquess of Montferrat, had received 'the district of Athens with the territory of Megara';* and both Attica and Bœotia were included in that short-lived realm of Salonika, of which he assumed the title of king. Among the trusty followers who accompanied Boniface in his triumphal progress across his new dominions was Otho de la Roche, son of a Burgundian noble, who had rendered him a valuable service by assisting to settle the serious dispute between him and the first Latin Emperor of Constantinople, and who afterwards negotiated the marriage between his daughter and the Emperor Baldwin I's brother and successor. This was the man upon whom the King of Salonika, in 1205, bestowed the most famous city of the ancient world. Thus, in the words of an astonished chronicler from the West, 'Otho de la Roche, son of a certain Burgundian noble, became, as by a miracle, Duke of the Athenians and Thebans.'†

The chronicler was only wrong in the title which he attributed to the lucky Frenchman, who had succeeded by an extraordinary stroke of fortune to the past glories of the heroes and sages of Athens. Otho modestly styled himself 'Sire d'Athènes' or 'Dominus Athenarum,' which his Greek subjects magnified into the 'Great Lord' (Μέγας Κύρ or Μέγας Κύρης), and Dante, in the 'Purgatorio,' transferred by a poetic anachronism to Peisistratos. Contemporary accounts make no mention of any resistance to Otho de la Roche on the part of the Greeks, nor was such likely; for the eminent man, Michael Akominátos, who was then Metropolitan of Athens, was fully aware

* Tafel u. Thomas, 'Fontes Rer. Austr.,' pt. II, vol. xii, 464–488.
† Albericus Trium Fontium, 'Chronicon,' ii, 439.

that the Akropolis could not long resist a Western army. Later Venetian writers, however, actuated perhaps by patriotic bias, propagated a story that the Athenians sent an embassy offering their city to Venice, but that their scheme was frustrated, 'not without bloodshed, by the men of Champagne under the Lord de la Roche.'* If so, it was the sole effort which the Greeks of Attica made during the whole century of French domination.

Otho's dominions were large, if measured by the small standard of classical Greece. The Burgundian state of Athens embraced Attica, Bœotia, Megaris, and the ancient Opuntian Locris to the north; while to the south of the isthmus the 'Great Lord's' deputies governed the important strongholds of Argos and Nauplia, conferred upon him, in 1212, by Prince Geoffroy I of Achaia as the reward of his assistance in capturing them, and thenceforth held by Otho and his successors for a century as fiefs of the Principality. The Italian Marquess of Boudonitza on the north, the Lord of Salona on the west, were the neighbours, and the latter subsequently the vassal, of the ruler of Athens, his bulwarks against the expanding power of the Greek despots of Epiros. Thus situated, medieval Athens had at least four ports—Livadostro, or Rivedostre, as the Franks called it, on the Gulf of Corinth, where Otho's relatives landed when they arrived from France; the harbour of Atalante opposite Eubœa; the beautiful bay of Nauplia; and the famous Piræus, known in the Frankish times by the name of Porto Leone from the huge lion, now in front of the Arsenal at Venice, which then guarded the entrance to the haven of Themistokles. It is strange, in these circumstances, that the Burgundian rulers of Athens made little or no attempt to create a navy, especially as Latin pirates infested the coast of Attica, and a sail down the Corinthian Gulf was described as 'a voyage to Acheron.'†

Guiltless of a classical education, and unmoved by the genius of the place, Otho abstained from seeking a model for the constitution of his new state in the laws of Solon. Like the other Frankish princes of the Levant, he adopted

* A. Dandolo, 'Chronicon Venetum,' *apud* Muratori, 'Rerum Italicarum Scriptores,' xii, 335; L. de Monacis, 'Chronicon,' p. 143; Magno, *apud* Hopf, 'Chroniques gréco-romanes,' p. 179.

† Miklosich u. Müller, 'Acta et diplomata Græca Medii Ævi,' iii, 61.

the 'Book of the customs of the Empire of Romania,' a code of usages based on the famous 'Assizes of Jerusalem.' But the feudal society which was thus installed in Attica was very different from that which existed in the Principality of Achaia or in the Duchy of the Archipelago. The 'Great Lord' of Athens had, at the most, only one exalted noble, the head of the famous Flemish house of St Omer, near his throne. It is obvious, from the silence of all the authorities, that the Burgundians who settled in Otho's Greek dominions were men of inferior social position to himself, a fact further demonstrated by the comparative lack in Attica and Bœotia of those baronial castles so common in the Peloponnese.

In one respect the Court of Athens, under Otho de la Roche, must have resembled the present Court of King George, namely, that there was no one, except the members of his own family, with whom the ruler could associate on equal terms. But, as in modern, so in Frankish Athens, the family of the sovereign was numerous enough to form a society of its own. Not only did Otho marry a Burgundian heiress, by whom he had two sons, but the news of his astounding good fortune attracted to the new El Dorado in Greece various members of his clan from their home in Burgundy. They doubtless received their share of the good things which had fallen to their lucky relative; a favourite nephew, Guy, divided with his uncle the lordship of Thebes; a more distant relative become commander of the castle of Athens. Both places became the residences of Latin archbishops; and in the room of Michael Akominátos, in the magnificent church of 'Our Lady of Athens,' as the Parthenon was now called, a Frenchman named Bérard, perhaps Otho's chaplain, inaugurated the long series of the Catholic prelates of that ancient see. The last Greek Metropolitan retired sorrowfully from his plundered cathedral to the island of Keos, whence he could still see the shores of his beloved Attica; and for well-nigh two centuries his titular successors never once visited their confiscated diocese. The Greek priests who remained behind performed their services in the church near the Roman market, which was converted into a mosque at the time of the Turkish conquest, and has now been degraded to a military bakery; while Innocent III assigned to the Catholic

archbishop the ancient jurisdiction of the Orthodox Metropolitan over his eleven suffragans, and confirmed to the Church of Athens its possessions at Phyle and Marathon—places still called by their classical names.

'The renewal of the divine grace' (wrote the enthusiastic Pope to Bérard) 'suffereth not the ancient glory of the city of Athens to grow old. The citadel of most famous Pallas hath been humbled to become the seat of the most glorious Mother of God. Well may we call this city "Kirjath-sepher," which when Othniel had subdued to the rule of Caleb, "he gave him Achsah, his daughter to wife."*'

But the 'Othniel' of Athens, to whom the Pope had made a punning allusion, was, like the other Frankish rulers of his time, a sore trial to the Holy See. He forbade his subjects to give or bequeath their possessions to the Church, levied dues from the clergy, and showed no desire to pay tithes or compel his people to pay them. A 'concordat' between Church and State was at last drawn up in 1210, at a Parliament convened by the Latin Emperor Henry in the valley of Ravenika, near Lamia, and attended by Otho and all the chief feudal lords of continental Greece. By this it was agreed that the clergy of both dominations should pay the old Byzantine land-tax to the temporal authorities, but that, in return, all churches, monasteries, and other ecclesiastical property, should be entrusted to the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople free of all feudal services.

Otho was more loyal to the Empire than to the Papacy. When the Lombard nobles of Salonika, on the death of Boniface, tried to shake off the feudal tie which bound that kingdom to the Latin Emperor, he stood by the latter, even though his loyalty cost him the temporary loss of his capital of Thebes. He was rewarded by a visit which the Emperor Henry paid him at Athens, where no Imperial traveller had set foot since Basil 'the Bulgar-slayer,' two centuries earlier, had offered up prayer and thanksgivings in the greatest of all cathedrals. Like Basil, Henry also prayed 'in the Minster of Athens, which men call Our Lady,' and received from his host 'every honour in his power.'† Only once again did an emperor

* 'Innocentii III Epistolæ,' xi, 111–113, 238, 240, 252, 256.

† Henri de Valenciennes (ed. Paulin Paris), ch. xxxv.

of Constantinople bow down in the Parthenon; and then it was not as a conqueror but as a fugitive that he came.

The 'Great Lord' was not fired with the romance of reigning over the city of Perikles and Plato. When old age crept on, he felt, like many another baron of the conquest, that he would like to spend the evening of his days in his native land; and in 1225 he departed for Burgundy with his wife and sons, leaving his nephew, Guy, to succeed him in Greece. Under the wise rule of his successor, the Athenian state prospered exceedingly. Thebes, where Guy and his connexions, the great family of St Omer, resided, had recovered much of its fame as the seat of the silk manufactory. Jews and Genoese both possessed colonies there; and the shrewd Ligurian traders negotiated a commercial treaty with the new ruler which allowed them to have their own consul, their own court of justice, and their own buildings both there and at Athens.

The Greeks too profited by the enlightened policy of their sovereign. One Greek monk at this time made the road to the monastery of St John the Hunter on the slopes of Hymettos, to which the still standing column on the way to Marathon alludes; another built one of the two churches at the quaint little monastery of Our Lady of the Glen, not far from the fort of Phyle. For thirty years Athens enjoyed profound peace, till a fratricidal war between William de Villehardouin, the ambitious Prince of Achaia, and the great barons of Eubœa involved Guy in their quarrel. The prince summoned Guy, his vassal for Argos and Nauplia, to assist him against his foes; Guy, though bound not only by this feudal tie but by his marriage to one of William's nieces, refused his aid, and did all he could to help the enemies of the prince. The latter replied by invading the dominions of his nephew. Forcing the Kaké Skála, that narrow and ill-famed road which leads along the rocky coast of the Saronic Gulf towards Megara, he met Guy's army at the pass of Mount Karydi, 'the walnut mountain,' on the way to Thebes. There Frankish Athens and Frankish Sparta first met face to face; the Sire of Athens was routed and fled to Thebes, where he obtained peace by a promise to appear before the High Court of

Achaia and perform any penalty which it might inflict upon him for having borne arms against the Prince.

The High Court met at Nikli near Tegea; and the Sire of Athens, escorted by all his chivalry, made a brave show before the assembled barons. They were so much impressed by the spectacle that they declared they could not judge so great a man, and referred the decision to St. Louis of France, the natural protector of the French nobles of Greece. The chivalrous monarch propounded the question to the *parlement* at Paris, which decided that Guy was technically guilty, but that the trouble and cost of his long journey to France was ample punishment for his offence. Louis IX, anxious to show him some mark of royal favour, conferred upon him, at his special request, the title of Duke of Athens, for which, he told the king, there was an ancient precedent. The ducal style borne by Guy and his successors has become famous in literature as well as in history. Dante, Boccaccio, Chaucer, and Shakespeare bestowed it upon Theseus, and the Catalan chronicler, Muntaner, upon Menelaos.

Meanwhile the wheel of fortune had avenged the Duke of Athens. His victorious enemy, involved in a quarrel between the rival Greek states of Nice and Epiros, had been taken prisoner by the Greek Emperor; and the flower of the Achaian chivalry was either dead or languishing in the dungeons of Lampsakos. In these circumstances the survivors offered to Guy the regency of Achaia—a post which he triumphantly accepted. But he had not been long in Greece when another blow descended upon the Franks. The Latin Empire of Constantinople fell; and the Emperor Baldwin II, a landless exile, was glad to accept the hospitality of the Theban Kadmeia and the Castle of Athens. Thus, on that venerable rock, was played the last pitiful scene in the brief Imperial drama of the Latin Orient.*

Fired by the reconquest of Constantinople, Michael VIII now meditated the recovery of the Peloponnese, and demanded the cession of the three strongest castles in the peninsula as the price of his prisoner's freedom. It was Guy's duty, as regent of Achaia, to convene the High Court of the Principality to consider this momentous

* Sanudo, *apud* Hopf, 'Chroniques gréco-romanes,' p. 136.

question. The parliament, almost exclusively composed of ladies—for all the men of mark had been slain or were in prison—decided, against Guy's better judgment, in favour of accepting the Emperor's terms; and Guy, whose position was one of great delicacy, finally yielded. Not long afterwards, the first Duke of Athens died, conscious of having heaped coals of fire upon the head of his enemy, and proud of leaving to his elder son, John, a state more prosperous than any other in Greece.

The second Duke, less fortunate than his father, was involved in the wars against the Greek Emperor, which occupied so much of that period. The restless scion of the house of Angelos, who had carved out for himself a principality in the ancient realm of Achilles in Phthiotis, and reigned over Wallachs and Greeks at Neopatras, or La Patre, beneath the rocky walls of Mount Œta, fled as a suppliant to the Theban Court and offered the duke the hand of his daughter Helene if he would only assist him against the Palaiologoi. The duke, gouty and an invalid, declined matrimony, but promised his aid. At the head of a picked body of Athenian knights he easily routed the vastly superior numbers of the Imperial army, which he contemptuously summed up in a phrase, borrowed from Herodotos, as 'many people, but few men.' As his reward he obtained for his younger brother William the fair Helene as a bride; and her dowry, which included the important town of Lamia, extended the influence of the Athenian duchy as far north as Thessaly. But John of Athens was destined to experience, like William of Achaia, the most varied changes of fortune. Wounded in a fight with the Greeks and their Catalan allies outside the walls of Negroponte, he fell from his horse and was carried off a prisoner to Constantinople. Michael VIII did not, however, treat the Duke of Athens as he had treated the Prince of Achaia. He made no demand for Athenian territory, but contented himself with a ransom of some 13,500*l*. Policy, rather than generosity, was the cause of this apparent inconsistency. Fears of an attack by Charles of Anjou, alarm at the restless ambition of his prisoner's kinsman, the Duke of Neopatras, and suspicion of the orthodox clerical party in his own capital, which regarded him as a schismatic because of his overtures to Rome, convinced

him that the policy of 1262 would not suit the altered conditions of 1279. He even offered his daughter in marriage to his prisoner, but the latter refused the Imperial alliance. A year later John died, and William his brother reigned in his stead.

During the seven years of his reign William de la Roche was the leading figure in Frankish Greece. Acknowledging the suzerainty of the Angevin kings of Naples, who had become overlords of Achaia by the treaty of Viterbo, he was appointed their viceroy in that principality, and in that capacity built the castle of Dematra, the site of which may be perhaps found at Kastri, between Tripolitsa and Sparta. Possessed of ample means, he spent his money liberally for the defence of Frankish Greece, alike in the Peloponnese and in Euboea; and great was the grief of all men when his valiant career was cut short. Now, for the first time since the conquest, Athens was governed by a Greek, for Guy's mother, Helene Angela of Neopatras, who has given her title to K. Rhangavês' drama, 'The Duchess of Athens,' acted as regent for her infant son, Guy, until a second marriage with her late husband's brother-in-law, Hugh de Brienne, provided him with a more powerful guardian. The family of Brienne was one of the most famous of that day. First heard of in Champagne during the reign of Hugh Capet, it had, in the thirteenth century, won an Imperial diadem at Constantinople, a royal crown at Jerusalem, and a count's coronet at Lecce and at Jaffa; ere long it was destined to provide the last French Duke of Athens.

The Burgundian duchy of Athens had now reached its zenith; and the ceremony of Guy II's coming of age, which has been described for us in the picturesque Catalan chronicle of Muntaner, affords a striking proof of the splendour of the ducal Court at Thebes. The young duke had invited all the great men of his duchy; he had let it be known, too, throughout the Greek Empire and the Despotat of Epiros and his mother's home of Thessaly, that whosoever came should receive gifts and favours from his hands, 'for he was one of the noblest men in all Romania who was not a king, and eke one of the richest.' When all the guests had assembled, Archbishop Nicholas of Thebes celebrated mass in the Theban

minster; and then all eyes were fixed upon the Duke, to see whom he would ask to confer upon him the order of knighthood—'a duty which the King of France, or the Emperor himself, would have thought it a pleasure and an honour to perform.' What was the surprise of the brilliant throng when Guy, instead of calling upon such great nobles as Thomas of Salona or Otho of St Omer, co-owner with himself of Thebes, called to his side a young Eubœan knight, Boniface of Verona, lord of but a single castle, which he had sold the better to equip himself and his retinue. Yet no one made a braver show at the Theban Court; he always wore the richest clothes, and on the day of the ceremony none was more elegantly dressed than he, though every one had attired himself and his *jongleurs* in the fairest apparel. This was the man whom the young duke bade dub him a knight, and upon whom, as a reward for this service, he bestowed the hand of a fair damsel of Eubœa, Agnes de Cicon, Lady of the classic island of Ægina and of the great Eubœan castle of Karystos or Castel Rosso, still a picturesque ruin. The duke gave him also thirteen castles on the mainland and the famous island of Salamis—sufficient to bring him in a revenue of 50,000 *sols*.

Prosperous indeed must have been the state whose ruler could afford such splendid generosity. Worthy too of such a sovereign was the castle in which he dwelt —the work of the great Theban baron, Nicholas II de St Omer, who had built it out of the vast wealth of his wife, Marie of Antioch. The castle of St Omer, which was described as 'the finest baronial mansion in all Romania,'* contained sufficient rooms for an emperor and his court; and its walls were decorated with frescoes illustrating the conquest of the Holy Land by the Franks, in which the ancestors of its founder had borne a prominent part. Alas! one stumpy tower, still bearing the name of Santameri, is all that now remains of this noble residence of the Athenian dukes and the Theban barons.

French influence now spread from Thebes over the great plain of Thessaly to the slopes of Olympos. The Duke of Neopatras died, leaving his nephew of Athens guardian of his infant son and regent of his dominions,

* Τὸ Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως, ll. 8071-8092.

threatened alike by the Greek Emperor, Andronikos II, and by the able and ambitious Lady of Epiros. At Lamia, the fortress which had been part of his mother's dowry, Guy received the homage of the Thessalian baronage, and appointed as his viceroy Antoine le Flamenc, a Fleming who had become lord of the Bœotian Karditsa (where a Greek inscription on the church of St George still commemorates him as its 'most pious' founder), and who is described as 'the wisest man in all the duchy.' The Greek nobles of Thessaly learnt the French language; coins with Latin inscriptions were issued in the name of Guy's young ward from the mint of Neopatras;* and the condition of Thessaly was accurately depicted in that curious story the 'Romance of Achilles,' in which the Greek hero marries a French damsel and the introduction of French customs is allegorically represented by cutting the child's hair in Frankish fashion.†

Wherever there was knightly work to be done, the gallant Duke of Athens was foremost; none was more impetuous than he at the great tournament held on the Isthmus of Corinth in 1305, at which the whole chivalry of Frankish Greece was present. He needs must challenge Master Bouchart, one of the best jousters of the West, to single combat with the lance; and their horses met with such force that the ducal charger fell and rolled its rider in the dust. His Theban castle rang with the songs of minstrels; festival after festival followed at his Court; and this prosperity was not merely on the surface. Now for the first time we find Attica supplying Eubœa with corn, while the gift of silken garments to Pope Boniface VIII is a proof of the continued manufacture of silk at Thebes. But the duke's health was undermined by an incurable malady; he had no heirs of his body; and, when he died in 1308, there was already looming on the frontiers of Greece that Grand Company of Catalan soldiers of fortune whom the weakness of the Emperor, Andronikos II, had invited from the stricken fields of Sicily to be the terror and the scourge of the Levant. The last duke of the house of la Roche was laid to rest

* Schlumberger, 'Numismatique de l'Orient latin,' p. 382.
† Sáthas in 'Annuaire des études grecques,' vol. xiii.

in the noble Byzantine abbey of Daphni or Dalfinet (as the Franks called it), on the Sacred Way between Athens and Eleusis, which Otho had bestowed upon the Cistercians a century before. Even to-day there may be seen in the courtyard a sarcophagus, with a cross, two snakes, and two lilies carved upon it, which the French scholar Buchon ('La Grèce continentale') believed to have been the tomb of 'the good duke,' Guy II.

The succession to the 'delectable duchy' of Athens—for such, indeed, it was in the early years of the fourteenth century—was not seriously disputed. There were only two claimants, both first cousins of the late duke—Eschive, Lady of Beyrout, and Walter de Brienne, Count of Lecce, a true scion of that adventurous family, who had been a 'knight of death' in the Angevin cause in Sicily, and had fought like the lion on his banner at the fatal battle of Gagliano. The rival claims having been referred to the High Court of Achaia, of which the Duke of Athens was, in Angevin times, a peer, the barons decided, as was natural, in favour of the gallant and powerful Count of Lecce, more fitted than a lonely widow to govern a military state. Unfortunately, Duke Walter of Athens was as rash as he was brave; prison and defeat in Sicily had not taught him to respect the infantry of Cataluña. Speaking their language and knowing their ways, he thought that he might use them for his own ends and then dismiss them when they had served his purpose.

In the spring of 1309 the Catalan Grand Company, threatened by starvation in Macedonia, marched through the vale of Tempe into the granary of Greece, whence, a year later, they descended upon Lamia. The Duke of Neopatras had now come of age, and had not only emancipated himself from Athenian tutelage, but had formed a triple alliance with the Greek Emperor and the Greek Despot of Epiros in order to prevent the ultimate annexation of his country by his French neighbours. In these circumstances the new Duke of Athens bethought himself of employing the wandering Catalans against the allies. Thanks to the good offices of Roger Deslaur, a knight of Roussillon who was in his employ, he engaged them at the same high rate of payment which they had received from Andronikos II. The

Catalans at once showed that they were well worth the money, for by the end of a six months' campaign they had captured more than thirty castles for their employer. Thereupon his three adversaries hastened to make peace with him on his own terms.

Walter now rashly resolved to rid himself of the expensive mercenaries for whom he had no further use. He first selected 500 men from their ranks, gave them their pay and lands on which to settle, and then abruptly bade the others begone, although at the time he still owed them four months' wages. They naturally declined to obey this summary order, and prepared to conquer or die; for retreat was impossible, and there was no other land where they could seek their fortune. Walter, too, assembled all available troops against the common enemies of Frankish Greece—for as such the savage Catalans were regarded. Never had a Latin army made such a brave show as that which was drawn up under his command in the spring of 1311 on the great Bœotian plain, almost on the self-same spot where, more than sixteen centuries before, Philip of Macedon had won that 'dishonest victory' which destroyed the freedom of classic Greece, and where, in the time of Sulla, her Roman masters had thrice met the Pontic troops of Mithridates. All the great feudatories of Greece rallied to his call. There came Alberto Pallavicini, Marquess of Boudonitza, who kept the pass of Thermopylæ; Thomas de Stromoncourt of Salona, who ruled over the slopes of Parnassos, and whose noble castle still preserves the memory of its medieval lords; Boniface of Verona, the favourite of the late Duke of Athens; George Ghisi, one of the three great barons of Eubœa; and Jean de Maisy, another powerful magnate of that famous island. From Achaia, and from the scattered duchy of the Archipelago, contingents arrived to do battle against the desperate mercenaries of Cataluña. Already Walter dreamed of not merely routing the company, but of planting his lion banner on the ramparts of Byzantium.

But the Catalans were better strategists than the impetuous Duke of Athens. They knew that the strength of the Franks lay in the rush of their splendid cavalry, and they laid their plans accordingly. The marshy soil of the Copaïc basin afforded them an excellent defence

against a charge of horsemen; and they carefully prepared the ground by ploughing it up, digging a trench round it, and then irrigating the whole area by means of canals from the river Kephissos. By the middle of March, when the two armies met face to face, a treacherous covering of green grass concealed the quaking bog from the gaze of the Frankish leaders.

As if he had some presentiment of his coming death, Walter made his will—a curious document still preserved * —and then, on March 15, took up his stand on the hill called the Thourion, still surmounted by a medieval tower, to survey the field. Before the battle began, the 500 favoured Catalans whom he had retained came to him and told him that they would rather die than fight against their old comrades. The duke bade them do as they pleased; and their defection added a welcome and experienced contingent to the enemy's forces. When they had gone, the duke, impatient for the fray, placed himself at the head of 200 French knights with golden spurs and charged with a shout across the plain. But, when they reached the fatal spot where the grass was greenest, their horses, heavily weighted with their coats of mail, plunged all unsuspecting into the treacherous morass. Some rolled over with their armoured riders in the mire; others, stuck fast in the stiff bog, stood still, in the picturesque phrase of the Byzantine historian, 'like equestrian statues,' powerless to move. The shouts of 'Aragon! Aragon!' from the Catalans increased the panic of the horses; showers of arrows hailed upon the helpless Franks; and the Turkish auxiliaries of the Catalans rushed forward and completed the deadly work. So great was the slaughter that only four Frankish nobles are known to have survived that fatal day—Boniface of Verona, Roger Deslaur, the eldest son of the Duke of Naxos, and Jean de Maisy of Eubœa.† At one blow the Catalans had destroyed the noble chivalry of Frankish Greece; and the men, whose forefathers had marched with Boniface of Montferrat into Greece a century earlier, lay dead in the fatal Bœotian swamp.

* D'Arbois de Jubainville, 'Voyage paléographique dans le département de l'Aube,' pp. 332–340.

† Muntaner, ch. 240; Thomas, 'Diplomatarium,' i, 111; Predelli, 'Commemoriali,' i, 198.

Among them was the Duke of Athens, whose head, severed by a Catalan knife, was borne, long afterwards, on a funeral galley to Brindisi and buried in the church of Santa Croce in his Italian county of Lecce.

The Athenian duchy, 'the pleasaunce of the Latins,' as Villani * quaintly calls it, now lay at the mercy of the Grand Company; for the Greeks made no resistance to their new masters, and in fact looked upon the annihilation of the Franks as a welcome relief. We would fain believe the story of the Aragonese 'Chronicle of the Morea,' that the heroic widow of the fallen duke, a worthy daughter of a Constable of France, defended the Akropolis, where she had taken refuge with her little son Walter, till she saw that there was no hope of succour. But the Byzantine historian, Nikephóros Gregorâs, expressly says that Athens fell without a struggle, as Thebes had already fallen. Argos and Nauplia alone held aloft the banner of the Frankish dukes. Thus the Catalans were able, without opposition, to parcel out among themselves the towns and castles of the duchy; the widows of the slain became the wives of the slayers; each soldier received a consort according to his services; and many a rough warrior thus found himself the husband of some noble dame in whose veins flowed the bluest blood of France, and 'whose washhand-basin,' in the phrase of Muntaner, 'he was not worthy to bear.'

After nine years' wandering these vagabonds settled down in the promised land, which the most extraordinary fate had bestowed upon them. But they lacked a leader of sufficient social position to preside over their changed destinies. Finding no such man in their own ranks, they offered the post to one of their four noble prisoners, Boniface of Verona, whom Muntaner, his guest at Negroponte, has described as 'the wisest and most courteous nobleman that was ever born.' Both of these qualities made him disinclined to accept an offer which would have rendered him an object of suspicion to Venice, his neighbour in Eubœa, and of loathing to the whole Frankish world. On his refusal the Catalans turned to Roger Deslaur, whom neither ties of blood nor scruples

* 'Hist. de' suoi Tempi,' viii, 50.

of conscience prevented from becoming their leader. As his reward he received the castle of Salona together with the widow of its fallen lord.

But the victors of the Kephissos soon recognised that they needed some more powerful head than a simple knight of Roussillon, if they were to hold the duchy against the jealous enemies whom their meteoric success had alarmed and excited. Their choice naturally fell upon King Frederick II of Sicily, the master whom they had served in that island ten years earlier, and who had already shown that he was not unwilling to profit by their achievements. Accordingly, in 1312, they invited him to send them one of his children. He gave them as their duke his second son Manfred, in whose name—as the Duke was still too young to come himself—he sent, as governor of Athens, Beranger Estañol, a knight of Ampurias. On his arrival Deslaur laid down his office, and we hear of him no more.

The Catalan duchy of Athens was now organised as a state, which, though dependent in name on a Sicilian duke, really enjoyed a large measure of independence. The duke nominated the two chief officials, the vicar-general and the marshal, of whom the former, appointed during good pleasure, was the political, the latter the military, governor of the duchy. The marshal was always chosen from the ranks of the Company; and the office was for half a century hereditary in the family of De Novelles. Each city and district had its own local governor, called *veguer*, *castellano*, or *capitán*, whose term of office was fixed at three years, and who was nominated by the duke, by the vicar-general, or by the local representatives from among the citizens of the community. The principal towns and villages were represented by persons known as *sindici*, and possessed municipal officials and councils, which did not hesitate to present petitions, signed with the seal of St George by the chancellor, to the duke whenever they desired the redress of grievances. On one occasion we find the communities actually electing the vicar-general; and the dukes frequently wrote to them about affairs of state. One of their principal subsequent demands was that official posts should be bestowed upon residents in the duchy, not upon Sicilians.

The feudal system continued to exist, but with far less

brilliance than under the Burgundian dukes. The Catalan conquerors were of common origin; and, even after seventy years of residence, the roll of noble families in the whole duchy contained only some sixteen names. The Company particularly objected to the bestowal of strong fortresses, such as Livadia, upon private individuals, preferring that they should be administered by the government officials. The 'Customs of Barcelona' now supplanted the feudal 'Assizes of Romania'; the Catalan idiom of Muntaner took the place of the elegant French which had been spoken by the Frankish rulers of Greece. Even to their Greek subjects the Spanish dukes wrote in 'the Catalan dialect,' the employment of which, as we are expressly told, was 'according to the custom and usage of the city of Athens.' Alike by Catalans and French, the Greeks were treated as an inferior race, excluded, as a general rule, from all civic rights, forbidden to intermarry with the conquerors, and still deprived of their higher ecclesiastical functionaries. But there were some notable exceptions to these harsh disqualifications. The people of Livadia, for services rendered to the Company, early received the full franchise of the Conquistadors; towards the end of the Catalan domination we find Greeks holding such important posts as those of *castellano* of Salona, chancellor of Athens, and notary of Livadia; a count of Salona and a marshal married Greek ladies; and their wives were allowed to retain their own faith.

Under the rule of Estañol the Catalans not only held their ground in Attica and Bœotia, but increased the terror of their name among all their neighbours. In vain the Pope appealed to King James II of Aragon to drive them out of Attica; in vain he described the late Duke Walter as a 'true athlete of Christ and faithful boxer of the Church'; the king's politic reply was to the effect that the Catalans, if they were cruel, were also Catholics, who would prove a valuable bulwark of Romanism against the schismatic Greeks of Byzantium.* The appointment of King Frederick II's natural son, Don Alfonso Fadrique (or Frederick), as 'President of the fortunate army of Franks in the Duchy of Athens' yet further strengthened the position of the Company. The new vicar-general

* Raynaldi, 'Annales ecclesiastici,' v, 22, 23.

was a man of much energy and force of character; and during his thirteen years' administration the Catalan state attained its zenith. Practically independent of Sicilian influence—for the nominal Duke Manfred died in the year of Fadrique's appointment, and his younger brother William was likewise a minor—he acquired a stronger hold upon Attica, and at the same time a pretext for intervention in the affairs of Eubœa, by his marriage with Marulla, the heiress of Boniface of Verona, 'one of the fairest Christians in the world, the best woman and the wisest that ever was in that land,' as Muntaner, who knew her, enthusiastically describes her. With her Fadrique received back, as her dowry, the thirteen castles which Guy II of Athens had bestowed upon her father on that memorable day at Thebes.

The growing power of the Catalans under this daring leader, who had marched across 'the black bridge' of Negroponte and had occupied two of the most important castles of the island, so greatly alarmed the Venetians that they persuaded King Frederick II of Sicily to curb the restless ambition of his bastard son, lest a European coalition should be formed against the disturber of Greece. Above all else, the Republic was anxious that a Catalan navy should not be formed at the Piræus; and it was therefore stipulated, in 1319, that a plank was to be taken out of the hull of each of the Catalan vessels then lying in 'the sea of Athens,' and that the ships' tackle was to be taken up to 'the Castle of Athens' and there deposited.* Thus shut out from naval enterprise, Fadrique now extended his dominions by land. The last Duke of Neopatras had died in 1318, and the best part of his duchy soon fell into the hands of the Catalans of Athens, who might claim that they represented the Burgundian dukes, and were therefore entitled to some voice in the government of a land which Guy II had once administered. At Neopatras, the seat of the extinct Greek dynasty of the Angeloi, Fadrique made his second capital, styling himself 'Vicar-General of the duchies of Athens and Neopatras.' Thenceforth the Sicilian dukes of Athens assumed the double title which figures on their coins and in their documents; and, long after the Catalan duchies

* Thomas, 'Diplomatarium,' i, 120–122.

had passed away, the Kings of Aragon continued to bear it. This conquest made the Company master of practically all continental Greece; even the Venetian Marquess of Boudonitza paid an annual tribute of four horses to the Catalan vicar-general.* Still, however, the faithful family of Foucherolles held the two great fortresses of Argos and Nauplia for the exiled house of Brienne.

Young Walter had now grown up to man's estate, and it seemed to him that the time had come to strike a blow for the recovery of his Athenian heritage. The Angevins of Naples supported him in their own interest as well as his; Pope John XXII bade the Archbishops of Patras and Corinth preach a crusade against the 'schismatics, sons of perdition, and pupils of iniquity' who had seized his patrimony; but the subtle Venetians, who could have contributed more than Angevin aid or papal thunder to the success of his expedition, had just renewed their truce with the Catalans. From that moment his attempt was bound to fail.

Walter was, like his father, a rash general, while his opponents had not forgotten the art of strategy, to which they owed their success. At first the brilliant band of French knights and Tuscan men-at-arms which crossed over with him to Epiros in 1331 carried all before it. But, when he arrived in the Catalan duchy, he found that the enemy was much too cautious to give his fine cavalry a chance of displaying its prowess on the plains of Boeotia. While the Catalans remained behind the walls of their fortresses, the invaders wasted their energies on the open country. Ere long Walter's small stock of money ran out, and his chances diminished with it. The Greeks rendered him no assistance. It is true that a correspondent of the historian Nikephóros Gregorâs wrote that they were 'suffering under extreme slavery,' and had 'exchanged their ancient happiness for boorish ways'; but either their sufferings were insufficient to make them desire a change of masters, or their boorishness was such that it made them indifferent to the advantages of French culture. Early in the following year Walter took ship for Italy, never to return. Summoned by the Florentines to command their forces, he

* Curita, 'Anales de la Corona de Aragon,' bk. x, ch. 30.

became tyrant of their city, whence he was expelled amidst universal rejoicings eleven years later. His name and arms may still be seen in the Bargello of Florence. Thirteen years afterwards he fell fighting, as Constable of France, against the English at the battle of Poitiers. His sister Isabelle, wife of Walter d'Enghien, succeeded to his estates and his pretensions; some of her descendants continued to bear, till 1381, the empty title of Duke of Athens, while the last fragments of the French duchy —the castles of Nauplia and Argos—remained in the possession of others of her line till, in 1388, they were purchased by Venice.

One irreparable loss was inflicted upon Greece by this expedition. In order to prevent the castle of St Omer at Thebes from falling into his hands, the Catalans destroyed that noble monument of Frankish rule. Loudly does the 'Chronicle of the Morea' lament over the loss of a building more closely associated than any other with the past glories of the De la Roche. At the time of its destruction it belonged to Bartolommeo Ghisi, Great Constable of Achaia, one of the three great barons of Eubœa, son-in-law of Fadrique, and a man of literary and historic tastes, for the French version of the Chronicle, 'Le Livre de la Conqueste,' was originally found in his Theban castle.* Had Fadrique still been head of the Company at the time, he would probably have saved his kinsman's home; but for some unexplained reason he was no longer vicar-general, though he was still in Greece. Possibly, as he paid a visit to Sicily about this time, he may have been accused at the Sicilian Court of aiming at independent sovereignty in the duchies—an accusation to which his too successful career may have lent some colour. Though he never resumed the leadership of the Catalans he passed the rest of his life in Greece, where one of his sons was Count of Salona, and another became, later on, vicar-general of the duchies.

Soon after Walter's futile expedition the Papacy made its peace with the 'sons of perdition,' who came to be regarded as a possible defence against the growing Turkish peril. Unfortunately, when the Catalans became respect-

* Τὸ Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως, ll. 8086-8092; 'Le Livre de la Conqueste pp. 1, 274.

able members of Christendom, they ceased to be formidable. Occasionally the old Adam broke out, as when the Count of Salona plied the trade of a pirate with the aid of the 'unspeakable' Turk. But their Thessalian conquests were slipping away from the luxurious and drunken progeny of the hardy warriors who had smitten the Franks in the marshes of the Kephissos. Meanwhile, in distant Sicily, the shadowy Dukes of Athens and Neopatras came and went without ever seeing their Greek duchies. Duke William died in 1338; and his successors, John and Frederick of Randazzo, the picturesque town on the slopes of Etna, both succumbed to the plague a few years later—mere names in the history of Athens. But in 1355 the new Duke of Athens became also King of Sicily, under the title of Frederick III; and thus the two duchies, which had hitherto been the appanage of younger members of the royal family, were united with the Sicilian crown in the person of its holder.

Thenceforth, as is natural, the archives of Palermo contain far more frequent allusions to the duchies of Athens and Neopatras, whose inhabitants petition their royal duke for redress of grievances and for the appointment of suitable officials. But it is evident from the tenour of these documents that the Catalan state was rapidly declining. In addition to the Turkish peril and the menaces of the Venetians of Negroponte, the once united soldiers of fortune were divided into factions, which paralysed the central authority, and were aggravated by the prolonged absence of the vicar-general in Sicily. One party wished to place the duchies under the protection of Genoa, the natural enemy of Venice, while two bitter rivals, Roger de Lluria and Pedro de Puig, or Puigpardines, the chief justice, an unjust judge and a grasping and ambitious official, both claimed the title of vicar of the absent vicar-general. Puig's tyranny became so odious to Catalans and Greeks alike that the former rose against him and slew him and his chief adherents. The experiment of allowing the vicar-general as well as the duke to remain an absentee had thus proved to be a failure; Lluria, as the strongest man on the spot, was rewarded with the office of vicar-general as the sole means of keeping the duchies intact. So vulnerable did the Catalan state appear that the representatives of Walter

of Brienne, the Baron of Argos and the Count of Conversano, renewed the attempt of their predecessor and, if we may believe the Aragonese 'Chronicle of the Morea,' actually occupied for a time the city of Athens.

The fast approaching Turkish danger ought to have united all the Latin states of the Levant against the common foe, to whom they all eventually succumbed. An attempt at union was made by Pope Gregory XI, at the instance of the Archbishop of Neopatras; and a congress of the Christian rulers of the East was convened by him to meet at Thebes in 1373. We can well imagine how the ancient city, the capital of the Athenian duchy, was enlivened by the arrival of these more or less eminent persons, or their envoys; how the Archbishops of Neopatras and Naxos preached a new crusade against the infidel in the church of Our Lady; how every one applauded their excellent advice; and how personal jealousies marred the results of that, as of every subsequent congress on the Eastern question. Scarcely had the delegates separated, when Nerio Acciajuoli, Baron of Corinth, the boldest and astutest of them all, a worthy scion of that great Florentine family of bankers established for a generation in the principality of Achaia showed his appreciation of the value of unity by seizing Megara as the first step on the way to Athens. It is an interesting proof of the popularity of Catalan rule among those Greeks, at any rate, who held office under the Company, that one of the warmest defenders of Megara was a Greek notary, Demetrios Rendi, who afterwards rose to a position of importance at Athens. Such was the weakness of the once terrible Catalan state that the upstart Florentine's attack remained unavenged. The fall of Catalan rule was now only a question of time.

The death of the royal Duke of Athens and Neopatras, Frederick III, in 1377, yet further injured his Greek duchies. The duke had bequeathed them to his young daughter Maria; but the succession was disputed by King Pedro IV of Aragon, brother-in-law of Frederick III, who appealed to the principle of the Salic law as laid down by that monarch's predecessor, Frederick II. The Catalans of Attica were naturally disinclined to accept the government of a young girl at so critical a moment, when the Turk was at their gates,

All the three archbishops and the principal barons and knights at once declared for the King of Aragon; but there was a minority in favour of Maria, headed by the Venetian Marquess of Boudonitza, who was eager to shake off the bond of vassalage to the vicar-general. The burgesses, anxious for security, supported the Aragonese party. At this moment, however, a third competitor appeared in the duchies in the shape of the Navarrese Company, which sought to repeat the exploits of the Catalans seventy years before. The researches of the learned historian of the Catalans and Navarrese, Don Antonio Rubió y Lluch, have thrown a flood of light upon this portion of the Athenian annals, and have explained much that was hitherto obscure. Employed originally by King Charles II of Navarre in his struggle with Charles V of France, the Navarrese mercenaries had found their occupation gone when those two rival sovereigns made peace in 1366. After many vicissitudes they found congenial service, fourteen years later, under the banner of Jacques de Baux, Prince of Achaia and the last titular Emperor of Constantinople, who thought the moment had come to recover his ancestors' dominions.

Accordingly, early in 1380, they directed their steps towards Attica, under the command of Mahiot de Coquerel, chamberlain of the King of Navarre, and Pedro de Superan, surnamed Bordo, or the bastard.* These experienced leaders found valuable assistance in the chiefs of the Sicilian party; in the knights of St John who sallied forth from the Morea to pillage the distracted duchy; in the Count of Conversano, who seems to have now made a second attempt to regain his ancestors' heritage; and in the mutual jealousies of Thebes and Athens, fomented by the characteristic desire of the Athenians to be independent of Theban supremacy. In Bœotia, one place after another fell before the adventurers from Navarre; the noble castle of Livadia, which still preserves the memory of its Catalan masters, was betrayed by a Greek from Durazzo; and the capital was surrendered by two Spanish traitors. But the fortress of

* Rubió y Lluch, 'Los Navarros en Grecia,' p. 309, *n.* 2; a much more probable explanation, derived from the word *bort* ('bastard'), than that of Ducange (note to Cinnamus, p. 392), who says that he was so called because our Black Prince had conferred on him the freedom of Bordeaux.

Salona defied their assaults; and the Akropolis, thanks to the bravery of its governor, Romeo de Bellarbe, and to the loyalty of the ever useful notary, Demetrios Rendi, baffled the machinations of a little band of malcontents. These severe checks broke the force of the soldiers of Navarre; their appearance in Greece had alarmed all the petty potentates of the Morea and the islands; and they withdrew to Bœotia, whence, some two years later, they were finally dislodged. Thence they proceeded to the Morea, where they carved out a principality, nominally for Jacques de Baux, really for themselves.

The people of Athens and Salona, whose loyalty to the crown of Aragon had saved the duchies, were well aware of the value of their services, and were resolved to have their reward. Both communities accordingly presented petitions to King Pedro; and these capitulations, drawn up in the Catalan language, have fortunately been preserved in the archives of Barcelona. Both the Athenian capitulations and those of Salona are largely concerned with personal questions—requests that this or that faithful person should receive privileges, lands, and honours, especially his Majesty's most loyal subject, the Greek Demetrios Rendi. From the date of the Frankish conquest no member of the conquered race had ever risen to such eminence as this serviceable clerk, who now obtained broad acres, goods, and serfs in both Attica and Bœotia. But there were some clauses in the Athenian petition of a more general character. The Athenians begged the central authorities at Thebes for a continuance of their recently won independence, and for permission to bequeath their property and serfs to the Catholic Church. Both these prayers met with a blank refusal. King Pedro told the petitioners that he intended to treat the duchies as an indivisible whole, and that home-rule for Athens was quite out of the question. He also reminded them that the Catalans were only a small garrison in Greece, and that, if holy Church became possessed of their property, there would be no one left to defend the country. He also observed that there was no hardship in this, for the law of Athens was also that of his kingdoms of Majorca and Valencia. The soundness of his Majesty's statesmanship was obvious in the peculiar conditions of the Catalan state; but this demand shows

the influence of the Church, an influence rarely found in the history of Frankish Greece.

Of all the dukes who had held sway over Athens, Pedro IV was the first to express himself in enthusiastic terms about the Akropolis. The poetic monarch—himself a troubadour and a chronicler—described that sacred rock in eloquent language as 'the most precious jewel that exists in the world, and such as all the kings of Christendom together would imitate in vain.' He had doubtless heard from the lips of Bishop Boyl of Megara, who was chaplain in the chapel of St Bartholomew in the governor's palace on the Akropolis, a description of the ancient buildings, then almost uninjured, which the bishop knew so well. Yet he considered twelve men-at-arms sufficient defence for the brightest jewel in his crown.

Pedro now did his best to repair the ravages of the civil war; he ordered a general amnesty for all the inhabitants of the duchies, and showered rewards on faithful cities and individuals. Livadia, always a privileged town in the Catalan period, not only received a confirmation of its rights, but became the seat of the Order of St George in Greece, an honour due to the fact that the head of the saint was then preserved there. Most important of all for the future history of Greece, the king granted exemption from taxes for two years to all Albanians who would come and settle in the depleted duchies. This was the beginning of that Albanian colonisation of Attica of which so many traces remain in the population and the topography of the present day.

But the Albanian colonists came too late to save the Catalan domination. From the heights of Acrocorinth and from the twin hills of Megara, Nerio Acciajuoli, the Florentine upstart, had been attentively watching the rapid dissolution of the Catalan power. He saw a land weakened by civil war and foreign invasion; he knew that the titular duke was an absentee, engrossed with more important affairs; he found the ducal viceroys summoned away to Spain or Sicily, while the old families of the conquest were almost as extinct as the French whom they had displaced. He was a man of action, without scruples, without fear, and he resolved to strike. Hiring a galley from the Venetian arsenal at Candia, under pretext of sweeping Turkish corsairs from the

two seas, he assembled a large force of cavalry, and sought an excuse for intervention. The pride of a noble dame was the occasion of the fall of Athens. Nerio asked the Dowager Countess of Salona to give her daughter's hand to his brother-in-law, Pietro Saraceno, scion of a Sienese family long settled in Eubœa. The Countess, in whose veins flowed the Imperial blood of the Cantacuzenes, scornfully rejected the offer of the Florentine tradesman, and affianced her daughter to a Servian princeling of Thessaly. Franks and Greeks at Salona were alike indignant at this alliance with a Slav; Nerio's horsemen invaded the county and the rest of the duchy, while his galley went straight for the Piræus. In the absence of a guiding hand—for the vicar-general was away in Spain—the Catalans made no serious resistance; only the Akropolis and a few other castles held out. In vain the King of Aragon despatched Pedro de Pau to take the command; that gallant officer, the last Catalan governor of the noblest fortress in Europe, defended the 'Castle of Athens' for more than a twelvemonth, till, on May 2, 1388, it too surrendered to the Florentine. The new King of Aragon in vain promised the *Sindici* of Athens to visit 'so famous a portion of his realm,' and announced that he was sending a fleet to 'confound his enemies.' We know not whether the fleet ever arrived; if it did, it was unsuccessful. The sovereigns of Aragon might gratify their vanity by appointing a titular vicar-general, or even a duke, of the duchies whose names they still included in their titles; once, indeed, the news of an expedition aroused alarm at Athens. But it proved to be merely the usual tall talk of the Catalans; the flag of Aragon never waved again from the ramparts of the Akropolis; the duchy passed to the Acciajuoli.

The Catalan Grand Company disappeared from the face of Attica as rapidly as rain from its light soil. Like their Burgundian predecessors, these soldiers of fortune conquered but struck no root in the land. Some took ship for Sicily; some, like Ballester, the last Catalan Archbishop of Athens, are heard of in Cataluña; while others, among them the two branches of the Fadrique family, lingered on for a time, the one at Salona, the other at Ægina, where we find their connexions, the Catalan family of Caopena, ruling till 1451—a fact which explains the

boast of a much later Catalan writer, Peña y Farel, that his countrymen maintained their 'ancient splendour' in Greece till the middle of the fifteenth century. Thither the Catalans conveyed the head of St George, and thence it was removed to the church of San Giorgio Maggiore at Venice, when the Venetians succeeded the Caopena as masters of Ægina. Even to-day a noble family in Zante bears the name of Kataliános; and in the island of Santorin are three families of Spanish origin—those of Da Corogna, De Cigalla, and Delenda, to which last the present Catholic Archbishop of Athens belongs. Besides the castles of Salona, Livadia, and Lamia, and the row of towers between Livadia and Thebes, the Catalans have left a memorial of their stay in Greece in the curious fresco of the Virgin and Child, now in the Christian Archæological Museum at Athens, which came from the church of the Prophet Elias near the gate of the Agora. Unlike their predecessors, they minted no coins; unlike them, they had no ducal court in their midst to stimulate luxury and refinement. Yet even in the Athens of the Catalans there was some culture. A diligent Athenian priest copied medical works; and we hear of the libraries belonging to the Catholic bishops of Salona and Megara.

The Greeks long remembered with terror the Catalan domination. A Greek girl, in a medieval ballad, prays that her seducer may 'fall into the hands of the Catalans'; even a generation ago the name of Catalan was used as a term of reproach in Attica and in Eubœa, in Akarnania, Messenia, Lakonia, and at Tripolitsa. Yet, as we have seen, the Greeks did not raise a finger to assist a French restoration when they had the chance, while there are several instances of Greeks rendering valuable aid to the Catalans against the men of Navarre. Harsher they may have been than the French, but they probably gained their bad name before they settled down in Attica, and became more staid and more tolerant as they became respectable. In our own time they have found admirers and apologists among their own countrymen, who are justly proud of the fact that the most famous city in the world was for two generations governed by the sons of Cataluña. And in the history of Athens, where nothing can lack interest, they, too, are entitled to a place.

WILLIAM MILLER.

Art. VI.—HONORÉ DE BALZAC AND M. BRUNETIÈRE.

1. *H. de Balzac, Œuvres Posthumes. Lettres à l'Étrangère.* Paris: Calmann Lévy. Tome I (1833–1842), 1899; Tome II (1842–1844), 1906.
2. *L'Œuvre de H. de Balzac.* Par Marcel Barrière. Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1890.
3. *Essais sur Balzac. Seconds Essais sur Balzac.* Par Paul Flat. Paris: Plon, 1893–1894.
4. *Honoré de Balzac.* Par Edmond Biré. Paris: Champion, 1897.
5. *Balzac Ignoré.* Par A. Cabanès. Paris: Charles, 1899.
6. *La Jeunesse de Balzac.* Par G. Hanotaux et G. Vicaire. Part I: 'Balzac Imprimeur.' Paris: Ferroud, 1903.
7. *Honoré de Balzac: his Life and Writings.* By Mary F. Sandars. London: John Murray, 1904.
8. *Aspects of Balzac.* By W. H. Helm. London: Eveleigh Nash, 1905.
9. *Balzac; l'Homme et l'Œuvre.* Par A. Le Breton. Paris: Armand Colin, 1905.
10. *Honoré de Balzac.* Par Ferdinand Brunetière. Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1906.

And other works.

ABOUT a dozen years ago it would not have been so very inexcusable to think that solid information as to Balzac was a mine nearly exhausted. Of opinion on him, and of its expression, there could be no exhaustion; every generation, almost every individual, who, with some care for letters, approached the subject, must or might have something new to say on it, as on that of all the greatest men of letters of the world. But nearly half a century had passed since Balzac's death; he had been, both before that death and after it, the subject of almost infinite gossip, and of not a little serious treatment; his work had been presented in an *édition définitive* furnished with all the apparatus that a collector of unsparing industry, great resources, methodical spirit, and (most valuable of all) a thorough acquaintance not merely with his subject, but with its surroundings, could supply. Here, if anywhere, the attitude of 'Mon siège est fait,' which the literary inquirer is so often tempted to adopt, might seem justified; here, if anywhere, there might have been an excuse for

regarding the communication of fresh material as otiose, impertinent, almost offensive.

Yet few people who had much experience of such things could really have thought that a stationary condition *in rebus Balzacianis* had been reached. It was well known that the unhasting, unresting diligence and the ample means of M. Spoelberch de Lovenjoul were still at work; and that M. de Lovenjoul, unlike some collectors, was not a person who delighted in reinterring, under jealous guardianship, the treasures which he might have disinterred. Further, Balzac's polypragmatism on the one hand, and that tendency to careful and official preservation of all business documents which the French have inherited from their Roman lords on the other, made it pretty certain that fresh matter would turn up. Moreover, there were abundant opportunities for further illumination. The principal authority for the novelist's early life, his sister Laure Surville, was sometimes quite evidently, though very innocently, untrustworthy; his middle period was subject to the rather flickering lights of Romantic anecdotage and *charge;* while he himself, though by no means a deliberate inventor of mystifications, was too constantly under the influence of a 'disrealising' imagination to be an ideal authority. Above all, it was certain that his letters to the lady whom he adored for the greater part of his literary life, and whom he married just at its close, would, when completely published, give information that could not be neglected. To what extent this new material might affect the really important point—the estimate to be formed of Balzac as a figure in literature—was of course an altogether subsequent question, and it would necessarily have to be taken in conjunction with the changes of critical standpoint and method which might occur meanwhile.

The first important installation of new light came in 1897, and was supplied by M. Edmond Biré. M. Biré's competence as an explorer in biographical byways had been amply proved before, especially in his series of works on Victor Hugo. In these latter, however, there was an obvious and somewhat ghoulish animus; people who did not take any very different view in politics from M. Biré's had been a little disgusted by the sort of furtive relish with which he conducted his *post-mortem* vivisec-

tion, as it were, of the great poet's failings as a man, and his exposure of the insincerities which were not much more characteristic of the man than of the poet. But there was no room for this animus in regard to Balzac; and the method was therefore in place. Then came the beginning of the 'Œuvres Posthumes'—those 'Lettres à l'Étrangère' (Madame Hanska) which have been referred to above. They were followed by the work of MM. Hanotaux and Vicaire, which, though chiefly occupied with a minute report of Balzac's unlucky experiences as a publisher and printer, contained other things more inviting, especially an enthusiastic account of the influence of Madame de Berny upon him, and by M. Cabanès' enquiry into his always recognised but never very carefully examined fancy for the occult. These things, in their turn, were certain to invite fresh critical considerations, of which we have some remarkable examples before us, and to suggest a general survey.

Naturally enough, that survey will be most profitably directed to the French constituents of the list. Balzac, indeed, as from almost the first he has been, is European. Dr Brandes' study of many years ago in Danish has been recently Englished; and in the British Museum Catalogue you may find a study in Hungarian jostling a lucubration in Norse. The two originally English items of our list are by no means unworthy of their subject. Miss Sandars is practically the first writer to have given a really full account of Balzac's life in any language. She has not merely had before her all the printed material that we have just enumerated, but she has been furnished with unpublished matter from and in the ample stores of M. le Vicomte Spoelberch de Lovenjoul himself.*

A somewhat severer method, especially in regard to chronology, and a more regular habit of giving chapter and verse (or at least page) of the works cited, might have improved the book a little; but, if anybody wants a full

* If we have not put M. de Lovenjoul into our actual list of sources it is only that, in the famous saying, he might be the more conspicuous. For thirty years all the most valuable material in the *édition définitive*, and the later works of others, has been directly or indirectly due to him and to his minor publications, 'La Génèse d'un Roman de Balzac,' 'Autour de Balzac,' 'Une Page Perdue de Balzac,' etc., as well as to his contributions of yet uncollected letters to various periodicals. A full list of these will be found at p. 8 of the work of MM. Hanotaux and Vicaire.

and accurate sketch of Balzac's life, he will find none combining fulness and accuracy in anything like the same degree. Mr Helm's 'Aspects,' on the other hand, as their title indicates, are essays on separate points which have struck the writer. They testify to a pretty intimate acquaintance with the 'Comédie,' and arrange the results of that acquaintance under heads—'Balzac and Dickens,' 'Men and Women of the Human Comedy,' etc.—not unlikely to attract those who might be daunted by such a formidable set of 'cabin furniture' as the whole works, and perhaps puzzled by any particular work on which, without preparation, they might fall.

Those, on the other hand, who already have more or less of an acquaintance with the 'Comédie' itself, and who are acquainted, also more or less, with the older comments on it and introductions to it, French and English, may naturally prefer to take the fresh matter for themselves, with or without the assistance of critical ushering. Of that matter the most important beyond all doubt is to be found in the 'Lettres à l'Étrangère,' the first volume of which, published seven years ago, has been supplemented by a second, and (we suppose, since the contents only go to 1844) awaits completion in a third. This may not appear very soon, for the mass is great (there are already something like a thousand large pages of small print) and the process of editing may not be easy. We had a few of these letters already in the official 'Correspondence,' where, however, M. de Lovenjoul warns us there were certain garblings; and these are likely to have increased in the later letters. But what we have warrants examination. It extends almost to the end of Balzac's great period of production; for, as was long ago known, the last three or four years of his life, owing to his visit to the Ukraine and other causes, were not fertile. Moreover, a very much larger proportion of these last years was spent in Madame Hanska's company, so that letters between them were not necessary. It is true that the enigma of the delay of their marriage grows ever more puzzling during these same last years. But the more carefully one reads the great mass already published, the less does it seem likely that future instalments will contribute materially towards its solution.

M. Brunetière, who is nothing if not strong-minded,

is of opinion that the love-letters of literary men usually *sonnent faux*. Let us, borrowing a famous saying from his own language, admit that it may often be said of the literary lover, as of the cat, 'Il se caresse à elle.' But it does not follow that this form of caress is at all 'false,' though it may often be difficult for third persons to discover the reason of selection of its object. Never, certainly, was this difficulty greater than in the case of Balzac's *elle*. The same masculine critic, rather hastily pronouncing her *pas très intéressante*, asks, with a Villonesque echo rare in him, of her own letters, 'Où sont elles?' Now if Balzac was not a teller of stories in more senses than one, they are in the limbo of things burnt; if not, and if M. de Lovenjoul lives long enough, one may feel a placid confidence that they will be found some day or other, and published some day or other sooner or later after that. But meanwhile (and it must be remembered that even letters are not always illuminative of character, though they generally are) she is an absolute enigma. Generally, letters addressed to a person are almost as tell-tale as those written by him; but this is not the case here. Interpretations of her have been attempted; but in our judgment they are almost wholly arbitrary. Miss Sandars, who has, we gather, seen the original of the miniature by Daffinger, of which Balzac speaks so often, handsomely calls her 'handsome'; but the engraving thereof hardly justifies such a word. Still, that is nothing. Ausonius may not have been a great poet, but none has better expressed what all have thought than he did when he said to Crispa:

'Mi pulchra es; judice me satis est.'

The more important thing is that the face has very little expression except that of a not unintelligent but rather shallow curiosity, and a probably rather superficial good nature, quite capable of changing into something else. But this is mere guess-work, and there is nothing, positively nothing, to supplement it. Balzac's raptures give no clue; his business details, which are so oddly interpolated, could not give any. We know that she liked *cotignac* (quince marmalade), *alberges* (clingstone peaches), and *pâté de foie gras*; but this, though innocent and almost commendable, is quite uncharacter-

istic. She could (it is one of the extremely few things that we do know of her) make a fairly pretty though very obvious *mot*, as when she wrote in an album after her lover's pompous sentiment, 'Great men are like rocks; only oysters attach themselves thereto,' 'Moi je suis donc une huître.' A great deal too much, as it seems to us, has been made of an unlucky letter of hers to her daughter, on the way from Russia to Paris after the wedding, in which she, it seems, says little about her husband's illness and much about a pearl necklace. Considering that this was actually the finish of a letter of his own, it would have been doubtful taste or wisdom to indulge in jeremiads; and a woman who does not go into ecstasies over a new pearl necklace (if she likes pearls) is not fit to live. So also abuse of her for keeping Balzac dangling so long is quite idle. Even some of those who indulge in this abuse seem to have seen that there are very obvious reasons for the delay; and it may be very much doubted whether she was not a much better inspirer absent than present. But the point is not this. It is that the precise nature of the inspiration, its cause and so forth, are all hopelessly dark to us.*

Such cases in such natures are, of course, never very clear. Browning did almost better than Ausonius when he wrote, 'I am I; thou art thou.' Nor is it so very uncommon to have few details of the 'thou.' But there certainly is something remarkable in this obscurity surrounding a person who was actually alive five-and-twenty years ago; who was for nearly two decades the idol of one of the greatest men of letters in Europe; who for another three lived in its social capital. There is plenty of gossip about her extravagance (though she paid her husband's debts) and the greater extravagance of her daughter. People discuss whether she was sorry for Balzac's death or not, and blame her for affecting too much grief in her letters after it, just as they blame her for not affecting enough before at his illness. But they will not, or they cannot, tell us anything real about her,

* The common suggestion that it was mere snobbery—that Balzac was magnetised by a Countess—is foolish. Magnetism of this kind does not last twenty years. And to call her, as MM. Hanotaux and Vicaire do, 'cette *noire* Polonaise' seems to attain the melodramatic and approach the absurd.

and they have at least the excuse that Balzac, in a thousand large pages of small print, manages to tell us nearly as little.

But he tells us a good deal about himself, though not much, perhaps, that is new to any one who has read the works in the light of the earlier correspondence. The result may be called, if anybody likes, a picture of egotism; but, if Balzac had not been an egotist, the world would never have had the 'Comédie Humaine'; and therefore to be egotistic was his truest altruism. Nor is there about this egotism, as there almost always is in other cases, much that is disgusting; it is so childlike, so little priggish, and even so rarely offensive in the proper sense of that word. Balzac, of course, is not always just, though very free from literary jealousy on the whole; his very egotism helped him there, as it sometimes does and should oftener. He has now and then outbursts of spleen, not merely at Hugo, who too often gave just cause, but even once at Gautier, the staunchest and most amiable of the friends that were at all his equals. He is most unjustifiable towards his mother, who beggared herself for him and slaved for him; yet he makes up for this injustice elsewhere. But the egotism itself saves him, because he has very little time to think or speak of other people at all.

M. de Balzac's work and M. de Balzac's debts—on these two inexhaustible and infinitely intertwined subjects he is never tired of talking. At first they are diluted with much lover's 'little language,' nor, to do Balzac justice, does it seem that he got tired of addressing his beloved as *minette* or as *fleur du ciel*, of proposing to lay his weary head upon her knees, and so forth. But after a time two of these burning epistles found their way into M. de Hanski's hands; and Balzac had to write a cock-and-bull explanation (which certainly would not have deceived Othello or Master Ford) to the effect that it was all done 'in character' as between the hero and heroine of the 'Chouans,' the Marquis de Montauran and Marie de Verneuil. Now M. Venceslas de Hanski was not either of the tragic or of one of the comic moulds of husbands; he was very much older than his wife; it was perhaps not entirely without his arrangement that she and Balzac never met during the later years of his own lifetime; and meanwhile he accepted the apology. But the 'pussies' and the 'flowers of heaven' had to cease for the next half-

dozen years, and to be represented only by artful circumlocutions and words to the wise. They reappear, however (with 'weight for age'), after the husband's death in 1841; and the sincerity of Balzac's affection during the time when Madame Hanska—from remorse, or prudence, or fifty other probable causes—bade him be free, or, renewing her promise, postponed its fulfilment, is wholly unmistakable.

But the debts and the books, the books and the debts, these continue throughout. The books may have interested her, for her first communication with Balzac, as 'l'Étrangère,' in the very early days of his fame, had been about them. But she must have had misgivings as to such a very preoccupied husband; while the debts might certainly give cause for more misgiving still. Even Balzac's love-making is sometimes naïvely awkward. He defends himself, of course, against her necessary and not ill-founded jealousies, but he is anything but discreet in his defences. It is possible that she did not appreciate the honour of being, as he constantly protests that she is, the successor and heiress of Madame de Berny in his affections, with the advantage of youth and beauty. It is possible that she appreciated it still less when she was herself no longer young, and might be conscious that her beauty was not increasing. But in all these things Balzac reveals himself to us more and more plainly. It has been said of him, to excuse some of his fantastic schemes, that 'for him there was no future, everything was present.' It would be at least equally true to say that there was no present, that everything was future. He constantly thanks St Paul for the words *una fides*, which he applies (in a sense over which the apostle would have certainly used his most apostolic language) to his affection for Madame Hanska and hers for him. But another Pauline phrase, 'reaching forth unto those things that are before,' is Balzac to the life.

The completion of the *édition définitive* was certain to bring about a new series of critical considerations of it. The first of these,* which may be called in a way the

* It does not seem needful now to dwell on M. de Lovenjoul's 'Histoire des Œuvres' (3rd edition, 1888), or on MM. Christophe and Cerfbeer's 'Répertoire' (1893). They are almost indispensable companions to critical study, but lend themselves little to criticism.

'Official Guide' to the subject—the volume by M. Marcel Barrière, which appeared in 1890—is not to be spoken of disrespectfully; but it has the almost necessary defects of the title which we have given to it. It consists, for about nine-tenths of its five hundred pages, of an elaborate analysis of the works themselves—a thing which, at any rate on such a scale, one may venture to pronounce superfluous to those who have given themselves the trouble to read these works and not very intelligible to those who have not, while dangerously likely to create in them the idea that they may spare themselves the actual reading. The few general critical remarks, by no means unsound, are too few and too general.

Very much more original, and very much more interesting, are the two volumes of essays which M. Paul Flat issued in 1893 and 1894. We do not think that they are on the right lines; but they are on lines which had been growing popular for years before M. Flat wrote, and which have been growing more popular ever since. M. Flat has some acute remarks—we may specify some of them later. But it is not at acute remarks that he himself aims. For him the 'Comédie Humaine' is an anthropology—and an anthropology of types rather than of individuals. The obsession of the type is, of course, nothing new in French literature; very much the reverse. But with M. Flat, as with many others since Taine and, indeed, long before Taine, the phenomenon inverts itself in a very curious fashion. It is an old complaint that the French creator creates not so much the individual as the type. But the newer French critic (following Taine and Saint-Marc Girardin earlier) seems to regard these created individuals, such as they are, only as materials from which to extract the type itself. M. Flat will not consider Esther Gobseck, Josépha, Valérie Marneffe, Catherine Tonsard, Flore Brazier, as persons at all; they are the *courtisane* of this class, the *courtisane* of that, the *courtisane* of the other. Just as M. Brunetière sinks the book in the *genre*, so does M. Flat sink the character in the class-heading.

No doubt Balzac is tempting material on which to work out such a conception of criticism; he has lent and will lend himself to the 'philosophical' critics with the greatest docility; nay, he would probably have himself

by no means objected to the process. But it is a process which makes of the great and terrible, but also the fascinating and always alive jungle of the 'Comédie,' a *hortus siccus* indeed! M. Flat, in one of his chapter-abstracts, tells us that 'La seule manière de comprendre les femmes de Balzac c'est de les aimer.' It is a little rhetorical, and not exactly new; but there is a very great deal of truth in it. Only, may it be permitted to enquire, whether it is *la seule*, whether it is even '*une bonne* manière de les aimer' to endeavour to comprehend them in this museum-fashion? Everybody, no doubt, has his own manner of loving and comprehending; you may, we suppose, love by notebook and schedule and class-list. But perhaps the old way is better. And even for comprehension, is there not a danger of stopping a little too short at the labels?—'Jeune Fille, No. x; Courtisane, *sub-var.* inconsciente'; Married woman 'with husband inferior in his way of loving.' The places of the garden seem to us, once more, extremely dry! So, again, it is legitimate, it is even very profitable, to compare the handling of the peasant by Balzac and by Zola. But it becomes dangerous in the extreme when you take these things as facts of nature, and elaborate from them a theory on the text, 'C'est dans les rapports sexuels que s'accentue le mieux la nature instinctive du paysan.' To take your peasant 'from a printed book,' and that book avowed fiction, is, we venture to suggest, very pseudo-scientific 'science.' But we find it *passim* in M. Paul Flat.

M. Biré's book will always be important in the history of Balzacian study, not merely because it sets at rest for ever the deeply interesting question of the orthography of the novelist's name *—a point which, of course, affects the quality of his work vitally—but because, in an unpretentious and half desultory way, it applies to Balzac its author's almost unequalled patience, industry and luck in the pursuit of biographical and bibliographical fact. As a critic M. Biré hardly exists; it is enough to say that he admires Balzac's attack on Sainte-Beuve in the 'Revue de Paris,' one of the very clumsiest and dullest splutters of wounded vanity that was ever put forth by a man of

* It was not '*de* Balzac'—that we pretty well knew: but it was not Balzac at all, it was 'Balssa' or 'Balsas,' and the ancestors were day-labourers in the Tarn.

genius. But in one thing, which M. Brunetière pronounces indispensable to criticism, 'L'Art de vérifier les Dates,' he is very nearly supreme; and, thanks to his artistry in this respect, we have all the facts about Balzac's abortive candidatures for Parliament and the Academy, with an elaborate and really interesting survey of his political opinions and utterances—things, as the few careful students of the 'Œuvres Diverses' know, by no means negligible, and showing as much capacity as the purely literary essays show (except in reference to novel-writing itself) want of capacity. The rest of the volume is occupied with an equally minute study of Balzac's connexion with the theatre—a connexion always unfortunate and for the most part representing nothing but wasted plans and tentatives. 'The strong contagion of the stage' has seldom been more clearly instanced than in this case of a man who was morbidly sensitive to the value of his time; who puts it repeatedly in actual figures to Madame Hanska; who was almost more eager for money than for fame; who knew that he was certain to make money (however inadequately) by his vocation, and persisted in *not* making it by this avocation. It is safe to say that, if he had devoted to novels the time that he did devote to plays and plans of plays, we should have had another twenty volumes of masterpieces, and he would have had at least another twenty thousand 'ducats'—a word which, in compliment apparently to his correspondent, he is fond of using in the 'Letters.'

On the other hand, M. Brunetière's examination of Balzac is one, in no common sense, of the most interesting pieces of pure criticism across which we have come for a long time. It is of course not free from its author's foibles; and one may regret those foibles while fully acknowledging that it would be less interesting if they were not there. If a man cannot enjoy Dumas, for instance, he cannot, and there's an end of it; one may be deeply sorry for him, but that is all. If, because he cannot enjoy Dumas, or can only enjoy, not comprehend him, he thinks him quite an inferior man of letters, one may question his critical catholicity, may detect a very blind side in his critical outlook; but once more there is an end of that. But why call the author of 'Les Trois Mousquetaires' 'a nigger' (*nègre*)? Especially why call him

so more than once, as if his niggerhood proved anything, and as if you had not yourself said wise words about the exaggeration of racial and other similar theories? Again, why (if you are such a critic as M. Brunetière is when his Minerva is in a good humour) resort to that cheapest and most worthless device of the cheapest and most worthless criticism—a device which, once more, you have yourself stigmatised—the device of running down novelists other than your hero by flings and innuendoes? Why talk more than once of Sandeau as 'sterile' and 'mediocre,' of Mérimée as *sec et prétentieux*, of Charles de Bernard (in one place at least) as again 'mediocre.' Sandeau may not have had many strings to his bow, and as a man he may have behaved badly to George Sand (though it is hard to see why the lady should keep all the bad behaviour to herself); Mérimée may have been beguiled by Byron and by Beyle into a pose of cynicism; Charles de Bernard may not have aspired to missions and problems and social theories. But there is no 'mediocrity' in Sandeau's treatment of the situation which he has made his own in 'La Maison de Penarvan,' in 'Mlle de Kerouare,' in 'Mlle de la Seiglière'; as for Charles de Bernard, Boileau on Regnard shall save us all trouble in that matter: 'Il n'est pas médiocrement gai.' And as for 'le sec et prétentieux auteur de "Carmen" et de "Colomba"'—the 'dryness' of *Carmen!* the 'pretentiousness' of *Colomba!*

But these things, however much we may regret them, however much they prove M. Brunetière to be human and arch-human as a critic, rather increase than diminish the interest of this elaborate essay, in which, though the mere details of biography are eschewed, the life, the works, the critics of the life and works, are discussed, as well as the whole relation of Balzac to the novel in general, and his historical, æsthetic, social, moral and influential character. One sees, from the first, that if the treatment is, also from the first, interesting, it is because the author is himself taking the deepest interest in his subject. And by degrees—perhaps pretty early to a reader of tolerable acuteness and experience—there dawns upon one a suspicion, which soon becomes a certainty, that this interest arises from the fact that the critic is pleading *pro domo sua*—at least for one of its apartments, or even more than one. Nor, after more or less ingenious

fencing and feinting for some two-thirds of his book, does M. Brunetière fail to confess it. Balzac is, it seems, a mighty document for that principle of 'The Evolution of Kinds' which M. Brunetière has made his master-doctrine, and to which, as he says loftily, critics have 'generally opposed such poor reasons.' It was in Balzac's hands, he thinks, that the novel became the novel—that it got its differentia from the tale, and the *nouvelle*, and the comedy, as well as from its ancestor the epic. While, though there is no regular confession of another fact, there is at the same time no attempt whatsoever to disguise it—that Balzac is a stick to beat the Romantics with; that his enormous industry and exactness put to shame a school 'which is by its true name the school of ignorance and presumption'; that even his neglect of love as a motive is a correction of the Romantic exaggeration of it; that his immense attention to detail conditions and realises his personages and his incidents in opposition to the Romantic Vague. One sees without difficulty what a reinforcement, ten thousand strong, Balzac (at least M. Brunetière's Balzac) is to M. Brunetière!

It must be admitted that in return he subsidises this great ally nobly. Balzac, as we have said, is for him, if not the revolutioniser of the modern novel, at any rate its starting-point in evolution. 'The form of his novel dominates our novelists for forty years past, as the form of the comedy of Molière dominated our dramatists for a hundred and fifty years earlier.' Balzac introduced into the novel the representation of life. An elaborate parallel, interesting and, as it seems to us, novel, though Taine may have suggested it, is instituted between Balzac and Comte, with considerations very honourable to the philosopher; and, in easy connexion with this, the admiration of Taine himself for Balzac is alleged, expounded, supported. And all this is put with M. Brunetière's well-known hammer-stroke of erudition and of logic—a stroke varied perhaps with rather too many flourishes of contempt for 'university' critics—a generation not quite alien from his own, one had thought—and the like, but admirably downright and forcible. M. Brunetière is of course far too good a critic not to recognise his subject's weak points, or some of them. He has to confess the inequality; though his instances may be thought some-

times not very happy, as where 'he will not speak of' the 'Peau de Chagrin.' He has to confess (though he makes some fight for it) the awkwardness of style; and he allows himself a contrast between Balzac and Hugo on this point which is just and generous to both, though he is neither generous nor just in the other contrast with Mérimée. He makes, as it seems to us, an almost unnecessary and a certainly rather hesitating and long-winded apology for the novelist's morality. But on the whole he carries him shoulder-high; there has hardly been such a championship of Balzac since that very essay of Taine's, fifty years ago, to which he refers and to which we referred above. It would almost have satisfied Balzac himself; though he certainly would not have liked M. Brunetière's confession of the *commis-voyageur* element in him, or some other things.

Yet, as generally happens when the shouting dies and the captains depart—though M. Brunetière's is not mere shouting, and he *is* a critical captain and no mean one—reflections come, demurrers suggest themselves. One very bright and illuminative, but perhaps not altogether favourably illuminative, sidelight occurs quite late in the book, where George Eliot is described as 'perhaps the greatest novelist of the English nineteenth century.' Observe that it is not in the slightest degree necessary to take sides on this question here. But it is quite obvious that any one who thinks George Eliot the greatest novelist of the English nineteenth century does thereby tell us a good deal about the nature of his admiration for Balzac—about the side of Balzac that he admires. A man might think George Eliot very far from being the greatest English novelist of the nineteenth century, and yet admire Balzac quite as much as M. Brunetière does. But he would admire him in quite a different way, for quite different things. Then, too, in the historical premisses or preambles on which M. Brunetière founds his estimate of Balzac as the introducer of the representation of life into the novel—the starter of its evolution in its proper form, etc.—there are some strange gaps and silences. It is remarkable that, though he rather frequently mentions 'Clarissa' by name, he never says anything of the *method* of Richardson; while the very name of Fielding or of any of his works does not appear. And though there is a

mention of Defoe, M. Brunetière seems to know nothing of his but 'Robinson Crusoe.' It is further remarkable that he attributes to Balzac the invention of 'the interior.' He knows, he says, no novels before his which were, if he may say so, 'costumed and furnished.' One could venture to question this even of French—Sorel, Furetière, Scarron, Le Sage himself occur. But, if you take in English, as M. Brunetière constantly does, it is most unquestionably not the case. From Defoe onwards the interior in costume and furniture appears; it is quite remarkable, if it has not always been remarked, in Smollett; and as for Scott (to whom M. Brunetière almost does justice, and of whose influence on Balzac he is well aware), it is one of his favourite, one of his most characteristic, and one of his most effective devices. There is evidently some reconstruction and buttressing wanted here.

It is, however, Balzac and not Balzac's critic who is our main subject, and we may be pardoned for making M. Brunetière's book—interesting as it is in what it contains, and fit to be read by all who would understand the 'Comédie Humaine'—an instrument for indicating certain points in that great work, and its greater workman, which M. Brunetière does not touch, or touches only to drop them. On one remarkable characteristic of the 'Comédie' we have seen nothing in his book; and we may add that we have seen very little anywhere. And that is the astonishingly small use, *in proportion*, which Balzac makes of that great weapon of the novelist, dialogue, and the almost smaller effect which it accordingly has in producing his results (whatever they are) on his readers. With some novelists dialogue is almost all-powerful. Dumas, for instance (but perhaps M. Brunetière would say this was because he was 'a nigger'), does almost everything by it. In his best books especially you may run the eye over dozens, scores, almost hundreds of pages without finding a single one printed 'solid.' The author seldom makes any reflections at all; and his descriptions, with, of course, some famous exceptions, are little more than longish stage directions. Nor is this by any means merely due to early practice in the drama itself; for something like it is to be found in writers who have had no such practice. In Balzac, after making every allowance for the fact that he often prints his actual conversations

without typographical separation of the speeches, the case is just the other way. Moreover, and this is still more noteworthy, it is not by what his characters do say that we remember them. The situation perhaps most of all; the character itself very often; the story sometimes (of that more presently)—these are the things for and by which we remember Balzac and the vast army of his creations; while sometimes it is not for any of these things even, but for 'interiors,' 'business,' and the like. When one thinks of single points in him, it is scarcely ever of such things as the 'He has got his discharge, by——!' of Dickens; as the 'Adsum' of Thackeray; as the 'Trop lourd!' of Porthos' last agony; as the longer but hardly less quintessenced malediction of Habakkuk Mucklewrath on Claverhouse. It is of Eugénie Grandet shrinking in automatic repulsion from the little bench as she reads her cousin's letter; of Henri de Marsay's cigar (his enjoyment of it, that is to say, for his words are quite commonplace) as he leaves 'la Fille aux yeux d'Or'; of the lover allowing himself to be built up in 'La Grande Bretêche.' Observe that there is not the slightest necessity to apportion the excellence implied in these different kinds of reminiscence; as a matter of fact, each way of fastening the interest and the appreciation of the reader is indifferently good. But the distinction remains.

There is another point on which, though no good critic can miss it, some critics seem to dislike dwelling; and this is that, though Balzac's separate situations, as has just been said, are arresting in the highest degree, it is often distinctly difficult to read him 'for the story.' Of the two commentators here dealt with who admire him most unflinchingly and rate him highest, even M. Brunetière, we think, lets slip an admission that 'interest' of the ordinary kind is not exactly Balzac's forte; while M. Flat (who is rather fond of long words) grants freely that his *affabulation* is weak. Once more, we need not and must not make too much of this; but it is important that it should not be forgotten, and the extreme Balzacian is sometimes apt to forget it. That it comes sometimes from Balzac's mania for rehandling and reshaping—that he has actually, like the hero of what is to some his most unforgettable short story, daubed the masterpiece into a blur—is certain. But it probably comes more often,

and is much more interesting as coming, from a want of exact co-ordination between the observation and the imagination, which are the two coursers of his car.

When we turn from M. Brunetière's volume to M. Le Breton's (which, as it happens, is the older of the two and is referred to by M. Brunetière directly once or twice, and obliquely perhaps oftener), it may seem that the less celebrated critic has some advantages over the more celebrated. His book is not only less brilliant but considerably less well planned; the 'hammer-stroke,' as we have called it, is wanting, and the general treatment, if not exactly confused, is a little desultory. There are superfluities—a surely unnecessary analysis of 'Eugénie Grandet'; a flat burglary, practised on the most open of doors, in the shape of an elaborate demonstration that the title 'Comédie Humaine' does not apply with strictly logical correctness, and that its complicated symmetry of construction and repartition is at best an innocent and transparent fraud. Further, M. Le Breton, by a process the reverse of that which editors and commentators usually go through, but by no means unprecedented, seems to have argued and studied himself into disliking his author. His last sentence runs: 'Il est en somme presque aussi difficile d'aimer Balzac que de ne pas l'admirer'; and one has long before seen him approaching this conclusion in his descants—seldom actually unfounded, but almost always too much emphasised—on Balzac's want of delicacy and refinement, on his pessimism, his over-production and the like.

Yet, for all this, there are merits, advantages of insight and of range, which we do not find in the more accomplished and artful monograph. To begin with, M. Le Breton, taking things as they are, and having no special thesis to defend, has no doubt, as we have no doubt, that Balzac is a Romantic—though a Romantic who has broken loose from the school, who does not wear the uniform, or eat the meat of the *Cénacle*. And he has thus no reason for evading, as we have seen that M. Brunetière does somewhat evade, the cardinal point of Balzac's genius, his immense, disorderly, half-tamed or wholly untamed Imagination. For what makes the Romantic, while it is certainly not mere 'ignorance and presumption,' is not, as M. Brunetière and others would have it in their more

sober moods, the exaltation of the Individual and the Personal; or rather it is not directly and primarily this. The Romantic is, or ought to be, 'of Imagination all compact'; and whether he is really so, or is only honestly trying or dishonestly shamming to be so, he has, no doubt, to insist upon, to exaggerate, the individual and the personal. But this is only a symptom in the genuine cases, an affectation in the non-genuine, an effort in the honest but incompetent. There may be more or less of Imitation (to borrow the great original contrast of Apollonius or Philostratus) mixed with the Imagination; but if Imagination is there, there also is Romance. Imagination is always in Balzac; and M. Le Breton sees it and says so.

But to this we may return. Among the other merits of his book let it be observed that for the earlier, though not quite for the later, years of his subject's life he incorporates all the recently discovered biographical facts; and that he is (unfortunately a very rare thing among Balzac's commentators) thoroughly acquainted with the 'Œuvres de Jeunesse.' He suggests, and we agree with him, that 'Argow le Pirate,' at any rate, might have been admitted to the 'Comédie' without finding itself by any means the ugliest duckling of the collection. He has seen, as very few French commentators, at any rate, have seen, Balzac's great debt to the Terror school in England; to Mrs Radcliffe and Lewis, as well as to Maturin, who has been somewhat better known in France. He is—again an excellent and not too common thing, even since the *édition définitive* put them within easy reach—well acquainted also with the curious miscellanies, articles, uncollected tales and what not, which throw so much light on their author though they rarely raise his literary position. If he is not quite so contemptuous as M. Brunetière of the easy, popular, specious explanations from heredity, locality and the like, he shows a commendable distrust of them. Yet he does not fail to admit the astonishing, the unique appropriateness of the comparison—obvious, trivial, banal as it may be—of Balzac's life and his novels.

He can, though he does not affect fine writing as a rule, put things well, as where he says of Madame Hanska: 'Elle avait sur ses rivales un immense avantage, celui d'être pour lui l'éternelle absente, le symbole même de son éternel désir;' or where he speaks of 'La frénésie

qui dévore toute l'humanité Balzacienne.' Yet he can be almost severely accurate, except when he unfortunately speaks several times of 'Caleb William,' the French apparently borrowing from Godwin the 's' which they so unnecessarily pay, or used to pay, to Shakespeare. He recognises, as hardly another Frenchman known to us, except perhaps Balzac himself and M. Milsand, has done, the 'realism' of Scott. Having no retainer on the other side, he can see the excellence of 'Les Chouans' and of 'La Peau de Chagrin,' while M. Brunetière condemns the one and averts his face from the other. For the same reason he can say courageously that in 'Les Parents Pauvres' 'the art of the novelist has lost in verisimilitude and in actual veracity what it has gained in power'—a statement which, however shocking it may be to the orthodox Balzacian, is well maintainable. He is just again, though no doubt again horrible to the straiter sect, in saying that want of measure is as habitual to Balzac as observation of fact, and that a considerable number of the constituents of the 'Comédie' are not 'works of art' at all. On the other hand, he goes so far as to deny that Balzac is ever tedious—a denial which we could not for our own part endorse; and he is even more positive and much more precise than M. Brunetière himself in attributing directly to Balzac characteristics of subsequent novelists, from Flaubert downwards, which we should ourselves be much more inclined to attribute to general influences, working alike on Balzac and on these his followers.

On the whole we are rather inclined to doubt whether, for an intelligent person who knows how to profit by a critical survey without blindly accepting its dicta, and who wishes to have a fairly correct general notion of a vast and confused multitude of facts which he cannot or will not sort or digest for himself, there is a better single book on the subject than M. Le Breton's. We should have no doubt whatever, if it were not for that unlucky last sentence and for a few others of the same kind. We call them 'unlucky,' not that in our opinion M. Le Breton's inability to like has in the least injured his power to admire, but merely because there is a generous if foolish notion in the mind of the laity, and sometimes even in that of the critic, that failure to like does mean

an impairing of the power to admire. Perhaps, too, it is rather unfortunate that M. Le Breton had not the opportunity, before writing, of reading the last instalment of the 'Lettres.' Their mass, we have said, is a little disproportionate to their gist; but on the whole they do undoubtedly tend to establish the idea of Balzac's sincerity and to fortify that of his good nature. The contrary notions had indeed been giving way in most careful students for a long time past, and were seen to have very little support, except in an unsubstantial and untrustworthy 'legend' of anecdote and gossip. The complete original Correspondence should have weakened them at once, and the first volume of the 'Étrangère' series have helped in the weakening; but the second, if not exactly the most interesting, is the most creditable of the three to its author as a man. And yet M. Le Breton might retort that it is upon the 'Comédie' itself that he bases his failure to like even while he admires; and to this plea there is no answer. The 'nervous impression,' as Flaubert said long ago to Sainte-Beuve, will sometimes have its way; and one can hardly say that the nervous impression produced by the 'Comédie Humaine' is on the whole exhilarating or even comfortable.

Perhaps, then, the conclusion may be that all this new matter (though some of it is extremely interesting) and all this new comment (though some of this also by no means lacks interest) leaves, as is commonly the case with great writers, the mass of whose work and the more important points of whose lives have long been before the world, the general result, the general impression, mainly unaffected. The new matter will of course produce, as the new comments show, and as we could have known without them, different effects, different impressions, on different intellects and temperaments. But that is inevitable. The different intellects and temperaments will select from new text and new comment each what suits it.* We shall all note—with due gravity but, except in the case of very small minds, with little interest or

* It may be just worth while to indicate—for the benefit of those who wish to obtain a somewhat clearer conception of that much-talked-of but as a rule very vaguely conceived thing 'symbolism'—an interesting pamphlet by E. Baumann, 'Le Symbolisme dans Balzac' (Paris: Verne, 1896).

surprise—that Honoré de Balzac, whom we already knew to be plain Honoré Balzac, was actually Honoré Balssa. It is only to be hoped that librarians of the new school will not think it necessary to alter their catalogues and to refer the unwary who look under 'Balzac' to 'Balssa.' The 'Lettres à l'Étrangère' will take their place, and a most welcome place, beside the Correspondence that we already possessed. The new bibliographical facts which that marvellous storeholder of Balzacian treasures, the Vicomte de Spoelberch de Lovenjoul, has brought, is bringing, and may bring forth will be duly registered. So, too, those critics who grudge Balzac to the Romantic side will continue to prove, to their own satisfaction, that he was not a Romantic; and those who do not grudge him will reply with arguments, in their judgment irrefutable, that he was. But the man and the work will remain, illustrated with a few new lights, or rather, with a few settings of the old lights at fresh angles, the same.

To some at least they will continue to present, as they presented long ago to that curious failure of a great critic, Philarète Chasles, the most gigantic and the most interesting example of embodied and embooked *hallucination* to be found in literature or, so far as is known, in life. Chasles appears to have had the honour of expressing this idea first; but scores and hundreds of readers, who did not take it from him, and who perhaps in most cases had never heard of him, must have felt it and thought it more or less confusedly. It, and it only, supplies a coherent and satisfying explanation of the Balzacian quality; and it is only surprising that difficulties should have been found in reconciling it to Balzac's precision, to his exact information and observation, to his so-called realism. What is more precise, more real, more vivid in its intervals between vagueness and chaos than a dream? Who is more orderly in his doings than a somnambulist? Hallucination, somnambulism, hypnotism, or simply the good old word 'dream'—these are the keys, and the only keys, to Balzac. You cannot ignore his 'realism,' such as it is—he will take good care of that—and it probably has its effect on some people who cannot look beyond it. But there are others who can, and who feel that they must. To them (M. Le Breton is one of them, and says it boldly, as others have said before him)

many of Balzac's personages are *not* 'des êtres réels.' Or rather, as we should put it, they are profoundly real, but with a reality different from that of this actual world—a 'reality of four dimensions' or of a larger number if it be preferred—a Reality once more of Imagination, not of Imitation.

Imagination—there we come back to it! Imagination which lacks the strictly poetic touch save in a few instances, which is busy with the ugly rather than with the beautiful, which in its own variety of dream inclines sometimes, perhaps generally, to the nightmare rather than to the beatific vision; but Imagination for all that. Take Defoe, the inventor of the realist novel as far as anybody ever invents anything; take the Goncourts, its last painful elaborators; and contrast them with Balzac. Take Flaubert, who in a manner combines Balzac and Hugo, and compare him in the two sharp divisions of his work with the three—Defoe, the Goncourts, Balzac himself. The comparison would take an article at least as long as the present to complete it, but it will work out in the sense of what has been said above. Balzac, almost everybody admits, is 'unequal,' while different persons say different things, good and evil, of him. But this is true of him, at his best as at his worst, and as it is true of no other novelist, that he always imagines at the very moment that he realises; that is to say, that he *dis*-realises at the same time. Sometimes—very often—the processes clog each other. Even M. Brunetière admits that on a special point 'Balzac ne se débarbouillera jamais,' 'will never get out of his mess'; and some critic has said of him that you are seldom at your ease with him. Let this be accepted. You are not, with Balzac, in the Elysian fields; you are sometimes much rather in the Halls of Eblis. But, if you can only apprehend it, there is always and everywhere Imagination to guide, relieve, console you; and it is the Imagination of a Titan, if not exactly of a God. And after all—after reading everything that Balzac has written, as far as it is attainable, and a very great deal of what has been written about him; after doing your best to sum him up, your best to correct other summaries—there suddenly occurs something that was said of the 'Comédie' on the very morrow of its author's death, something quite unpretentious in phrase but quite

final in effect: 'Livre qui est l'Observation *et* qui est l'Imagination.' It would be difficult to find another sentence where there is such final virtue in the pure conjunction *and*. But then this sentence was written by Victor Hugo.

This article was on the point of being sent to press when the news of M. Brunetière's unexpected death arrived. Nothing in it requires alteration for that reason, either on the more amiable rule of *nil nisi bonum*, or on the sterner one which substitutes *verum* for the final word. But we cannot omit a slight addition in reference to a writer whose name appears frequently in our text, and who not only was the chief literary critic of his own country, but had been for years acknowledged by all true masters of the craft as one of the chief critics of Europe.

M. Brunetière, as good critics do with a regularity unusual in some other departments of literature, had steadily improved his craftsmanship in the thirty years and more during which he practised. When he began, in the reaction which coincided with the natural dropping off of the great leaders of Romanticism, and with its own degradation into lower kinds, he adopted a rather exaggerated form of *neotato*-classicism, as it has been called —a refashioning and refastening of the chains of Boileau and La Harpe. A remarkable instance of this was his vehement and almost violent diatribe against the newly-formed 'Société des Anciens Textes Français,' as likely to divert people from the study of the great French seventeenth-century writers, and occupy them with medieval rubbish. He always, to the end of his critical days, continued to be on the 'classic' side; but long before the close of them he had adopted a far more catholic and historical view of literature. Against the Romantic degradations and caricatures above referred to he waged truceless war. His 'Le Roman Naturaliste' will remain the standard book, and logically the last word, on that subject, though it can never be really appreciated unless Zola's 'Le Roman Expérimental' be read with it. And it so happened that the very title of this book indicates the set which criticism was taking in his mind, and which declared itself more and more strongly thenceforward. This set was towards the evaluation of literature, not

so much by studies of particular authors—still less by that of particular books—as by examining the development of kinds, *genres*. To this he devoted his attention for many years, and under this almost the whole of his later work arranged itself, both before and after he undertook the responsible office of editor of the 'Revue des Deux Mondes.'

Like all systems and schemes of this sort—as Sainte-Beuve has pointed out, more than once, in reference to Nisard and Taine—such a method has disadvantages; we have glanced at some of them by anticipation above. But it gives, no doubt, unity, interest, and determination to the critic's work; and the necessary 'correction for aberration' can easily be applied. In the long series of works which M. Brunetière devoted to literature, almost wholly to French literature, the merits are conspicuous; and, if there are faults, they are never of the worst sort. From the two most damning sins of the critic—ignorance, whether of the 'heavy' kind which Tennyson has stigmatised in one of his greatest poems, or of the 'facetious and rejoicing' variety which Lockhart gibbets in his defence of Coleridge; and the surly spite which takes difference of opinion for a personal offence, if not for a moral crime—M. Brunetière was absolutely free. He could speak strongly, but he was never offensive, and never knowingly unfair. There were those who called him pedantic; but, as has been judiciously observed, there are some people to whom all knowledge is pedantry when they do not happen to possess it. He rarely—it might be too much to say that he never—suffered from the tendency to apply non-literary canons to literary work, which is so widespread and so fatal. That attachment to system sometimes led him wrong may be granted; but we have said that this can easily be allowed for. It may be doubted whether, at the moment, the literature of his country, to which he has given a lifetime of devotion, could suffer a heavier loss.

GEORGE SAINTSBURY.

Art. VII.—BRITISH SEA-FISHERIES.

1. *British Fisheries, their Administration and their Problems.* By James Johnstone. London: Williams and Norgate, 1905.
2. *An Examination of the Present State of the Grimsby Trawl Fishery, with especial reference to the Destruction of Immature Fish.* By E. W. L. Holt. 'Journal of the Marine Biological Association.' Vol. III. Plymouth, 1895.
3. *Journals of the Marine Biological Association of the United Kingdom.* Vols I–VII. Plymouth.
4. *Conseil Permanent International pour l'Exploration de la Mer.* 'Rapports et Procès verbaux.' Vol. III. Copenhagen.
5. *Fishery Board for Scotland. Report on the Fishery and Hydrographical Investigations in the North Sea and adjacent waters,* 1902–3. [Cd. 2612.] London, 1905.
6. *Marine Biological Association. First Report on the Fishery and Hydrographical Investigations in the North Sea and adjacent waters (Southern Area),* 1902–3. [Cd. 2670.] London, 1905.
7. *Annual Reports of the Inspectors of Sea-fisheries for England and Wales.* London, 1886–1905.

To contemplate all the legislation concerning English sea-fishing and the administration of this vast industry during the last century is alike to bewilder the reason and to fatigue the patience. The industry is an enormous one, and of the utmost value to the dwellers in these islands. At the present time there are over 27,000 vessels, manned by more than 90,000 seamen, fishing from the ports of Great Britain. They land over 900,000 tons of fish, worth some 10,000,000*l.*, during the year. In addition to the fishermen who remove the fish from the sea, a considerable population of packers, curers, coopers, hawkers, etc., is employed. For instance, out of the 20,000 hands employed in the Shetland herring-fishery last summer, 11,000 have been at sea, and 9120, of whom 7560 were women, have been employed on shore, not to mention the large number of railway employés who are engaged in the transport of a very perishable article. Apart from the material interests of the trade

(the capital invested in steamers, sailing-boats and gear of all kinds being estimated at more than 11,000,000*l.*), the fishing industry is of great importance to the country as a training-ground for sailors and marine engineers, and as affording a means of livelihood to a vigorous and an independent population.

Like any other industry, and—because the life-history of the inhabitants of the sea is still so obscure—perhaps more than any other industry, sea-fishing is liable to arbitrary fluctuations. There was, for instance, a partial failure in the herring-fishery in the summer of 1906 on the north and north-east of the Shetlands. The total number of crans landed was 438,950, as against 632,000 in 1905, a record year; and some of the Shetlanders have been hard put to it to live. Such a failure sets thinking those whose livelihood is threatened; but fishermen, although keen observers in what immediately concerns them, are not widely educated men, and cannot take into account, in estimating causes, the many factors of the problem, some of which usually escape even the most talented of marine biologists. Fishermen seek a sign, usually an obvious one; in the present case, the bad season was attributed to the presence of certain Norwegian whaling companies, which a few years ago established themselves in the Shetlands and are destroying the common rorqual, the lesser rorqual, Sibbald's rorqual, the cachalot, the humpbacked whale, and more rarely the Atlantic right-whale. These are killed for their blubber; the flesh is made into sausages, largely consumed in central Europe; and the bones are ground up for manure.

It is, however, doubtful if whaling is in any way responsible for the scarcity of the herrings. According to the evidence collected by Mr Donald Crawford's Committee on this subject in 1904, it would appear that practically the only point on which the fishermen were then agreed was that the spouting of the whales was often a good guide as to the position of the herring-shoals. But the whales do not bring the herrings; and the fishermen are not even agreed that they serve to concentrate them. It is probable that the general migrations and shoaling habits of the herrings are far more dependent on the physical character of the water—a relation which is particularly clear, as the international

investigations have already shown, in areas where sharply contrasted ocean-currents are constantly striving for the mastery, as they are in the neighbourhood of the Shetland Isles. The hydrographical bulletin of the International Council recorded a distinctly lower temperature for the Atlantic current between Iceland and Scotland at the beginning of the year 1906 than at the corresponding season of 1903, 1904, or 1905; and an unusually low temperature has been characteristic of the Shetland waters throughout the past summer. The Gulf Stream could more justly be blamed for the comparative failure of the Shetland fishery this year than the Norwegian whalers, whose operations have probably done no more injury to the herring-fishery than they did last year or the year before. Such failures are often real disasters to a seafaring population—a race who are, as a rule, of small versatility and unable to turn readily to new trades. Their occurrence usually provokes a cry for legislation.

Such an outcry is in this country usually met by the appointment of a Commission, or of a special Parliamentary Committee. Seventeen such enquiries into sea-fisheries have been held since Queen Victoria came to the throne, an average of one every four years. The usual process is gone through; a certain number of more or less influential gentlemen (one of them perhaps an expert) are given a 'wide reference,' and they proceed to take evidence. An energetic secretary, usually a young barrister, collects facts; a great number of witnesses, like Mrs Wititterly, 'express an immense variety of opinions on an immense variety of subjects.' These are written down and printed; and the Commissioners, with the aid of the energetic secretary, seek to distil wisdom out of the printed evidence of the multitude and base on it their recommendations. Legislation is sometimes recommended; but in the case of the sea-fisheries of this country, it has, perhaps fortunately, seldom followed the presentation of any of these reports.

It seems, indeed, that the time is hardly yet ripe for deep-sea-fishery legislation, much as it may be needed; and the reason is that our knowledge of the questions involved, although rapidly increasing, is still too deficient to form a sound basis for law-making. We propose to confine our attention in this article mainly to the North

Sea, and, from another point of view, mainly to the English fishing authorities, as opposed to those of Scotland and Ireland, in each of which countries the fishing industry is controlled by a separate Board. The fundamental and central question to be settled is whether there is a diminution in the fish generally, or in any particular species of food-fish in the North Sea area, by far the most productive of our fishing-grounds. If the answer is affirmative, we may ask, What is the cause of this diminution? and, How can it be arrested?

In 1863 Prof. Huxley, Mr (afterwards Sir) J. Caird, and Mr G. Shaw Lefevre were constituted a Royal Commission to enquire: (1) whether or not the value of the fisheries was increasing, stationary, or decreasing; (2) whether or not the existing methods of fishing did permanent harm to the fishing-grounds; and (3) whether or not the existing legislation was necessary. Three years later the Commission reported; and their Report forms an important milestone on the road of English fishery administration.

Since 1866 great progress has been made in our knowledge of the life-history of food-fishes; yet even to-day we are hardly in a position to answer the questions set to Prof. Huxley and his colleagues. At that time nothing was known about the eggs or spawn of the food-fishes. Even while the Commission was sitting, in 1864, Prof. G. O. Sars for the first time discovered and described the floating ova of the cod, and succeeded in artificially fertilising the ova and rearing the young. The following year he did the same with the mackerel; and Prof. Malm of Göteborg about this time obtained and fertilised the eggs of the flounder. Since that time we have found out the eggs of all the valuable food-fish, and artificially hatched most of them. But the facts about the cod's eggs appear to have been unknown to the Commission. They had to rely upon such data as the return of fish carried by the railway companies, the current prices of fish in the market, the return on the capital invested, and the impressions of leading merchants and fishermen. They had little scientific knowledge of sea-fisheries to guide them, for the knowledge scarcely existed; and they had no trustworthy statistics. Nevertheless, as was usually the case when Prof. Huxley was concerned, they

arrived at very definite conclusions—conclusions which subsequent writers have felt to be, for the time when they were formulated, sound. There was no doubt that at that date, both in Scotland and in England, the fisheries were improving; the number and the value of the fish landed at our fishing-ports were annually increasing; the capital invested in the industry yielded a satisfactory return.

The Commissioners strongly opposed the bounty system, which had done so much to build up the herring-fisheries in Scotland. They recommended the policy of opening the ports and the territorial waters to foreign seamen. They regarded the sea as free to all, just as the International Congress of Lawyers has last autumn declared the air to be. They found no reason to believe that the supply of fish was diminishing. They were aware of the enormous destruction, especially of immature fish, consequent upon the methods of fishing, but regarded this destruction as infinitesimal compared with what normally goes on in nature, and held that it did no permanent harm to the fisheries. They recommended that all laws regulating fishing in the open seas should be repealed, and, with two exceptions, that similar laws dealing with inshore fisheries should also be repealed; and they suggested that an Act should be passed dealing with the policing of the seas. The Sea Fisheries Act of 1868 carried these recommendations into effect, removed from the Statute-book over fifty Acts, some dating back for centuries, and rendered it possible for a fisherman to earn his living 'how, when, and where he pleased.'

But since 1868 much has changed. Beam-trawls continued to be increasingly used down to 1893, since which date they have been replaced, in steam-trawlers, by the more powerful otter-trawl. There has been an immense increase in the employment of steam-vessels. In 1883 the number of steamers was 225, with a tonnage of 6654 tons; in 1892 the steamers numbered 627, with a tonnage of 28,271. During the same time the number of first-class sailing-vessels had sunk from 8058 to 7319, whilst the tonnage was practically stationary—244,097 tons in 1883 as compared with 244,668 tons in 1892. The introduction of the use of ice, which took place about 1850, and the invention of various methods of renewing and aerating the water in the fish-tanks, enabled the

boats to remain much longer on the fishing-grounds, and to waste much less time in voyaging to and from the ports where the fish is landed. Further, the time spent on the grounds was appreciably lengthened by the employment of 'carriers,' which collect the fish from the fleet of trawlers and carry it to port. This process of 'fleeting,' as it is called, at first confined to the sailing-smacks, is still used by the large Hull fleets of steam-trawlers which provide Billingsgate and, more recently, Hull itself with daily supplies of trawled fish fresh from the fishing-grounds. There has also been a great growth in dock and other accommodation.

With the tendency to use larger vessels and more complex machinery came the tendency to form companies and syndicates. The fisherman ceased to own his boat, and now retains at best a share in it. The increase in size of both the vessel and the gear necessitates increased intricacy in the operations of fishing and increased specialisation on the part of the hands. The old fishing community, whose fathers and grandfathers have been fishers, is disappearing before the advance of modern economic forces. The fishing-village is turning into the cheap seaside resort.

The scene of operations of the North Sea fisherman is by no means limited to the area in the map over which the two words wander. Roughly, for purposes of definition, we may say that a North Sea fisherman is one who lands his fish at an eastern port. Should he do so at a southern or western port, even though he hail from Lowestoft or Scarborough, he temporarily ceases, for our purpose, to be a North Sea fisherman. The North Sea codmen work along the Orkneys, the Shetland and Faröe Islands, Rockall and Iceland. The fishing-grounds of east-coast trawlers now range from Iceland and the White Sea to the coasts of Portugal and Morocco. Boats have gradually made their way along the continental coasts on the eastern side of the North Sea, opening up, about the year 1868, the grounds to the north of the Horn reef off the Danish coast. In this direction, as in the Icelandic grounds, the pioneers have been the codmen and the 'liners,' who catch their fish on hooks attached to long lines—sometimes seven miles in length and carrying seven thousand hooks—which are lowered

to near the bottom and attached to buoys. The 'liners' also first exploited the more central portions of the North Sea, fishing the great Fisher Bank for many years before the appearance there, about thirty years ago, of the trawlers, who have only used it as a winter-ground since about 1885. It was not until about 1891 that trawlers visited the Icelandic grounds.

In spite of the increase in the area of the fishing-ground which took place in the last century, the intensity of the fishing has more than kept up with the new areas exploited. Prof. Huxley's Commission held the view that not only were as good fish in the sea as ever came out of it, but that the fish were as many and as large as before, and that there was no reason to suppose their number would diminish. Indeed, when we consider that an unfertilised fish-egg is rarely found in the sea, and that, according to Dr Fulton of the Fishery Board for Scotland, the female turbot produces annually 8,600,000 eggs, the cod 4,500,000, the haddock 450,000, the plaice 300,000, the flounder 1,400,000, the sole 570,000, whilst the herring has to be content with the comparatively meagre total of 31,000, optimism seems permissible. On the other hand, the reflection that, if the stock of cod remains about constant, only two out of the 8,600,000 ova attain maturity, gives some idea of the destructive forces at work.

The eggs are expelled into water, whilst a male is 'standing by,' fertilised in the water, and (except in the case of the herring, whose eggs sink) those of the chief food-fishes float to the surface, where they pass the first stages of their development. Except, again, in the case of the herring, which has definitely localised spawning-grounds, there has hitherto been little trustworthy evidence as to the existence either of stereotyped spawning migrations or of very definite breeding-grounds in the case of the chief food-fishes. The great Lofoten cod-fishery in spring is based on such a migration, as it is at this time of the year that the cod approach the coast in dense shoals for spawning purposes. During the summer, after the spawning is over, the cod disappear northwards. But with respect to the spawning habits of fishes in the waters most frequented by British fishermen we know little more than that the greater number of fish spawn in relatively deep water and at some distance from

land. Light will doubtless be thrown upon this problem by the international investigations now in progress. The brilliant discovery by the Danish investigators of immense numbers of the fry of the common eel in the deep water of the Atlantic, west of Ireland, and the absence of the eggs and fry from the North Sea and Baltic, render it practically certain that the countless hordes of eels which leave the rivers of north-western Europe in autumn migrate to the ocean for spawning purposes; and, more remarkable still, that the delicate young elvers which enter the same streams in autumn have already overcome the perils of the long return migration.

Before considering the evidence for the existence of a progressive impoverishment of the fishing-grounds, it should be recorded that the Trawling Commission of 1885 held that the increase of trawling had led to a scarcity of fish in the inshore waters; and that to get good catches it was necessary to go farther to sea. Eight years later, the Select Committee of 1893 held that 'a considerable diminution [had] occurred among the more valuable classes of flat-fish, especially among soles and plaice'; and that of 1900 reported that 'the subject of the diminution of the fish-supply is a very pressing one, and that the situation is going from bad to worse.'

The evidence which induced this change of view rests partly on experiment, partly on statistics. Although the new view may be correct, none of the older sources of evidence are altogether satisfactory. One charge which used to be made against the trawl—that it destroyed the fish-spawn—has been disproved. The ova of all the prime food-fish, as we have seen, with the exception of those of the herring, float on the surface; and the herring is a fish that shows no sign of diminishing in number. In 1886 the Scottish Fishery Board began experiments to determine whether the number and size of fish were diminishing on a certain limited area or not. The Firth of Forth and St Andrew's Bay were closed against commercial trawling, and divided into stations. Once a month the ship employed by the Board visited each station and trawled over a given area. The fish taken were counted and measured. For the first few years the results indicated an increase of food-fish; but, taking a longer period and considering the flat-fishes, we find that the

numbers of plaice and lemon-sole taken sank from 29,869 for the five years 1885–90, to 28,044 for the five years 1891–95. On the other hand, the dab, a comparatively worthless fish, had increased from 19,825 to 29,483.

These figures, it is true, have not been generally accepted as an exact measure of the changes which took place during the period investigated; but independent criticism has corroborated their general tendency. It looks as if protection had been encouraging the wrong sort—a process not unknown elsewhere. The explanation possibly lies in the facts adduced by Dr Fulton that the plaice and lemon-soles spawn only in the deep water outside the closed areas, where they are subject to continuous fishing, with the apparent result of a decrease in the number of eggs and fry inshore; whilst the dabs spawn to a large extent in the protected waters, and many of them in the offshore waters are able, in consequence of their small size, to escape through the meshes of the commercial trawl, even when mature.

Two further experiments, carried out in 1890 and 1901 by the Scottish Fishery Board and the Marine Biological Association respectively, showed for the first time that the annual harvest of a given area bears a much larger proportion to the stock of fish than had been previously supposed. These were experiments with marked fish, designed originally to trace their migrations. Out of more than 1200 plaice liberated in the Firth of Forth and St Andrew's Bay, more than 10 per cent. were recovered almost exclusively by hook and line. Owing to these waters being closed against trawlers, there is reason to believe that the number actually recaptured by trawl and line together was very much greater. Again, out of more than 400 marked plaice liberated on the Torbay fishing-grounds, 27 per cent of those liberated in the bay, and 35 per cent. of those set free on the offshore grounds, were recaptured by trawlers.

The evidence derived from statistics has hitherto been, in many respects, unsatisfactory. In spite of the recommendations of more than one Royal Commission, nothing was done towards a systematic collection of fishery statistics until the late Duke of Edinburgh, at a conference held at the Fisheries Exhibition of 1883, happened to read a paper on some statistics collected by coastguards

as to the quantity and quality of fish landed. This paper being sent to the Board of Trade, 'it was decided to establish a collection of fishery statistics for England and Wales on the same lines, and generally by the same machinery, as had been recommended by his Royal Highness.' Unfortunately, neither the lines nor the machinery have proved sound. The officials have also been hampered by want of funds. The Treasury offered 500*l.* (afterwards increased to 700*l.*) a year for statistical purposes—a totally inadequate sum when distributed as wages among the 157 'collectors' scattered round our coasts. The duties of these collectors were to send monthly returns of thirteen different kinds of 'wet fish' and three kinds of shell-fish, stating the quantities landed and the market value at the port. They had no powers to demand information from any one, or to examine books or catches or market and railway returns; and they were subject to but little if any supervision.

Not only were these statistics untrustworthy, even as a simple record of the quantities of fish landed, but they were rendered practically useless for exact enquiries concerning the decline of the fisheries, through the neglect of any precautions to discriminate between the catches in the home waters and those on distant fishing-grounds of a totally different character. Fish from Iceland, Faröe, and the Bay of Biscay, as these areas were successively exploited, all went to swell the totals in the single column of 'fish landed,' thus rendering it quite impossible to determine the state of the fishery on the older fishing-grounds around our coasts. Taking the statistics as they stand, however, we find that during 1886–1888 the average quantity of fish annually landed on the coasts of England and Wales amounted to 6,263,000 cwts, valued at 3,805,000*l.*; during 1890–1892 6,184,000 cwts, valued at 4,496,000*l.*; during 1900–1902 9,242,000 cwts, valued at 6,543,000*l.*

The average price of fish per cwt in these periods was consequently 12*s.* 2*d.* in 1886–8, 14*s.* 6½*d.* in 1890–2, and 14*s.* 3½*d.* in 1900–2. The census returns indicate that the population of England and Wales had risen in the meantime from about twenty-eight millions in 1887 to twenty-nine millions in 1891, and thirty-two and a half millions in 1901. We thus see that the people were steadily

increasing their expenditure on fish, viz. from 2*s.* 9*d.* per head in 1887 to 3s. 1*d.* in 1891, and to 4*s.* per head in 1901. The quantity consumed amounted to 25 lbs per head in 1887, 23·9 lbs in 1891, and 31·8 lbs in 1901.

To appreciate the significance of these figures it is necessary to bear in mind that, prior to 1891, the fishing was mostly prosecuted in the North Sea and in the immediate neighbourhood of our coasts. During this period the price rose 20 per cent. and the supply fell—facts which indicate with tolerable certainty that the yield of the older fishing-grounds had reached its limits, if it was not actually declining. But in the following decade the conditions were reversed; the supply increased 50 per cent. and the price fell 3*d.* per cwt. This was the period of rapid increase in the number of steam-trawlers, of the exploitation of new fishing-grounds in distant waters, and of a great expansion of the herring-fishery.

There was thus no question of a general scarcity of fish. Fishing-boats were multiplying and supplies increasing by leaps and bounds. Between 1891 and 1901 the average annual catch of plaice rose from 677,000 cwts to 959,000 cwts, that of cod from 367,000 to 748,000 cwts, and that of herrings from 1,400,000 to 2,800,000 cwts. In the absence of specific information as to the yield of the older fishing-grounds, Parliament and the Government turned a deaf ear to the fishermen's complaints.

But in 1900 it was shown to the Parliamentary Committee on the Sea Fisheries Bill of that year that, during the past decade, characterised (as we have seen) by a general fall in the price of fish, the price of plaice had risen 17 per cent., and that of other valuable flat-fishes from 3 to 6 per cent. It was also shown that, while the catching power had multiplied threefold in ten years, the catch of trawled fish had only increased 30 per cent. In 1901 the inspectors of fisheries provided a table contrasting for ten years the annual supply of trawled fish at Grimsby, Hull, and Boston (which receive the products of the Icelandic fisheries), with that at other east-coast ports which derive their fish exclusively from the North Sea. In the former ports the supply had increased from year to year, while at the other ports the supply during the years 1895–1900 was in no year so great as in the least productive of the years 1890–1895. The fishermen's

case was at last made out; and in 1902 the late Government decided to participate in the investigations recommended by the Christiania Conference in 1901 for the purpose of formulating international measures for the improvement of the North Sea fisheries.

It is satisfactory to turn from the past records of neglect, from the supineness of the authorities, the imperfections of the statistics, the inadequate pittance devoted to investigations, to the progress which has taken place since the Government decided to devote a reasonable proportion of public funds to the improvement of knowledge on fishery subjects. The collection of official statistics has been reorganised on all our coasts on a system which aims at obtaining complete accounts of the results of each voyage of every first-class fishing-boat; the catches of trawlers and liners are now distinguished; the quantities of fish caught in the North Sea are distinguished from those taken beyond that area; the quantities of large, medium, and small fish are separately recorded in important cases; the numbers, tonnage, and landings of different classes of fishing-vessels are separately enumerated.

It is interesting to note the first results of the more exact system introduced in 1903. Considering only the fish caught in the North Sea and landed on the east coast, we note a marked decline in the total catch of steam-trawlers during the past three years, and an increase in the catch of sailing trawlers. The former declined from 4¼ million cwts in 1903 to 3¾ million cwts in 1905; the latter increased from 277,000 cwts in 1903 to 296,000 cwts in 1905. It is shown, however, that these changes were accompanied by a considerable fall in the amount of fishing by steam-trawlers and a rise in the case of the sailing trawlers, so that inferences concerning impoverishment or the reverse would be premature. Nevertheless a fall in the abundance of haddock may be inferred from the fact that not only the total catch of this species, but also the average catch of the boats fell off continuously from 8·4 cwts per diem in 1903 to 6·1 cwts per diem in 1905. The fall is also seen to be mainly due to a scarcity of 'small' haddocks in 1904 and 1905 as compared with 1903. With the conclusions to which such data as these are likely to lead we are not now concerned; but these examples are

sufficient to show that the official statistics are no longer a confused mass of almost useless figures, but a rational and fairly accurate system capable of analysis.

We have now to examine those experimental branches of investigation which are equally necessary for the effective solution of fishery problems. The chief possible causes of an impoverishment of the sea are three in number. First, as in the central United States the accumulated richness of a virgin soil produced at first huge crops, so, when fishing began in the North Sea, an accumulated wealth, both in the number and in the greater size of the individual fish, was drawn upon. This 'accumulated stock' has been fished out.

Secondly, a given area of sea, like a given area of land, can support but a limited quantity of produce. There is a definite amount of food for fish in a definite volume of sea; a limit is therefore set to the number of fish in that volume of water. Prof. Hensen and Prof. Brandt, of Kiel, have shown that a square metre of the Baltic produces an average of 150 grammes of dry organic material in the shape of diatoms, copepods, and other floating organisms. A similar area of land produces 180 grammes of ultimate food-substance. The productivity of the sea is judged on this basis to be about 20 per cent. less than that of the land. The actual amount is of less importance than the consequences it entails. If the methods of fishing are more destructive of one species than another, comparatively worthless species may become dominant in areas where they were formerly scarce, and thus consume the food which should be reserved for their betters. It is commonly reported that the dab has tended to usurp the position formerly taken by the plaice, not only in the Scottish firths, but on the Dogger Bank, in the Devonshire bays, and in other localities. Dr Garstang, of the Marine Biological Association, tells us that small plaice transplanted to the Dogger Bank in 1904 grew three times as much in weight as did their fellows on the coastal banks; but in the following year they grew only twice as much, owing to the presence of vast quantities of small haddocks, which ate the plaice's food and were nevertheless too small and worthless themselves to be landed by the fishermen. Yet formerly the Dogger teemed with large plaice and haddock. It was stated

to the Royal Commission in 1863 that the fishermen avoided the Bank as causing gluts of fish and depreciation of price; and witnesses from Yarmouth and Hull assured the Commission that between two and three tons of fish, chiefly haddock and plaice, were frequently taken by smacks in a three hours' haul. As small plaice are confined to the coastal banks, and large plaice are now scarce, it follows that the great food-reserves on the Dogger Bank, which seem providentially designed for the fattening of plaice, are wasted on worthless dabs and baby haddocks. Thus may one cause of impoverishment lead on to another. Perhaps the right remedy in a case like this is to promote the wholesale transplantation of young plaice, as in the case of oysters, mussels, etc. The experiments already made by the Marine Biological Association point strongly in this direction.

Thirdly, the excessive destruction of young fish is another and perhaps the greatest cause of the impoverishment of the sea. The destruction is enormous. In the winter of 1882–3 it was estimated that in the Firth of Forth, the Firth of Tay, and the Moray Firth, 143,000,000 of young herrings and a much greater quantity of sprats were captured. These were mostly sold as manure. Yet the herring does not decrease; it is the flat-fish, the plaice, and the sole that suffer most. In 1896, 368 tons of small fish were seized by the Fishmongers' Company at Billingsgate; in 1897, 143 tons; and in 1898, 96 tons. These were sold as manure or destroyed. Mr Holt estimates that, while over 7,000,000 mature plaice were landed in the port of Grimsby during the year April 1893 to March 1894, over 9,000,000 plaice not sexually mature were brought to port; or, taking the trade distinction between 'small' and 'large' fish, over 6,500,000 plaice under thirteen inches in length were landed, as against 9,700,000 over thirteen inches. So many as 10,407 young plaice have been taken from a single drag of a shrimp trawl. These are but a few instances out of many, showing the great destruction which is going on among the young of our more valuable food-fishes.

The questions they suggest are still a matter of discussion. Whether even this destruction has an appreciable effect on the adult population is debatable. It does not seem to have affected the herring; and we must not

forget the prodigious number of offspring given to fish. The taking of immature fish is not in itself uneconomic, unless by that means we so far reduce the total number that the adult stock begins to dwindle. Sardines are more valuable than their adult form, the pilchard; whitebait, mainly composed of young sprats, with from 1 to 20 per cent. of young herrings, fetch more in the market than the parent form; and so long as the adults exist in sufficient number to keep up the stock of fry, sardine and whitebait fishing is perfectly legitimate.

But, assuming impoverishment from one or other or all of the causes enumerated, we should ask what steps can be taken to check it, especially as regards the more valuable flat-fish? It is at this stage that scientific knowledge becomes particularly important. At least nine out of every ten Acts of restrictive legislation have been shown by experience to be futile, or to have produced results absolutely different from those anticipated. It is equally plain that the failure of these attempts to interfere with the natural course of events has been largely due to inadequate knowledge of the complicated factors which affect the growth, multiplication, and distribution of fish, and of the influence which particular modes of fishing exert upon the sources of supply.

Let us examine the first-mentioned cause of impoverishment, the destruction of the 'accumulated stock.' This formula has been eagerly adopted by some who hesitate to admit the existence of any form of overfishing. It implies that a state of equilibrium is possible between the forces of destruction and the forces of repair; that on virgin territory older individuals tend to accumulate beyond what is necessary for the maintenance of the 'current stock'; and that their removal entails no real injury to the supply. In scientific terms this means that the average age of mature individuals of a natural stock may be reduced by man to a lower point which represents the economic optimum. The Patagonian cannibals seem to have been early converts to the soundness of this theory. The difference between the Patagonian who eats his mother-in-law and the fisherman who destroys the overgrown plaice is that the former's actions are deliberate and limited, while the removal of the accumulated stock is not so much an object of the fisherman as

an unpremeditated consequence of the intensity with which fishing operations tend to be conducted. Does the fisherman abate his operations when the economic optimum has been reached? Clearly not. He fishes till it ceases to pay; and no other motive affects him. It is plainly a question for scientific enquiry whether, in a given case, the fishery has been prosecuted to excess, and has reduced the average age too far, or not.

On this question the International North Sea Investigations have already thrown valuable light, for the study of the intensity of fishing by means of definite experiments with marked fish has formed an important part of the programme; and the investigation of the age of plaice, cod, and other species has been vigorously prosecuted. According to the latest report of the council of the Marine Biological Association, more than 7000 marked plaice have been set free by their staff, and 24 per cent. altogether have been recaptured. Of the medium-sized fish, which furnish the best test of the intensity of fishing, 30 per cent. in twelve months have been captured in the southern part of the North Sea, where sailing trawlers predominate, and 40 per cent. on the Dogger Bank and adjacent grounds, where the fishing is done by steam-trawlers. It seems, however, that some of the fish lose their labels before being caught again. A still closer idea of the severity of the fishing may perhaps be got from another experiment with weighted bottles, which were specially devised by Mr G. P. Bidder to act as indicators of bottom currents, and were thrown overboard from the 'Huxley' in the winter of 1904–5, in the southward parts of the North Sea. Out of 600 bottles more than 54 per cent. were returned by trawl-fishermen within twelve months. If anything like half the adolescent stock of plaice is taken by our trawlers every year on the deep-sea fishing-grounds, the establishment of the fact must profoundly affect our views as to the causes of depletion and the remedies to be applied. For the fishing in these instances seems not to have been on the so-called 'small-fish' grounds or nurseries, but in areas which have always been recognised as legitimate fields of work.

The possibility of determining the age of fish is quite a recent discovery, and is based on the observation that the scales, vertebræ, and especially the 'otoliths' or ear-

stones of fish show alternate dark and light rings of growth, corresponding with the summer and winter seasons of the year, exactly like the rings in the wood of trees. Many difficult problems are likely to be cleared up by a knowledge of the age of fish on different fishing-grounds; and, to judge from the scale on which this investigation is being pursued, it will not be long before we may expect something in the nature of an age-census. The council of the Marine Biological Association have reported no less than 12,000 age-determinations of plaice by their North Sea staff up to June last; and the German and Dutch investigators are working on similar lines.

To conclude our argument, we should now examine the question whether it is possible to determine to what extent and in what manner the destruction of immature fish, which is admittedly enormous, is injurious to the permanent supply. We have already referred to Mr Holt's statistics, which showed that 40 per cent. of the plaice landed in Grimsby in the year 1893–4 were below thirteen inches in length. In 1904, 30 per cent. of the plaice landed from the North Sea on the whole east coast were below eleven inches in length. German statistics show that from 1895 to 1904 there was no sensible increase in the total weight of plaice landed in that country, but the proportion of 'small' fish (below fourteen inches in length) steadily increased from 68 per cent. in 1895 to 87 per cent. in 1904. There can thus be little doubt that the supply is being maintained only by drawing more and more upon the fish of smaller size and value.

It seems to have been too readily assumed, however, that this increasing destruction of small plaice is the great cause of the declining catches of better fish. Has the cart not been put before the horse? In view of what has been said above concerning the general severity of the fishing, does it not look as though the capture of increasing quantities of small plaice were a consequence and not the cause of the general depletion of the grounds? The people demand plaice. The proprietor of a large fried-fish shop in the East-end was a witness before the House of Lords Committee on the Sea-fisheries Bill of 1904. His customers numbered from 500 to 3000 daily; and there were 2000 other establishments of the same kind in London. He told the Committee: 'Plaice is the

most popular fish in our line of business; people do not care for any other.' Owing to the higher price of plaice, however, he was often compelled to substitute cheaper kinds of fish. In one month he had even made five purchases of small turbot and brill, against only two of plaice, in order to meet the demand. 'You must understand,' he added, 'that amongst the class of people we deal with we do not sell turbot and brill as turbot and brill; we have to sell it as plaice. Plenty of people, if you said you had turbots, would not have them.' It is obvious that fishermen would not land small plaice if large were plentiful. It was not until the large fish became scarce that fishermen began to take the small.

If these facts are correctly stated, the remedial treatment of the undersized-plaice problem must be taken up from a new standpoint. We must apparently give up the expectation that by merely stopping the destruction of small plaice we shall replenish the sea. The fishing seems to be too severe for that. Every autumn our trawlers fish the waters between the Dogger and the eastern grounds, confident that they will take a good catch of medium-sized plaice averaging twelve to fifteen inches in length. These are fish which no fisherman in these days would despise. Though mixed with a considerable proportion of still smaller fish, no possible size-limit will prevent him from reaping this annual harvest. These fish, as has now been shown by the North Sea experiments, are undertaking their first migration from the coastal grounds to the deeper waters. However much we protect the still smaller fish inshore, this wall of nets will be interposed every autumn between the shore and the open sea. The greater the benefits of protection inshore, the denser will be the barrier confronting the fish outside, and the smaller the chances of escape.

To this must be added a new disturbing element, mentioned by Dr Garstang in his evidence before the House of Lords' Committee in 1904. It is generally agreed that the only possible form which protection can take is that of a size-limit, below which it shall be illegal to land or sell fish. In the case of steam-trawlers this limit must be high enough to render it unprofitable for the boats to fish on grounds where the small plaice are most abundant, since the majority of undersized fish are

too much injured in the process of capture to be capable of survival if returned to the sea. It is otherwise with the small local sailing-boats (whether Danish, German, or Dutch) which are accustomed to fish on the small-fish grounds. These boats catch the fish alive and throw the undersized fish overboard in a living condition. As they can operate nowhere else, it may be taken for granted that the Governments of their respective countries, however anxious they may be to improve the fisheries, will scarcely consent to impose such a size-limit as to render it unprofitable for their local boats to fish.

The utmost possible protection of the small plaice would consequently be attained by determining (*a*) a high size-limit for steam-trawlers, practically debarring them from fishing on the coastal grounds; and (*b*) the highest size-limit for sailing-boats that would be consistent with the profitable pursuit of their calling. The first pick of the fish would consequently fall to the local boats; and, if protection should result, as it is reasonable to expect, in an increase in the number of plaice on the coastal grounds, there would be every inducement for these local boats to multiply in number, with the laudable object of catching as many as possible of the marketable plaice before they could migrate to the offshore waters. In practice some fish would escape; but, in the absence of any restriction upon the number of local boats, there seems no reason to expect that the number of emigrant plaice would, in the long run, be any greater than at present. Even under existing conditions, the local fishery on the west coast of Denmark has developed from a value of about 40,000*l.* in 1897 to nearly 80,000*l.* in 1904.

If, however, we are right in assuming that a given area of ground can only produce a given weight of fish per annum, it is fairly certain that, under protection, the increased density of the fish inshore will result in a retardation in the average rate of growth, an example of which we have given on a previous page. This must produce one or other of two results; either the small fish will remain longer on the inshore grounds before emigration, or they will emigrate offshore at a smaller size than at present. Judging, therefore, from the evidence available, it seems probable that legislative restrictions on the lines indicated can do little to replenish the offshore fish-

ing-grounds, while such restrictions may lead to a slight and possibly a substantial increase in the number of small boats fishing along the coasts affected.

While Great Britain can grudge no benefit to the fisheries of other countries, it is the improvement of the deep-sea fisheries which is the paramount interest of this country. Doubts, it has been said, are resolved by action; but if we have correctly analysed the complicated factors which affect this problem, we have also shown how essential to right action is the fullest possible knowledge concerning all the factors involved. Grave as the North Sea problem undoubtedly is, it is equally certain that the condition of the fishing industry generally was never more prosperous than at the present time. The figures quoted in an earlier part of this article prove this statement to be no paradox. Interference of some kind, whether by legislation, transplantation, artificial culture, or some combination of all these means, seems ultimately to be inevitable. But, if we are to interfere with the fishing industry more successfully than our predecessors, we should take advantage of the present time of prosperity to increase our knowledge on every side—scientific, statistical, experimental—so as to be able to act with conviction when the whole circumstances are clearer and the adequacy of our proposals is less open to doubt. Moreover, in view of the growing interest of other countries, especially Germany and Holland, in deep-sea trawling, and of the international character of the most critical problems, there can be no two opinions as to the desirability of continuing these investigations on some kind of international basis, a basis which has already been productive of very promising results.

Before turning our attention to the various bodies which administer and investigate the fisheries of England, a short consideration of what is done in the two great countries which have scientifically developed their fisheries may be profitable. In Germany we have the Kiel Commission, and in the United States the Commission of Fish and Fisheries. The Kiel Commission exists for the scientific investigation of the German seas. It was established in 1870 at the suggestion of a German sea-fishery society—an interesting example of the belief which the German layman has in science. It consists of four Kiel professors

—Hensen representing physiology, Karl Brandt zoology, Reinke botany, and Krümmel geography—and of Dr Heincke, director of the biological station on Heligoland. An annual grant of 7500*l.* is made by the German Government for the maintenance of the laboratories at Kiel, the cost of steamers for investigations, the cost of the handsome reports published under the name of *Wissenschaftliche Meeresuntersuchungen*, and for salaries; of these the five members of the Commission divide but 270*l.* between them. The German Government has also spent considerable sums on the biological station in Heligoland, and make it an annual allowance of about 1000*l.*

The American Commission, like that of Kiel, is not an administrative body, but concerns itself with the acquisition and application of knowledge concerning fisheries; like it, too, it is independent of official control. It reports directly to Congress. It was established in 1871. Its work is, however, of a more practical kind; besides general scientific investigation, it collects fishery statistics and undertakes commercial fishery enquiries, assists in finding markets, and generally advises the trade and the legislature when diplomatic action is indicated; finally, it is by far the most energetic fish-breeding institution in the world. Much of its work is concerned with the vast system of inland waters—rivers and lakes—which traverse the continent. The work has been carried out on a scale unknown elsewhere; and Congress has supported it with ample funds. The appropriation in 1897–98 exceeded 97,000*l.*, of which 41,000*l.* were spent on salaries, 16,000*l.* on scientific investigations and upkeep of steamers, 37,000*l.* on fish-culture (mostly freshwater), and 3000*l.* on administration and statistics. Besides this central body, many of the States possess fish commissions of their own. The commissioners control numerous laboratories and fish hatcheries, two sea-going vessels, and many railway cars specially designed for the transport of fish-fry.

Space does not permit our dealing with the Scottish and Irish Fishery Boards. The former has existed for a century and, being independent of departmental control, while enjoying a moderate income and the advice of such zoologists as Goodsir, Allman, Sir John Murray, Cossar Ewart, W. C. McIntosh—who has done more than any one in the Empire to elucidate the life-histories of marine

fishes—and D'Arcy Thompson, together with an able staff, the Fishery Board for Scotland has done much thorough and useful work. The fisheries of Ireland suffered from the economic disturbances which overtook Ireland during the nineteenth century, and reached, perhaps, their lowest ebb in 1890. The industrial revival, with which the name of Sir Horace Plunkett is so indissolubly connected, has included in its scope the Irish fisheries. The fishery branch of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction receives an annual grant of 10,000*l.*, and, under the guidance of the Rev. S. Green and Mr E. W. L. Holt, is already doing much to promote the fishing of the well-stocked Irish seas.

The English official fishery staff seems to have sprung from the requirements of the Salmon Fishery Act of 1861. To carry out the regulations over freshwater fisheries recommended by that Act two inspectors were appointed, and these were at first attached to the Home Office; a further Act in 1886 transferred these inspectors to the Board of Trade, and extended their duties so as to include the preparation of annual reports on sea-fisheries. In 1903 another transfer took place; and the inspectors were transferred to the Board of Agriculture, which then became the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries.

At present the central staff consists of an assistant secretary and two inspectors, in addition to a body of statistical experts. Their duties are far too numerous for so small a staff. Much of their time is taken up with the comparatively unimportant freshwater fisheries; and these are the subject of a separate report. Without actually administering the bylaws of the local committees, they exercise a certain supervision over their actions. They have to attend numerous enquiries all over the country and to prepare annual reports; and they are responsible for the collection of the statistics which have recently assumed so extensive a development. Besides the central authorities at the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, there are local fisheries committees established by an Act of 1888. These committees can be established by the county and borough councils on application to the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, which defines the area over which a committee shall have jurisdiction. One-half of such a committee is chosen by the

local councils and one-half by the central authority. The necessary money is raised by a local rate. A committee may draft bylaws; but these only become operative if confirmed by the Board. These bylaws differ, according to conditions, in different parts of England. They deal largely with restrictions on trawling. No steam-trawler is allowed to trawl within the three-mile limit around the coast of England; even the sailing trawler is forbidden. The bylaws also deal with the sizes of the meshes of nets, shrimping, crabbing, etc.

Neither the central authorities, whose chief function is to administer the law and collect statistics, nor the local committees, whose expenditure is limited to the 'shell-fisheries'—and, stretch the Act to the breaking point, you still cannot make a flat-fish into a shell-fish—have either the time or the money for scientific experiment. This has to a large extent been left to local or private enterprise, and is mainly confined to three centres, the Northumberland coast, the Lancashire and western district, and the Channel and North Sea. The first-named area has recently been supplied by a private benefactor with funds for an efficient laboratory at Cullercoats, from which much useful work may be expected.

It is difficult to disentangle the Lancashire and Western Sea-fishery Committee from Liverpool University on the one hand, and from the Liverpool Marine Biological Committee or Society on the other. The Committee owns a handsome marine station at Port Erin on the Isle of Man; here and at the fish-hatchery at Peel in Cumberland the largest fish-breeding experiments in England are carried out. In 1904, 5,000,000 young plaice were reared and put into the sea from Port Erin alone. The Committee publishes annual reports and a series of 'Memoirs.' It is probably to this Committee that the University owes its connexion with the local sea-fisheries authorities. In the laboratories and museums of the University the scientific work of the local districts is carried on by officials paid by the Fisheries Committee; and special rooms in the handsome new zoological department have been assigned to these two organisations. The connecting link between the three bodies is the professor of zoology, Dr Herdman, who is honorary director of the scientific work, and to whose untiring

energy the University and the district owe a large debt. With him work two trained naturalists, Dr Jenkins, the Superintendent of the District Committee, and Mr James Johnstone, whose lucid and admirable work is mentioned at the head of this article. From it many of our figures and facts have been taken.

The third and last body occupied with original marine research is the Marine Biological Association of the United Kingdom. It is the most important of these institutions, and aims at a national rather than a local activity. The fine laboratory which dominates the eastern end of Plymouth Hoe was erected at a cost of 12,000*l.* and opened in 1888. The object of the Association is to 'promote researches leading to the improvement of zoological and botanical science, and to an increase of our knowledge as regards the food, life-conditions, and habits of British food-fishes and molluscs.' Although a high average of scientific work has been displayed in the published Memoirs connected with the Plymouth laboratory, great attention has also been paid to matters of practical interest. In a list of some 350 papers published, with the aid or under the auspices of the Association, between 1886 and 1900, nearly one-half deal directly with economic problems. From 1892 to 1895 the officers of the Association carried on at Grimsby extensive investigations into the destruction of immature fish; and it is gratifying to find that the Select Committee of 1893 extended its recognition to the 'facts and statistics' submitted by the Scotch Fishery Board and by the Association. In the summer of 1902 the Association, at the request of the Government, undertook to carry out the English portion of the International Investigation of the North Sea. The scope of this enquiry is immense; and its importance to the largest fisheries available for our fishermen is incalculable. Some idea of the kind of work accomplished has been furnished in the preceding pages.

What now seems to be most required, in addition to the maintenance of the work already in progress, is a closer co-operation of these various bodies with one another and with the central authority now established under the President of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries. The outlines of some such scheme seem plainly indicated by the existing constitution of these various

bodies. The Fisheries Department is responsible for administration, statistics, and general advice to the President of the Board on fishery matters. The Marine Biological Association undertakes general marine investigations of a national as distinct from a local character, as well as such local investigations and experiments as can conveniently be carried out at its laboratories. The Sea-fishery Committees need additional powers to enable them to carry out local scientific investigations more fully in their respective areas. Perhaps an annual conference between the representatives and experts of these bodies and the officials of the Fishery Department, for the express purpose of drawing up plans of work for the ensuing year, would, in the first instance, be the best means of leading up to more intimate co-operation and organisation.

The Reports on the North Sea Investigation so far published deal only with the work of the earlier years of the investigations; but already the great prospective value of the results is fully apparent. The Marine Biological Association has carried out the portion of the general scheme entrusted to it with energy and success; and Englishmen have no need to fear comparison with the work done in other countries.

But scientific investigations of this character can never be said to be completed; and, although the period for which the Governments have adhered to the international scheme expires in July 1907, it would be considered, both in this country and abroad, a matter for the deepest regret if the work were then allowed to cease. It is work the public importance of which can hardly be exaggerated; and it is the obvious duty of his Majesty's Government to see that, so far as this country is concerned, sufficient funds are provided for the purpose.

Art. VIII.—RECENT DEVELOPMENTS OF OLD TESTAMENT CRITICISM.

1. *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testamentes.* Translated and edited, in conjunction with other scholars, by E. Kautzsch. Freiburg i. B. and Leipzig: Mohr, 1894.
2. *The Student's Old Testament.* By Charles Foster Kent, Ph.D. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1904, 1905.
3. *Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament.* Edited, in conjunction with various scholars, by Karl Marti. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr, 1897–1906.
4. *Genesis.* Translated and explained by Hermann Gunkel. Second edition. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1902.
5. *Critica Biblica.* By T. K. Cheyne, D.D. Five parts. London: Black, 1903, 1904.
6. *The Book of Genesis, with introduction and notes.* By S. R. Driver, D.D. Second edition. London: Methuen, 1904.
7. *Babel und Bibel.* Two Lectures by F. Delitzsch. English translation, edited, with an introduction, by C. H. W. Johns. London: Williams and Norgate, 1903.
8. *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament.* By Eberhard Schrader. Third edition, revised by H. Zimmern and H. Winckler. Berlin: Reuther and Reichard, 1903.
9. *Historical Criticism and the Old Testament.* By Father J. M. Lagrange. Translated by Edward Myers. London: Catholic Truth Society, 1905.
10. *The Problem of the Old Testament, considered with reference to recent criticism.* By James Orr, D.D. London: Nisbet, 1906.
11. *A Criticism of Systems of Hebrew Metre.* By W. H. Cobb. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905.

And other works.

Some eighteen or twenty years ago the opinion began to be cherished that the scholarship which for more than a century had been engaged upon the Old Testament with enormous industry both of research and debate was at last within sight of its linguistic and historical conclusions. So fond a belief was not without reason. The narrow fields of Hebrew philology and grammar had been

thoroughly explored and set forth in a series of apparently exhaustive works. The kindred dialects had been deciphered; and scholars were aware of at least the principles of the comparative grammar of the Semitic languages. A full appreciation of the resources and responsibilities of the textual criticism of the Old Testament was only beginning; yet even here it was reasonable to believe that the limits of the subject, if not all its contents, were in sight, and that neither new standards nor any considerable quantity of new materials could emerge to disturb the lines on which revisers of the text were settling to work.

In the sciences of literary and historical criticism it appeared as if an even closer approach to finality had been achieved. The labours of two centuries seemed to have exhausted the analysis of the Pentateuch and determined the lines for that of the Prophets. Ewald's reconstruction of the history of Israel, in which the higher criticism of a century had culminated, was being replaced by that of Graf and Wellhausen, which at once, by its wider inductions, its more logical and drastic methods, and its harmony with the dominant theories of historical evolution, appeared to have effected the last possible disturbance of the traditional views of the Old Testament and to afford a permanent basis for the reconstruction of Israel's religion. The histories and religions of other Semitic peoples, especially Arabs and Canaanites, were so widely studied that the racial origins of Israel and the physical, intellectual, and social influences which went to form the peculiar temper of their religion seemed at last to be clear.

Before so great a volume of evidence and argument the opposition of the churches of this country gradually gave way, not, indeed, without considerable protest and reservation. Many of their accredited teachers of the Old Testament adopted the methods and most of the principles of the new criticism; almost none of the younger generation refused their adhesion. On the great question which divided the advanced schools—the exact date of the Levitical legislation—there was still considerable difference of opinion. But that the constituent documents of the Pentateuch were at least four in number and of various dates several centuries after Moses; that

the book of Deuteronomy was later than the eighth-century prophets; that the authorship of the book of Isaiah was dual if not multiple; that the books of Jeremiah and other prophets contained many elements from periods later than those of the names they bear; and that at least very much of the Psalter was post-exilian—all these either became commonplaces or were employed by theologians of a more conservative temper as working hypotheses to prove that, even if criticism compelled us to accept them as final, an argument might be built upon them more scientific and assured than any previous *apologia* for a divine revelation through Israel. The churches, whether high or low, began to feel at home among the new results, to believe that criticism had at last done its conceivable worst, and to look forward to a reconstruction of their doctrine of Scripture upon what criticism had left to them. In illustration we may quote the words with which Dr Gore in 1890 summed up his review of the critical demands ('Lux Mundi,' p. 357):—

'The present writer, believing that the modern development of historical criticism . . . is reaching results as sure, where it is fairly used, as scientific inquiry, . . . and feeling therefore that the warning which the name of Galileo must ever bring before the memory of churchmen is not unneeded now, believes also that the Church is in no way restrained from admitting the modifications just hinted at in what has latterly been the current idea of inspiration.'

This change of temper was not a little encouraged by the devout and practical temper of several expositions of Old Testament books upon critical lines, and by the affirmation of some of the most advanced critics, such as Prof. Robertson Smith in this country and Prof. K. Budde in Germany, that their belief in a revelation by God through Israel remained unimpaired by their textual and historical conclusions. As soon as it was perceived that both the apologetic and religious uses of the Old Testament continued to be possible under the novel canons of its interpretation, much of the hostility to these was disarmed. As typical of this state of feeling we may take the reception accorded to Canon Driver's 'Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament,' published in 1891. This eminent critic, than whom there is no Hebrew scholar of

greater learning or of a more candid and judicial mind, after an original study of the evidence, adopted, like Prof. Robertson Smith, the Graf-Wellhausen theories. His work not only received the approval of the great majority of the teachers of the Old Testament in Great Britain, but was sympathetically reviewed by the leading religious organs.

The main problems of the Old Testament, then, appeared to be settled, at least in outline. The more original minds, it was predicted, would desert a field on which there was no longer any opportunity for a radical reconstruction, and leave their places to a humbler crowd busy with the arrangement of details or with the further adaptation to each other of the new theories and the doctrines of the Church. The interest of biblical criticism, curiously centred for so long upon the Old Testament, would drift off to the New.

This confidence has hardly been fulfilled. During the last fifteen years not only has debate upon the cardinal questions of the Old Testament continued as keen as ever, producing both a large number of constructive works and a still more rapid increase than before of critical literature; but there has even been an emergence of new material so great in bulk and fundamental in character as to raise fresh problems and standards of criticism and greatly to disturb the lines traced twenty years ago with such apparent permanence. It is impossible to survey all these recent developments in the criticism of the Old Testament. We confine our review to three of the most important: the fresh adventures in textual criticism; the fortunes of the Graf-Wellhausen theories of the history; and especially the effects of recent Babylonian research upon our views of the religion of Israel.

Twenty years ago scholars generally assumed the trustworthiness of the Hebrew text. That this is not infallible its Jewish editors, the Massoretes, have themselves admitted by their insertion of vowels not proper to the consonants which they suspected, but which reverence for the written word would not allow them to alter. In addition, their text contains obvious errors—omissions, dittographies, and wrong divisions between words; mis-

taken transcriptions from the ancient Hebrew characters to those of the present alphabet; some impossible constructions, which, with other symptoms, betray the presence of later insertions; and even some emendations deliberately made in the interests of doctrine. By the removal or the repair of all these it is possible to obtain an approximately pure Massoretic text. But then we have only one, and that a comparatively late, edition of the original, based, as appears from the few variants it offers, almost entirely upon a single codex. That there were other lines of textual tradition is seen in the various ancient versions of the Old Testament—Greek, Syriac, Latin, and, so far as the Pentateuch is concerned, Samaritan—which represent texts differing in many cases radically from the Massoretic. Now it was within the limits of those materials, and (where the collation of them failed to produce an intelligible reading) by the use of sober and jealously debated conjectural emendation, that, twenty years ago, the textual critics of the Old Testament were content to work. They recognised accretions and dilapidations in the Massoretic text; and, while conscious that we were still far from an exact knowledge of the Hebrew text or texts on which the versions are based, they made a liberal but, for the most part, a cautious use of the latter to correct the Massoretic text. In the words of Professor Kautzsch, they never allowed themselves to forget that the vowels and accents of the Massoretes, while representing only one out of several possible forms of the consonantal text, convey 'an extremely valuable and in many respects an astonishingly exact tradition.'

In part these lines have been maintained by the recent developments of Old Testament criticism. The only additions to the ancient materials have been, first, some fragments of a Hebrew papyrus, not later than the second century, and therefore earlier than the time of the Massoretes, which contain the Decalogue and the Shema (Deut. vi, 4 ff.), exhibiting a number of agreements with the Septuagint as against the Massoretic text; and, second, a certain number of Assyrian words and proper names which help us to determine the exact form of their Hebrew correspondents. There has been an increase in the textual apparatus both of the Massora and the Septuagint. In the Polychrome Bible and several series

of commentaries, published in this country and in Germany, the text, especially that of the prophets, has been subjected to a much more radical revision than formerly. Much of this textual criticism has kept to the lines we have traced; yet, both in the works last-mentioned and in others, two developments have appeared which are so novel in the directions they have opened up and so bold in the lengths to which they are carried as to imply fresh standards and methods for the reconstruction of the original text.

The first of these textual enterprises is the work of a single scholar. In his very numerous articles in the 'Encyclopædia Biblica,' and in several collections of critical notes entitled 'Critica Biblica,' Prof. Cheyne, after declaring that the period of textual criticism which we have sketched has come to a close, and that 'new methods, suggested by a large mass of overlooked facts, must now be adopted,' proposes, with astounding industry and agility of conjecture, so drastic an alteration of the text that the result, as he himself admits, is practically another Bible.

The 'large mass of overlooked facts,' on which he depends, have to do with an alleged kingdom or kingdoms in the Negeb, or southland of Palestine, and in northern Arabia. Not only were there countries there called Cushan and Miṣrim, and a people known as Jerahmeel, but states of the same name, as Aram, Babel, and Asshur (Syria, Babylon, and Assyria); mountains called Lebanon (or Gebalon), clothed with timber; a second Gilead; and a number of cities of the same name as many in Palestine. It was out of Miṣrim, and not Miṣraim or Egypt, that the Exodus took place. The 'Lebanon' from which Solomon brought 'cedar' was in northern Arabia. Huram-abi, the chronicler's name for Solomon's artificer, is 'probably' derived from Jerahmeel-Arab; and the man came, not from Ṣor or Tyre, but from Miṣṣor. Jachin and Boaz 'represent' Jerahmeel and Ishmael, names of 'a north-Arabian deity.' The name of Elijah 'was ultimately equal to Jerahmeel'; the Mount Carmel of his altar 'should be "the highlands of Jerahmeel," as often.' The Baal prophets are of 'Arâb-Jerahmeel.' The Syro-ephraimitic war in the time of Isaiah was a Jerahmeelite war; the invasion of Judah pictured in Isaiah x was

an invasion, not by Assyria, but by the Arabian Asshur. '"Shalmaneser," like "Tiglath-Pileser," is a north-Arabian king.' The narrative of Sennacherib's invasion is 'a combination of two traditions, one referring to an Assyrian, the other to an Asshurite invasion.' The invasions that Jeremiah predicts from the north are not Scythian or Babylonian, as most other scholars have imagined, but Jerahmeelite from the northland of Arabia. In Isaiah liii the oppressors of the servant of the Lord are from the same quarter; Edom, Asshur, Jerahmeel, Ishmael, and the Arabs are introduced at least a dozen times into the text of this great chapter, hitherto supposed to be destitute of a single proper name except the divine. Immanuel is a corruption of Jerahmeel; so is Ariel, Isaiah's name for Jerusalem; so are Jeremiah and scores of others. Shear-Jashub, the name Isaiah gave his boy, should be Asshur Jashub, the oaks of Bashan the oaks of Cushan, Moab Miṣṣur, and Sinim Ishmael.

These are but a portion, taken from the books of Kings, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, of the countless transformations which Canon Cheyne effects in the geography of Asia and the text of the Old Testament. He stalks through the Negeb and northern Arabia, sowing forests on the hills and lifting kingdoms from the sand; and then, often with the aid of only a single letter, but sometimes without even this, he draws their full reflection out of the Old Testament. The Massoretic text and the versions go down the wind in the wake of his violent course, a cloud of shreds. He seldom condescends to the methods characteristic of the age of textual criticism which he has declared to be closed; and he is deterred (as he tells us) 'from any attempt at a premature exposition either of his principles of textual criticism or of the reconstruction of history, geography, and onomatology to which his researches lead.'

When these, which he promises, arrive they will no doubt be received with the consideration due to one of the greatest Old Testament scholars of the day. Meantime his conjectures have obtained the support of no other scholar; and the ordinary student is only bewildered by the literary phenomena which they imply. If Jerahmeel was the original form of so many scores of Hebrew names,

now spelt so differently in the text, how and why did this elusive term so frequently and almost so utterly disappear? What were the home, the date, and the reasons of the successful conspiracy for its removal? If authentic, such a conspiracy is without a parallel, or even a far-off approach to one, in any literature under the sun. The present reviewer finds himself unable to conceive, not only the mental standpoint from which it could have been elaborated, but that from which the distinguished author of the theory has attained to the sincere conviction that such a conspiracy actually happened.

The other recent development in textual criticism is more practical. It concerns the text of the poetical and prophetical books, through which it drives like a great ploughshare, turning up the whole surface and menacing not only the minor landmarks, but, in the case of the prophets, the main outlines of the field as well. Every one agrees that the Hebrew poets composed in couplets and larger groups of lines, the essential characteristic of which is a parallelism of sense—it may be synonymous or it may be antithetic—between the lines of the individual couplet or group. It is axiomatic that the lines which are parallel in meaning should also exhibit a certain balance or rhythm of form. The question is how much does this amount to? Is it only a rough irregular lilt such as we find in the most primitive poetries? Or can we discern metres proper with a regular number of feet to each line? And if the latter, what are the principles of the metre? Is this determined by the number of accents or by the quality of the syllables, long and short? And, if accents are the dominant factor, is the number of unaccented syllables between them regular or irregular?

The difficulty of deciding those questions is obvious. Besides the dilapidation of much of the poetical text, due to long oral tradition, the changes which part of it has suffered through adaptation to the musical service of the Temple, and the fact that its present vowels and accents were fixed by the Massoretes some centuries after the composition of the latest poems, there are the more serious difficulties that the vowels did not form part of the original text, and that we are not fully acquainted with the laws of the Hebrew syllable. Since the eigh-

teenth century, however, confident attempts have been made—they are lucidly set forth by Mr W. H. Cobb in the treatise cited at the head of this article—to determine the measures of Hebrew poetry. Till a few years ago the results were so contradictory that Kuenen and others flatly denied that metre, worthy of the name, ever existed in Hebrew. More recently, however, two results of the long controversy have been accepted as certain—that the dominant principle of the Hebrew line is accent or tone; and that certain poems in the Old Testament contain, some as they stand and some after slight emendation, longer or shorter series of lines with regular numbers of accents.

In 1882 Professor Budde, following the hints of earlier scholars, succeeded in showing that some of the Lamentations and other poems run mostly in alternate lines of three accents and of two, divided by a cæsura, a form to which he gave the name of the 'Qinah' or elegiac verse. It is also possible to discern in the Psalms, Job, and elsewhere, groups or even long series of lines of three or four accents each. One is perplexed, however, not so much by the varying number of unaccented syllables between the regular accents, for this is a feature also of much modern verse in which the accents rule, as by the frequent appearance within the same poem of lines with more or fewer accents than occur in the regular lines. The question is, are these irregularities a license which the poet permitted to himself, or corruptions of his original text by later scribes ignorant of his metrical principles? Adopting the latter alternative, a number of recent critics, by skilful emendations, have reduced the poems of the Old Testament to strictly metrical forms. For many of the textual changes they propose they have the authority of the Versions; by many others, made without this, and in the interests of the metre only, they succeed in also improving the sense of the poem. But in other cases the readings they conjecture are so arbitrary and valueless to the sense, and the contradictions both in their methods and results are so great, as to make it manifest that the science of Hebrew metres is hardly past its beginnings.

One can easily see how much more difficult the problems become in the case of the prophetical books. The general opinion used to be that the prophets composed in a

rhythmical prose midway between the prose of the narratives and the verse of the poetical books. The unusual syntax, the ellipses, the employment of archaic terms, of longer forms, and of more sonorous word-endings than those of ordinary prose, prove the attempt to compose their oracles in definite measures; and now and then these, as they stand, or with very little emendation, can be scanned in lines as regularly accented as those of the poetical books. No doubt remains that Isaiah and Jeremiah were poets in the strict sense of the word, and delivered many of their messages in forms as metrical as those of Job and the Psalms. But, as their texts have not come down to us divided into lines or *stichoi*, it is as difficult to determine these as it would have been to define the metres of the choruses of Greek tragedy had their lines also descended to us on the manuscripts written consecutively as prose.

It is with this intricate question that the recent textual criticism of the prophets has been engaged. Assuming a metrical form in the prophetic oracles, scholars have sought to disentangle this from the Massoretic text, with far more disturbance to the latter than criticism ever before dared to inflict. In other words, an additional standard of textual criticism has been formed. The results of independent workers are often surprising in their agreement; and where formerly we read prose a number of lyrics have been discovered, at the cost of but slight alterations in the text and with great gain not only to the music but to the spiritual sense. On the other hand, many changes proposed in the interests of the metre are purely arbitrary; and in the results there are wide contradictions both of sense and form.

This is most evident in the case of the book of Jeremiah, which has been recently analysed, on the new standard, by four German scholars, Duhm, Cornill, Erbt (who follows closely the principles of Eduard Sievers, the greatest living authority on metres), and Giesebrecht. Of the four, Prof. Duhm, whose religious insight into the prophets must be warmly acknowledged, is the most vigorous in his system and therefore the most drastic and arbitrary in his alteration of the text. His theory is that Jeremiah, except for one epistle (to the exiles, chap. xxix), never wrote in prose, but uttered all his

oracles in verses of four lines of alternately three and two accents each. But it is in itself extremely improbable that so true and fine a poet, through forty years of so restless and broken a period in his people's history, upon all manner of subjects, military, social, and religious, and in all kinds of mood, satiric, elegiac, sanguine, compassionate, and hortatory, should have confined himself to one unvarying form of verse. Nor is Professor Duhm, even with an extreme license of emendation, able fully to make out that he did so; for a number of the lines, as he gives them, have not the exact number of accents which his theory requires. The other scholars seem to get nearer the facts by admitting changes of metre even within the same oracles of the prophet.

Textual criticism will for some years have to follow a few certain clues, which the long metrical controversy has elicited, with much more patience and attention to other phenomena of the text, before an assured agreement is reached. To the present reviewer it seems as if none of the systems of Hebrew metre attempted by modern scholars has done justice to that dislike of absolute symmetry which is so manifest and often so arbitrarily displayed in all forms of Oriental art, and is more to be expected in poetry than elsewhere. Arabic poetry is very prone to such irregularities. The Dutch scholar Snouck Hurgronje, who visited Mecca, reports that in the improvisations of the singing women 'rhyme is not exactly treated with respect, while they often push metre aside and employ the more easy form of rhymed prose. In the metrical forms given in Dr Dalman's 'Palästinischer Diwan,' a valuable collection of modern Arabic songs, the lines as they are written have from two to five accents each, and sometimes, within the same metrical form, contain from three to four and two to four; and Dr Dalman informs us that, when sung, lines with three accents will be sung with four, or lines with four will be sung with five, to suit the melody. These are phenomena of Semitic poetry which have not been taken into account by the modern systems of Hebrew verse. When they are, room may be found for the irregularities and sudden transitions which remain in the text of Old Testament poetry even after a scientific criticism has removed from it the undoubted errors and accretions. The commentaries

of recent years contain far too many traces of a merely academic passion for exactness, and this not in the metres only, but in parallelism of thought and expression. Words and whole lines have been altered with the view of making the symmetry closer between lines, couplets, and strophes, but with the effect of destroying their poetical charm. Our modern textual critics need to be reminded that the Hebrew poets were not slaves but masters of the forms of their art; and that their mastery was exercised with that wilful and arbitrary temper which is common to the Oriental, whether despot or artist.

To the fortunes during the last few years of Wellhausen's analysis of the Pentateuch and consequent reconstruction of the history of Israel, we can give only a little space. These have undergone a thorough revision by a younger generation of scholars, working from standpoints of greater or less independence, but doctrinally not hostile to them, as well as several assaults from more conservative theologians—with the following results. The composite character of the Pentateuch is admitted by all. The Jahwist and Elohist documents (that is, the two sometimes parallel and sometimes complementary histories which use respectively the names Jehovah and Elohim for the deity, but which have been interwoven into one continuous narrative), Deuteronomy, and the Priestly Writing are recognised to be, in their present form, from different hands. This general acceptance of the documentary hypothesis, even in conservative circles, is a great advance. Hardly less complete is the agreement that JE (to use the now familiar terminology) is itself a composite document, though not always separable into its two constituents. Klostermann's theory that J and E are two different recensions of the same early history of the Hebrews varies only in degree from the moderate re-statement of Wellhausen's theory by Prof. G. B. Gray (in his excellent commentary on Numbers) and by Prof. Gunkel, which defines them as two collections of the same old stories, handed down orally, the one formed in the ninth, the other in the eighth century. On the Priestly Writing, which supplies the framework of the Pentateuch and contains the Levitical legislation, Klostermann's difference from Wellhausen is

again one only of degree; Wellhausen, not without doubts, having taken the Priestly Writing as an independent work, afterwards combined with JE by a redactor; Klostermann claiming that its author was no other than this redactor himself. On the date of the Priestly Writing there is still variety of opinion; but Gunkel reflects the general tendency to agree with Wellhausen when he remarks that an exilic date for this document is 'one of the most certain results of criticism.' Upon Deuteronomy the main effect of recent work has been to suggest its composite character, and, while confirming the opinion that it was the Law-book enforced by Josiah, to carry back some of the codes from which it was compiled to Hezekiah and even earlier.

These being assumed as the dates of the present forms of the documents, it is quite another question as to the date of their contents, a question which Wellhausen's followers, in our country at least, have always kept open. On this line Prof. Gunkel has done what is perhaps the most important work of recent years. While maintaining the legendary character of the early chapters of Genesis and the patriarchal narratives, he shows that the origin of the former must lie in a time which to Israel was prehistoric; and he fixes the date of the latter as 1200. This, in our opinion successful, modification of the views of the Wellhausen school has one significant effect. It will no longer be possible to deny, as Prof. Robertson Smith did in his criticism of the first volume of Renan's History, that the patriarchal narratives reflect anything earlier than the period of the Israelite monarchy. Gunkel has shown that we must read in them the style, the ideas, and the historical conditions of the ages before Moses; and, as to the historical conditions, at least, his argument is supported by recent Babylonian discoveries. Gunkel and others have also done service in disputing the confidence with which some of the finer details of the literary analysis of the Pentateuch have been elaborated, and in emphasising the religious contents of the documents.

The conservative school have hailed this newer criticism as destructive of Wellhausen's theories, but too rashly, for Gunkel holds by the essentials of these. Moreover, while carrying back the substance of some of the documents to so early a date, Gunkel does not support their

historical character. He attempts to prove that the narratives in Genesis can only be, and professedly are, legendary, and that it is impossible to determine the historic elements they preserve. The influence both of Wellhausen and the newer criticism is seen in the fact that Dr Orr, whom we may take as the ablest and most learned of recent defenders of the traditions, does not claim for the Pentateuch more than 'a relative antiquity,' nor carry any of the documents farther back than the Judges. It is an interesting question how, even upon this date, what he calls 'the essential Mosaicity' of the Pentateuch is to be proved. He has skilfully mustered the admitted difficulties of the Wellhausen hypothesis; but we do not see that he has overcome the facts in the history of the early monarchy which form for Wellhausen insuperable objections to the early date of the Deuteronomic and Levitical legislations.

The distinctive note of Deuteronomy is its insistence upon a central altar, at which alone it was lawful to sacrifice. Dr Orr may be right in ignoring the transgressions of this law down to the time of David, for 'there was yet no house built for Jehovah'; but he does not seem to us to have explained why, after such a central sanctuary was established in Jerusalem by Solomon, a religious leader like Elijah should be so jealous to repair other altars of Jehovah, or sacrifice at them, if Deuteronomy was extant. Nor does he meet the arguments against the early existence of the Levitical law. For instance, 1 Samuel ii says it was the custom at Shiloh for the priest to take his portion of each sacrifice with a hook out of the caldron in which it was boiling, and charges the sons of Eli with heavy guilt in that they forced the sacrificers to give them the priestly portion of meat while it was yet raw and before the fat was burned upon the altar; yet this demand of those sons of Belial, as the narrative calls them, is the very thing that Leviticus enjoins (vii, 30, 31; x, 15). No amount of explanation can remove such an objection to the early existence of Leviticus; and Dr Orr does not attempt it. Nor are such difficulties met by his hypothesis that the Levitical laws, though extant, were at first chiefly in the hands of the priests, or that the Pentateuch as a whole was too large a work to have any wide circulation. Jeremiah (vii, 22) distinctly states that

Jehovah gave no commands to Israel concerning burnt offerings and sacrifices; in the wilderness his commands had been only ethical. If the Levitical laws were extant in Jeremiah's time, he, though a priest and speaking in the name of the Lord, was therefore ignorant of them. It is facts like these, taken from the histories and prophecies themselves, which give the Wellhausen theories so much of their strength; no criticism from the conservative side has yet been able to remove them.

But all this raises a deeper question than that of the dates of the legal documents relative to the prophetic period. The reference to Jeremiah reminds us that there were current in Israel two lines of opinion or belief as to the ritual, both of which, along with efforts to unite them, have found expression in the literature of the Old Testament. There was the belief in the ritual itself, in its divine institution in the Mosaic period, and in the equal divinity of the 'torôth,' oracles or deliverances, by which successive generations of priests interpreted, modified, or expanded it. Express words of God are appealed to, especially by the Levitical legislation, as the authority for details of the priesthood, their appointment, rights and duties, of sacrifice and worship, and of the whole life of the laity under the ceremonial law. On the other hand, prophets like Amos, Hosea, and Jeremiah as distinctly assert the displeasure of God, not merely with hypocritical worship by immoral men, but with the temper which honestly reposes a religious confidence in the possession of the priestly institutions and the due performance of the ritual; and, as we have seen, Jeremiah goes so far as to deny that any divine commands were given to the fathers concerning sacrifice when God brought them up out of Egypt.

To the prophets the ritual was dangerous, not only because creative of a false religious confidence, but also (as Wellhausen and Robertson Smith first pointed out) because it formed, down to the times of the later Judaism, a constant temptation to fall away to heathen religions, to the rites of which its own were so similar. This last is evidently what Jeremiah means by his denial, in the name of the Lord, of the divine institution of sacrifices and burnt offerings; and what Hosea means by his earlier anticipation of our Lord's teaching in the great words,

'I will have mercy and not sacrifice.' Deuteronomy, with its clear evidence of the influence of the prophets of the eighth century, represents an effort, and a very true and noble effort, to reconcile these opposite lines of belief, extreme expressions of which have nevertheless been suffered to remain side by side in the other books of the law. And the real problem of the Old Testament consists not in the subsidiary questions of date and authorship, but in this divergence of religious emphasis upon the ethical and ceremonial law respectively, and in the effort to show how such a phenomenon is compatible with belief in the Old Testament as the record of a gradual revelation by God to men.

But such an effort forms only part of the task before the constructive historian of Israel's religion; for there are records of other and equally great controversies within the Old Testament. Deuteronomy itself gave rise to one of these by its insistence upon the promise that righteous conduct would always be rewarded by prosperity. As Jeremiah and Habakkuk found, this doctrine was not always verified by the experience either of the individual or the nation as a whole; and the book of Job is the proof of how the spirit of man, by denying it in obedience to conscience and the facts of experience, may struggle to a more original assurance of God. Along with the insistence of the prophets upon the ethical commands of God, it is this fascinating story of how men, led by conscience and the facts of experience to doubt doctrines which satisfied earlier generations, reached higher convictions of God and duty—it is this that constitutes the permanent religious value of the Old Testament, and its indispensability as a divine preparation for the revelation of the New.

We pass now to consider the effect of recent Babylonian research upon our views of Israel's religion. Twenty years ago, Old Testament scholars searching for the origins of Israel's civilisation or the external influences which helped to mould her religion generally looked towards Arabia. A certain amount of Babylonian influence was appreciated; but this was regarded as probably late and, except in the case of the Creation narratives, not initiative. The rôle of Babylon in the history of Israel was accepted as described in

the Old Testament—that of the enemy and the tyrant, not merely in a military, but in a spiritual sense. The essential elements in Israel's life were traced to Arabian origins. There had been a great increase throughout the century of our knowledge of Arabian habits and ideas, both modern and ancient; and everybody believed that in Arabia the unsophisticated Semite had been discovered whose racial qualities and social features would furnish an explanation of the intellectual genius, the polity, the religious temper, and even (according to some) the specific creed of Israel. Dean Stanley had called Abraham an Arab sheikh; and the English public thought that at last it understood its Old Testament. Renan brilliantly argued that the desert had not only given Semitic peoples their religious fanaticism and eloquence, but provided them with their monotheism.

Robertson Smith and Wellhausen corrected these extravagances. They showed that the religion of the Semitic nomads was essentially a polytheism, exposed the failure of the attempt to account for Israel's creed in physical or political processes, and drove the quest into the religious consciousness of the prophets. But for everything else in Israel their researches taught the historian to look to Arabia. Israel had come up out of the desert; the agricultural civilisation they inherited in Palestine was that of Semitic peoples who had preceded them from the same breeding-grounds. They themselves never threw off the mental temper of the desert; or, when tempted to succumb in culture or religion to the fascinations of their new economy, their neighbourhood to the desert, their desert memories, and the influence of austere prophets like Elijah and Amos trained in the wilderness, or of allied tribes like the Rechabites who had never abandoned the desert life, they formed a conservative opposition to Canaanitish influences, and, with the prophets just named, reopened, as it were, in the sands the pure fountains of ethical religion which supplied the main currents of their unique monotheism. Arabia was thus not only the mother of Israel, but the nurse whose discipline was never far from the nation's life up to the very end. 'Now this Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia' and, under the Old Testament, 'answereth to the Jerusalem that now is, our mother' under the New. So

twenty years ago scholars were content to believe with St Paul.

But now a school of Assyriologists in Germany, of whom Dr Hugo Winckler of Berlin is the head, assert that it is 'a fundamental error to explain the phenomena of the history of Israel from the characteristic qualities of the Semites and from the aspects of tribal life the essence of which we best learn to know in Arabia.' Dr Winckler maintains that these are valid only for the earliest stages of Hebrew history; and that, with settlement in Palestine, Israel became subject to a very different system of culture, which gradually changed the national temper and was the ultimate factor of the distinctive polity and religion developed under the prophets and the law. The author of this system was Babylon, which enveloped Western Asia in an intellectual atmosphere of which Israel was one of the products. Not even the desert and the earliest stages of Hebrew history were exempt from this influence. The mother of us all was neither Hagar nor Sarah, neither Sinai nor Jerusalem, but she whom we had conceived of as the enemy, the tyrant and the harlot, Babylon the mighty.

To appreciate the full force of Winckler's claims we must understand that he includes the whole of civilisation, east and west, under the sweep of the Babylonian intellect.

'In the development of our civilisation' (he says) 'from the beginning up to modern times, there are but two conceptions of the universe ('Weltanschauungen'), the ancient Babylonian, which, in its different forms, prevails till the end of the Middle Ages, and the modern scientific, the roots of which rest in Greek philosophy, in so far as this has replaced the ancient oriental doctrine by research proper, but which, through Aristotle, as interpreted by Christianity and Islam, had, in the spirit of the Orient, suffered tradition to take the place of research, till by the Renaissance the new epoch, with its enlarged sphere of vision and its fresh demands, broke this ban even in the territory of mental science.'

This vast thesis Winckler developes and defends with an erudition which embraces languages, customs, folklore and mythologies all the world over, as well as astronomy and religion, with extraordinary ability, and upon evidence that is sometimes solid and always plausible. Readers

of the library of volumes which he has issued will not be surprised that some of his followers hail him as the greatest interpreter of history that has ever been. If he is right in his general argument, the distinction of Israel disappears like a bubble on the surface of the Babylonian flood which has covered the world.

Much may be forgiven to the recoverers of a civilisation so long buried as the Babylonian. Their eyes are naturally dazzled by the wealth which has burst upon them; and extravagances are inevitable. But one cannot help feeling that Winckler and some of his followers have been infected besides with the spirit of the system in which he has been so deeply and so nobly at work. There is a confidence in sheer magnitude, and an incapacity to appreciate spiritual and ethical values, such as the prophets saw to be characteristic of Babylon herself. Except for a passing tribute to Greece, Winckler perceives no inherent power of culture in small peoples. The Hebrew prophets are to him only diplomatists, agents of a great empire. Their predictions of Assyrian or Babylonian invasions he traces to official information from Nineveh or Babel. Their convictions of religious truth have been caught from the intellectual airs of Babylonia. A small people like the Jews he considers to be incapable of originating the great ideas which are necessary to monotheism; these must be sought for where the intellect has been active and systematic for a couple of millennia. Thus everything worthy in the history of man is the offspring only of the immemorially trained and organised intellect.

Nor are there wanting in Winckler's work other of the invariable symptoms of megalomania—the tendency to overlook obvious facts, and a want of humour. He does not think it needful to explain why, if the prophets were the accredited agents of Babylon or Nineveh, they strenuously opposed the introduction of foreign fashions into Israel, or cursed their own employers as brutal and godless, or predicted their overthrow. Nor does he see the ridiculousness of alleging that Amos, a desert shepherd, with the shepherd's mistrust of civilisation, and especially of lavish building, came to be chosen by the Assyrians as their emissary or 'consul' to Israel. In all these theories Winckler is a hardy Babylonian, infected with the bad as

well as the good qualities of a nation whose literature betrays few gleams of humour, who did not understand the character of the peoples they subdued, and who drove logic to insufferable extremes, discovering relations and analogies among all manner of utterly diverse things in heaven and earth, and thereby creating an artificial and unreal system of the universe. This general temper of Winckler's work it is necessary to appreciate before we pass to the particular criticism of his theory of the Babylonian origin of Israel's monotheism.

This theory is based on the evidence of recent discoveries that, by the beginning of the third millennium B.C., Babylonian war and commerce had reached the Levant; that probably before 2000 B.C., according to a find by Prof. Sellin at Taanach, Babylonian officials were in Palestine; that by 1400 B.C., according to the Tel el-Amarna tablets and those found by the same excavator at Taanach, the Babylonian language and its cuneiform script were the ordinary means of communication, not only between the courts of Mesopotamia and Egypt, but among the local chiefs of Palestine; that in the same epoch Babylonian caravans traversed Canaan; and that at least a few place-names in Palestine are of Babylonian origin. The exchange of material goods between two countries and the use of a common language imply, as Dr Winckler says, an exchange of ideas; and Babylon impressed hers upon Canaan during the formative period of her religions. Later, from the ninth to the seventh centuries, the Assyrians planted their national worship in every state they conquered. As Mr R. A. S. Macalister has discovered at Gezer, they introduced the Babylonian methods of selling land, and had the sales registered in the Babylonian forms. Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal enlisted thousands of Jewish soldiers for their invasions of Egypt. Manasseh, as their vassal, was compelled to establish the Babylonian worship of 'the host of heaven in Jerusalem; and there is evidence, in the way that Baruch dates his narratives of Jeremiah, that Jewish scribes had adopted the Babylonian method of reckoning the year. Now at any of these periods it is possible that the peoples of Palestine became acquainted with the Babylonian cosmogonies and stories of the Flood; and that, if this happened in the earlier periods, Israel

received them from the Canaanites; or, if in the later, directly from Babylon. It is not a conclusion from which Jew or Christian need shrink, that the religion they believe to be due to direct revelation from God used the materials and profited intellectually by the discipline and cosmical outlook of the dominant system of thought in Western Asia; just as both Judaism and Christianity profited intellectually by the discipline and philosophy of Greece.

It is altogether another question, however, when Winckler maintains that Israel owed her distinctive monotheism to Babylon. The conditions of Manasseh's reign come too late in Jewish history to support his argument; and therefore he lays stress on the earliest dominance of the Babylonian culture over the world into which Israel was yet to be born. He points out that this, which was a dominance not of the sword alone but of the mind, was exerted upon the peoples of Palestine during the formative periods of their religions; and he maintains that the similarities of creed, which are conspicuous and familiar, are not due to the common origin of all the Semitic peoples in Arabia, but to the impress of the already perfected Babylonian system; and that, in particular, the unique exception which Israel exhibits among the religions of Palestine—the ethical monotheism of the prophets—is, as he calls it, only the next step higher than that which the development of religion had reached within Babylonia.

We may test this conclusion by two questions: Did Babylonia herself develope a monotheism? And what is the testimony of history to the origin of Israel's monotheism? Admitting that the popular religion of Babylonia was polytheistic, the Berlin school of Assyriologists argue for the existence of an esoteric doctrine which taught that the various stars with which the separate gods were identified were only forms of revelation of the one divine power that creates and rules all things. Other polytheistic systems have developed an esoteric monotheism; we cannot believe that the Babylonian formed the one exception to the rule; and, in fact, the cuneiform texts yield us proofs of monotheistic beliefs. A number of personal names combine two gods as one; there is a common name for deity, *ilu* or *el*, which is sometimes

used by itself, sometimes in the phrase *ilu ṣiru* (the supreme God); an astronomical table of the seventh century ascribes the names and influences of several gods to the planet Jupiter as he rises through the stages of his ascension; and, in some hymns, one deity is hailed as the only greatness in heaven and earth, as self-existent, the creator of all things by his word, the supreme director of history and the source of righteousness. Apart from the hymns, this evidence undoubtedly implies an intellectual effort to conceive of God as one, which from time to time was assisted by the exaltation of a particular deity, for example, Marduk of Babel, through the military success or aggrandisement of his own city. And as to the hymns, we must keep in memory that they are not the work of an individual soul in revolt against the established religion of his time, but the expression of an organised school of priests. To that extent they justify the argument for the existence of an esoteric monotheism. Nor will any honest mind form a grudging estimate of their power and sublimity. They are proof that the one true God did not leave himself without a witness among the men of Babylonia.

But to admit the existence of an esoteric monotheism in the Babylonian religion is still far from recognising its capacity to impress itself on the whole of Western Asia or its right to be regarded as the generative force in Israel's religion. Dr Zimmern, an authority of equal rank with Dr Winckler, will not admit that the hymns are evidence 'of any breaking away' from polytheism 'to an actual monotheism.' And in fact there is no denial in the hymns of the existence of other gods; no glimmering of the intellectual difference, the moral incompatibility, of the two ideas, which we find in the Old Testament so early at least as Elijah. The monotheism asserts itself within the polytheism, but it is neither aware of its essential hostility to the latter, nor conscious of any intellectual duty to relate itself to the tenets of the accepted creed. The monotheistic tendencies nowhere define or organise themselves. They never appear as a system which, if it had existed, could scarcely have failed to be familiar to such manifestly expert reporters of the religion as Berossus and Diodorus. Now Winckler frequently insists upon

the vast length of time and the great thoroughness with which the Babylonians thought out and systematised their religion. Religion to them was the explanation and definition of the universe as a whole. They worked out everything under it—a cosmogony, a history of the previous conduct of the world by the divine powers, and a forecast of the future both of states and individuals. Surely this was an atmosphere, these were habits and results of thought, from which the last step in intellectual synthesis might have been expected. In his argument that Babylonia was the one intellectual *milieu* in which, throughout the antiquity of Western Asia, the ideas necessary to monotheism were to be found, Winckler is right, if we assume that the intellectual factors are those which, in the experience of man, most powerfully make for monotheism. Yet just here, where the mental conditions were most favourable, where the habits of unification, relation, and systematising were most fully developed, we find that a system of monotheism somehow failed to develope and gain sway.

In the Babylonian cosmogonies everything is unified but the deity. Gods in the plural number and of both sexes assist at every stage of the creation. Marduk indeed stands forth as the chief. But this rank, it is clear, is but the reflection of the political prosperity and supremacy of his city. On these considerable but evanescent factors his supremacy depended; when they decayed, it also vanished. As Delitzsch admits, the last state of the Babylonian religion was like the first—a number of local cults, each with its own deity; and the henotheistic tendencies, sublime as some of them had been, died away without exhibiting either of the symptoms which are essential to a true monotheism—the conviction of its incompatibility with polytheism or the consciousness of its missionary duty to mankind.

Now to all this the origins and development of Israel's monotheism show an absolute contrast. Like Marduk, Jehovah is a national God, who is gradually raised by his people to the throne of the universe. But this happens, not because of their political power, for they had none, nor because of their intellectual influence, for it was small, but simply because of their prophets' convictions or impressions of the deity's character. He was

identical with righteousness; and because this was one and the same always and everywhere, and in the end must prevail, He, to His prophets, was the sole God in heaven and earth. It is an interesting study in the almost essential contrast between a henotheism resulting from purely intellectual and political forces, and a faith based upon what are the fundamental guarantees for monotheism, the unity, universality, and divine supremacy of righteousness. Hence the sense from the first in the prophets of the absolute incompatibility of their faith with the popular polytheism of their nation; hence their assertion, as in Amos, of the equal moral responsibility of all peoples to Jehovah; hence the gradual development, upon this ethical basis, of the equal relation of all men to the God of justice, of the extraordinary missionary fervour and the universal hopes of Judaism. For the sources of all these we need not go beyond Israel itself. We find them in the national memories, but still more in the individual consciousness of the prophets. If these failed us, we could find them nowhere else. The ethical monotheism of the prophets is a lonely exception in Semitic religions. But, as we have already observed, we need not deny to this development of germs native to Israel the favourable influence of foreign atmospheres and examples. The divine vitality of a religion is shown not only in its originality, but in its recognition of what is true in other systems, and in its power of assimilating this. That Israel derived many of those cosmical elements which textual criticism has proved to be among the later developments of their religion, and much of their power to express the intellectual consequences of their faith, from the dominant system of thought in the world to which they belonged, may be proved from history. But Babylonia had almost nothing to teach Israel ethically; and it was from ethical sources within herself that her monotheism immediately arose.

Art. IX.—FOXHUNTING, OLD AND NEW.*

1. *Hounds: their Breeding and Kennel Management* By 'Sentinel.' London: Horace Cox, 1905.
2. *The Foxhounds of Great Britain and Ireland; their Master and Huntsmen.* Edited by Sir Humphrey F. de Trafford. London: Southwood, 1906.
3. *Advice on Foxhunting.* By Lord Willoughby de Broke. London: Bumpus, 1906.
4. *The Old Surrey Foxhounds.* By H. R. Taylor. London: Longmans, 1906.
5. *Baily's Hunting Directory*, 1906-7. London: Vinton, 1906.
6. *The Chace, the Turf, and the Road.* By Nimrod. Reprint from the 'Quarterly Review.' London: Murray, 1870.

'A PACK of foxhounds,' wrote 'Nimrod' in these pages some seventy years ago, 'were kept by my ancestor, Lord Arundel, between the years 1690 and 1700. . . . About 1782 the pack were sold to the celebrated Hugo Meynell, Esq., of Quorndon Hall, Leicestershire.' The closing ten years of the eighteenth century and the opening decade of the nineteenth found hunting sound to the core; and of the few pastimes which they have passed on to the twentieth, hunting and racing—the first and last loves of 'Nimrod'—have, on the whole, remained least changed. Sir Charles Bunbury would be quite happy either at Newmarket or Epsom to-day, though he might open his eyes to see a mare do the Derby course in 2.33⅘; and 'Nimrod' would probably find it an even easier matter than in the days of 'oxers' to keep in the first flight from Melton Mowbray. Still, modern Leicestershire would have its surprises for so keen an observer; and it may not be without interest to suggest here a few of the most prominent differences between sport at the present day and the hunting of the first quarter of the nineteenth century which 'Nimrod so vividly described.

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An extraordinary increase in the number of imposing residences round Melton and Oakham, mainly built by hunting people, would at once give him a fair indication of the growth of the sport. A corresponding addition to the supply of well-foxed coverts, such as the Prince of Wales's Gorse, would be further evidence. The presence of wire here and there would, on the contrary, come as an unpleasant shock; and it can hardly be thought that he would approve entirely of our carelessness in the matter of costume. But probably he would be most astonished at the strong muster of ladies at the meet; and in a quick run with the Quorn it would be most interesting to hear his observations on the portent of these dozens of hard-riding Dianas all going very strongly in the front.

There have indeed been few more visibly noteworthy transformations in the hunting world than this. Throughout 'The Chace' there is no reference whatever to a lady follower. We know, of course, that women have ridden to hounds since the days of Queen Elizabeth, of whom a contemporary wrote that 'she is still well and excellently disposed to hunting, for every second day she is on horseback and continues the sport long.' But not until the invention of the leaping-head were ladies really able to hold their own with the opposite sex across country. The most famous horsewoman of the eighteenth century was Lady Salisbury, 'first in the field and last at the ball,' with the pack of dwarf foxhounds she kept at Hatfield, and her sky-blue uniforms, with black collars, lapels, and jockey-caps. To her belongs the distinction of having been the first lady M.F.H. in hunting history; and contemporary writers describe with enthusiasm how, 'out of a field of fourscore, her ladyship soon gave honest Daniel the go-by, pressed Mr Hale neck and neck, soon blowed the whipper-in, and continued throughout the whole of the chase to be nearest to the brush.' For long she remained unrivalled and alone; but her achievements are emulated at the present time by Mrs T. H. R. Hughes, who carries on the pack established near Lampeter by her late husband; by Miss Edith Œnone Somerville, the bearer of a name that must always be honoured in the history of hunting literature, and herself an admirable writer on Irish sport and country-life; by Mrs Burrell, who quite

recently founded a new pack with which to hunt the Northumberland side of the Border; and by Mrs W. E. Rigden, who is assisted by Mr George Evans in the management of the Tickham foxhounds in Kent, for many years hunted with great success by the late Mr W. E. Rigden.

Particularly practical is Miss Somerville in the management of every detail of her sporting pack. Mrs Hughes, too, has proved a successful master, eager to show sport and capable of handling hounds in the absence of her huntsman. Generally speaking, the modern hunting-woman is recognised as being ready to compete on equal terms with men, when necessary; and in many cases she is quite able to hold her own. Certainly it may be said of the ladies just mentioned that they are no mere figure-heads; and in this respect they differ very significantly from one or two masters of the sterner sex, happily few in number, who practically allow other people to manage their hounds and country; their own primary duty, so far as the outside observer may discern, being to append their signatures to the necessary cheques, and entertain those connected with the hunt in royal style on every opportunity.

'Unless you are genuinely fond of hounds and hound-breeding, do not have anything to do with their mastership'; so wrote the late Lord Willoughby de Broke in an excellent series of articles which have very properly been republished in book form under the title of 'Advice on Foxhunting.' But such are the advantages and privileges of a modern mastership of foxhounds, that men are found ready to undertake it in spite of knowing very little, and caring less, for the inner side of hunting. When a three-days-a-week pack happened to change its leader not long ago, we ventured to question an acquaintance who held an official position in the country. 'Our new master?' he replied. 'Oh, he is all right. He has no end of money. I engage the servants, look after the hounds, and generally do the collar work, while he pays the piper.' An arrangement of this kind may be found to work satisfactorily for a time in certain counties; but only for a time. Members and landowners and farmers will eventually become tired of an imported leader who is not a real enthusiast, and only keeps hounds for the sake of

the social distinction he hopes to achieve in a county with which he has no connexion either by birth or interest.

It may not perhaps be always possible for such close ties to exist as were once asserted by the master of the Brocklesby. He was asked where he got such excellent tenants from. 'Get them?' replied Lord Yarborough, 'I don't get them. I breed them.' An inevitable change has taken place from those old days of almost feudal independence when owners of coverts and great landed proprietors were almost the only persons the master thought of consulting. Now there are a number of small owners and tenants; and with the rise in the labour market, in rates, education, sanitary claims, and income-tax, the position of the farmer has altered very much for the worse. A friendly feeling, based on long knowledge and association, between the M.F.H. and every one in his county is more essential than ever it was.

In considering applications for a vacant mastership, hunt committees are sometimes too prone to ask, 'What money is he likely to devote to the country?'; whereas the leading point for consideration should be, of course, 'What are his qualifications as a sportsman; and is he, if possible, a resident landowner?' The fallacy that any rich man from anywhere is good enough to hunt a pack of foxhounds ought to have been exploded again and again; but it has lasted from 'Nimrod's' day till now. True, a M.F.H. is required who can mount himself and his hunt-servants efficiently; but a successful master can only be found in the man who is respected more for his sporting attributes and personal characteristics than for the size of his banking account. If this were remembered, hunt committees would not so often be faced with resignations; and it is generally agreed that frequent changes are harmful, for new men bring with them new ideas and different methods; and hence arises an inevitable lack of consistency which can only prove detrimental both to the pack and to sport in the district concerned.

In the important volume which Sir Humphrey de Trafford has edited, it is shown that the first advance of foxhunting to something like the sport as we at present know it dates back to the pioneer days of men who hunted because they passionately loved the sport—of Hugo

Meynell, John Musters, and Squire Childe of Kinlet, who voted the early methods of hunting much too slow, and discovered that the dash of the old English hounds could be immensely improved by selection and judicious breeding. They abandoned the ancient idea of hunting the drag of a fox from early morn—a practice, by the way, which survives to this day in the mountainous Lake District, where there are no coverts; and the new plan was adopted of making hounds find their foxes and hunt them as hard from the outset as scenting conditions would allow. This brought out the pace and stoutness of foxes as well as of hounds. Faster runs ensued, as a matter of course; and full credit must be given to the Dukes of Rutland and Beaufort, the Earl of Yarborough and Earl Fitzwilliam for a devotion to the sport and a success in breeding which alone made this possible. Other fathers of the chase, like John Warde, Osbaldeston, Assheton Smith, Squire Farquharson, Lord Henry Bentinck, and Mr G. S. Foljambe, carried on the good work of moulding and perfecting the foxhound. Modern hunting has its difficulties; but it is at least a consolation to reflect that a Duke of Rutland still owns the incomparable Belvoir pack; a Duke of Beaufort yet shows grand sport in the wide-spreading Badminton country; a Lord Yarborough hunts the Brocklesby; and the Berkeleys, the Fitzwilliams, the Lane-Foxes, the Bathursts, the Portmans, and the Wynns are all as prominent in the affairs of the chase as in the old days. It is such masters as these who keep the sport alive because they care for what is best in it, and set an example that any M.F.H. may well be proud to follow.

In the spring of 1840, when 'Nimrod' was living in his little château in the environs of Calais, he expressed a by no means hopeful opinion of the future of the sport in a letter to a friend.

'I wish' (said he) 'I could feel quite free from the reflection that foxhunting is on the wane. Why such foreboding? Alas! it is founded on some awkward facts. There are at this moment no fewer than *ten* hunting countries vacant, or with the prospect of becoming so, and among these, seven I never expected to see deserted.'

'Nimrod' might have spared himself his fears. All the

countries he indicated were suitably filled soon afterwards; and a glance at Sir Humphrey de Trafford's book, or at the admirably arranged 'Baily's Hunting Directory,' is sufficient to show that hunting interests have not only progressed, but have been multiplied many times since 'Nimrod' watched over them so jealously. What would he have said of thirty vacancies? That was the total last season, and they were all made good; with the result that there are 207 packs of foxhounds this season, 149 of harriers, and 20 of staghounds. Never was the number of foxhunting establishments larger than it is now; and luckily there are men living who breed hounds as carefully and as wisely as ever did Meynell, Farquharson, Foljambe, and the other famous breeders of the past.

In these circumstances it is certain that, if 'Nimrod' were to ride up, as a perfect stranger, to a meet of the Quorn at Ashby Pasture to-day, in the manner described in his ideal run long ago with Osbaldeston, he would experience an even greater shock than anything yet suggested; for the chances are that he would be quietly approached by an urbane 'capper,' who would explain in the politest terms the regulations of the hunt, and would no doubt relieve our friend of an immediate 'subscription.' It is almost impossible to conjecture the feelings of the dignified and punctilious 'Nimrod' in so disconcerting a position. He would be far from consoled by learning that many fashionable followers of the hunt, who never owned an acre in the country, now rent a house there for the season, and prefer keeping a stud of five or six horses to raising their subscription over 50*l.*; that, in consequence of this, the Quorn, though followed by hundreds of wealthy people, was compelled only a short time ago to make a despairing appeal for another 1300*l.* in order to make both ends meet; and that therefore money had to be levied from the large number of strangers who now attend, by rail or motor-car, a meet far distant from their own headquarters.

'Nimrod' himself would probably understand far better than most of our readers what the Quorn expenses are likely to be. For them it may be well to say that 6000*l.* a year is the very least on which the hunt's bare necessities can be faced. 2500*l.* are guaranteed to the master, who will be lucky if he does not spend as much

again out of his own pocket. No less a sum than 1264*l.* was put down in a recent balance-sheet as paid for poultry losses; and this does not represent all that the farmers may sometimes fairly claim in these days, when their position is entirely different from what it was sixty years ago. A sum of 149*l.* goes to them in rent and roads, besides 851*l.* for damages. Other items are 405*l.* for rent of coverts, 160*l.* for salaries, and 300*l.* for repairs and rent of kennels. Not much is left, it will be seen, out of the 6000*l.*; and there is no room here for economy.

But we must not linger too long on a subject as distasteful, we may expect, to 'Nimrod' as to his humble follower in these pages. Money is too prominent everywhere nowadays; and hunting, like everything else, has had to pay the price. The matter has only been mentioned to show that a sport which could once flourish on the generosity and enthusiasm of the few must now face the fact that only the continuance of a general support can enable it to go on. The figures are here to show what hunting really means to-day to the whole country. Taking 175 packs, consisting of 12,000 foxhounds, hunting an average of rather less than three days a week, the lowest possible estimate of annual expenditure is half a million sterling. Harriers would add another 100,000*l.* A fair total for the number of hunters required is 200,000; and if their average price be only 50*l.*, their value comes to ten millions. If their feed cost only ten shillings a week, it would mean five millions sterling every year. It is a large expenditure, and doubtless in many ways beneficial to the country; yet it is not easy to point out the way in which it benefits any individual farmer. The truth is that, under modern conditions, not only must far more people contribute to the hunt expenses out of their own pocket, but it is even more important that those who cannot pay directly should be friendly enough to give all the help they can; and it is in the personality and character of such masters as the famous hound-breeders just mentioned that the best promise of this friendly feeling is to be found.

That the foxhound of to-day is a superior animal to that which 'Nimrod' knew, it would be difficult to deny; for that would imply that all the years of scientific breeding since he died have been utterly wasted. We

take it that there is a certain line of perfection, in what is admitted to be requisite, beyond which it is impossible to go; and the probability is that this line was reached years ago in such packs as the Belvoir and the Brocklesby. Having obtained absolute perfection of form, it is now the work of masters and huntsmen to breed for greater speed and greater scenting powers. At the present moment the cry is all for pace, which is reasonable enough; but the danger at certain kennels is that this quality may be further cultivated only at the expense of nose. 'Nimrod' says that Hugo Meynell, the founder of the Quorn pack and country as it is now constituted, displayed perfect judgment as a breeder of hounds. The first qualities he looked for were fine noses and stout running; a combination of strength with beauty, and steadiness with high mettle. His ideal of perfection of shape was summed up in 'short backs, open bosoms, straight legs, and compact feet.' Surely no living M.F.H. would find that a bad model to follow.

We give an illustration (fig. 1) by a contemporary artist of the foxhound as he was fashioned at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is sufficient to compare him with the late Charles Furse's noble sketch (fig. 3) of the modern hound to show that we have gained vastly both in power and bone. There is a grand and massive strength about the modern hound which was lacking when Meynell was still engaged upon his great work of development. The hocks of the foxhounds of to-day are nearer to the ground than were those of his predecessor; and the flat-sided creature that did duty in the early days of the sport would surely be easily winded by hounds possessing such finely-sprung ribs as we are accustomed to see at Peterborough in such a model as Sanguine (fig. 2).

Meynell insisted on straight legs in front; and that has ever been an indispensable feature of the foxhound's conformation. As straight as a post he must be bred, to suit the modern M.F.H., with plenty of bone right down to his feet, the size of the bone at the ankles and stifles being particularly important, as is also, of course, the strength of his pads and development of his knuckles. But a warning note regarding the modern fetich of bone and straightness may not be out of place. If these are

FIG. 1.

THE FOXHOUND OF A HUNDRED YEARS AGO.
From HEWITT'S 'British Sportsman' (1806).

FIG. 2.

MR. FITZWILLIAM'S *Sanguine*.
Champion Bitch Hound at Peterborough.

pushed beyond a certain limit, the danger of lumber is to be feared; a loss of speed and activity may easily accompany a superabundance of bone, which Lord Henry Bentinck used already to call 'a useless appendage.'

Fashion in regard to the height of the foxhound has varied a little since the days of Meynell; and even now some masters breed bigger hounds than others, rigorously drafting those which are not of the size to suit them. The average height, however, is 24 inches; and it is often the case that, when hounds are bigger, they carry too much lumber and their pace suffers. The late Lord Willoughby de Broke believed the best size to be 23½ inches for dogs and rather lower, but not much, for bitches. In his advice to masters he pointed out that in a grass country no hound, however big, can jump a stake-and-bound fence with a ditch to him, to say nothing of bullfinches; and small hounds get through these fences quicker and with less tailing than big ones. In a wall or bank country the difference in height is not of great consequence, though Lord Willoughby was probably right in doubting whether big hounds are able to jump better than small ones.

Into the question of hounds and their breeding 'Sentinel' enters very practically, if not exhaustively, in his book, 'Hounds: their Breeding and Kennel Management.' In his opinion the foxhound of the present day has very nearly, but not quite, attained perfection. He points out that there is a far larger proportion of well-bred hounds in most kennels than formerly; but, of course, no critic, no matter what fancies or prejudices he cherished, could escape the overwhelming supremacy of Belvoir among modern kennels. Five direct generations of the Belvoir hounds, namely, Gambler 1884, Nominal 1888, Watchman 1892, Dexter 1895, and Daystar 1903, can be taken as the strongest line of foxhound blood in the world. 'Sentinel' considers that to have seen Belvoir Gambler was alone a study in hound-breeding. Besides being the most perfect type of a foxhound, on beautiful lines and with remarkable bone, he was an exceptionally good hound in his work, with a fine voice, and was never known to tire. He was 23 inches high, his arm was over 8 inches round, and he measured 5¼ inches below the knee. Most modern hounds are mute as they

race on to the line out of covert; and some old-fashioned followers of the chase very naturally regret the loss of something they genuinely loved. But in the Llangibby pack the old ideals of 'music' are still preserved; and few things astonished their master more than the discovery of undoubted traces of the same melody—which seemed to go with the blood—in Parson Russell's pack, so far away as Devonshire. But the greatest change which has come about in foxhound breeding is this, that, whereas in 'Nimrod's' day excellence was confined to a few favoured kennels, to-day we may find a very high standard of merit in all parts of the kingdom, to which the keen competition among magnificent hounds at the annual Peterborough show is clear testimony.

As with the foxhound, so with the harrier. Years of judicious breeding, and the establishment of the 'Harrier Stud-book,' have done wonders to improve the smaller hound. The infusion of foxhound blood has largely changed the character of the harrier, giving him greater pace and dash; but the old-fashioned type, untouched by the foxhound strain, is still carefully preserved in several countries; and the claim is made that they can work out a line and kill a hare on a scent with which the foxhound would probably not persevere. The terrier, that plucky little fellow who is the huntsman's best friend when his fox has gone to ground, has also changed. The illustrations of the period show that the terriers of a hundred years ago were a very scratch lot, doubtless able to run with the hounds, but not half such workmen in appearance as at present. The various breeds, as we know them to-day, have become distinct, leaving the modern fox-terrier firmly consolidated, with a type particularly his own. Whether he be wiry-haired or smooth-haired, he is fashioned much after the style of the well-bred hunter or weight-carrying polo pony (fig. 6). Altogether he is greatly to be preferred to the long-legged snipy-faced terrier that Reinagle has sketched (fig. 5).

While the foxhound has been bred so scrupulously, and improved in speed and form, has his quarry been standing still? Is the fox the same animal that Osbaldeston, Assheton Smith, and the other contemporaries of 'Nimrod' hunted to death? We incline to the opinion that he has not improved in like proportion. When

Fig. 5.

THE TERRIER OF A HUNDRED YEARS AGO.
From HEWITT'S 'British Sportsman' (1806).

Fig. 6.

CHAMPION *Dusky Siren*, BRED BY MR. REDMOND.
Sold to MR. GEORGE PORTER, of New York, for £220.

conditions are favourable for him, the modern fox is doubtless as hard to kill as the fox of a hundred years ago; but we think that, given a good scent, the modern hound will get hold of him more quickly than was once possible. Mr Robert Watson, the Carlow ex-M.F.H., who has had not far short of eighty years' experience of fox-hunting, and is therefore entitled to speak with unimpeachable authority on this subject, is quite convinced of the deterioration of the quarry. 'Foxes,' he declares, 'do not run to very distant points in the way they used to do forty years ago, even twenty, ay, even fifteen or ten years ago.' Lord Portman, another veteran M.F.H., still in command of the hounds that bear his name, likewise believes that foxes are not so good; and he blames the vast increase of game-preserving for the change. To an article written by Mr Arthur W. Coaten for the 'Badminton Magazine,' Lord Portman contributed this interesting note:—

'Speaking for my own country, I do not hesitate to say that sport in it is far inferior to what it was twenty-five or thirty years ago. The foxes do not make such good points. As in the best part of my open hill-country no outlying fox is allowed to live—in the interest of partridge-preserving and partridge-driving—and so many of the owners and occupiers of the large coverts do not hunt, and close their coverts to hounds in the early part in the season, it is only due to the large extent of my country that in November and December I am able to hunt three days a week, and that with difficulty. The foxes in the big woods do not get hunted sufficiently in the early part of the season to scatter them about the country.'

We quote this letter as being an outspoken statement of the difficulties which beset the master whose hounds cover a shooting-country. In the days of 'Nimrod,' covert-shooting and partridge-preservation were of insignificant importance compared with the part they play in country-life to-day; and the M.F.H. of that period was little troubled with the problem that has puzzled Lord Portman and other masters.

'I would advise' (wrote the late Lord Willoughby de Broke) 'as much compliance with the wishes of game-preservers as is consistent with hunting the country fairly. . . . By all

means steer clear of the shooting-parties, and meet the shooters' wishes as much as you can, but by no means, and for no man, stop your hounds when running.'

Owners of coverts sometimes forget that hounds belong to country-gentlemen who have a right not to be disappointed in the sport they also pay for; and it is certainly reasonable to suppose that the growth of shooting is responsible for a decline in the physical prowess of the fox. With so many countries teeming with game, he does not have to go very far abroad in search of food; indeed his whole life can comfortably be spent in and around a few neighbouring coverts and woodlands. In these degenerate circumstances the fox cannot possibly know the country which he will sooner or later be called upon to travel. Nor can his wind be so sound or his muscles so hard as those of animals reared under less artificial conditions. One thing in his favour is that few grass countries hold the scent as they did eighty or a hundred years ago, owing to the modern system of drainage; while the high farming of the present time has the effect of still further weakening the scent-carrying properties of the land.

Viewed from the philosophical standpoint, this is not perhaps altogether to be regretted; because, if hounds were to be unfailingly too good for their foxes, one-half of the science and the attraction of the chase would be banished. In an average season hounds do not run their hardest more than twenty times during the six months. Many years of experience taught the late Lord Willoughby de Broke that there is a great difference in foxes. He wrote:—

'Some come to hand easily; but there are some that will beat any pack of hounds, unless at some time or other in the run they are hard pressed for half an hour at least; indeed, there are some foxes who seem, over grass, in dryish weather, to be able to keep going nearly all day. It is certainly not bone which enables hounds to catch foxes of this sort. They must have good necks and shoulders, and they must be in tip-top condition. That is how the foxes are killed, by care and careful conditioning in the kennel, and by being in good heart and confidence, with plenty of blood.'

One more expert opinion may be quoted before we

FIG. 3.

SKETCH IN OILS OF A FOXHOUND (1900).
From the Original by the late CHARLES W. FURSE.

FIG. 4.

SKETCH IN OILS OF A WEIGHT-CARRYING HUNTER (1900).
From the Original by the late CHARLES W. FURSE.

leave this interesting subject of hounds and foxes. The Duke of Beaufort, whose long experience and knowledge of hunting entitle him to be listened to with the greatest respect and attention, considers that

'hounds are faster and fitter than they were in our great-grandfathers' time, and therefore a fox is sooner burst up if hounds get away on his track on a good scenting-day; and it is accordingly not the fox that has deteriorated, but the hound that has improved.'

Yet it should be remembered that the Duke of Beaufort, who naturally speaks mainly for his own particular country, is not one of those masters who are troubled to any material extent by game-preservers. Perhaps, if he reigned in a more highly-preserved country, he would have reason to modify his opinion of the modern fox.

On the whole, it is clear that a decided doubt has arisen as to the present condition of foxes. As to the hounds, there is almost complete unanimity about their distinct improvement during the last century; but the Earl of Yarborough, admitting that they are much improved in looks, does not believe they go as fast as their predecessors of fifty years ago.

Hardly any one could deny that the modern hunter is an improvement on the horse that was ridden to hounds a hundred years ago. 'Nimrod' pointed out how the animal which he and his contemporaries bestrode differed from the half-bred horse of the eighteenth century. The latter, according to his description, was a truly shaped and powerful animal, possessing prodigious strength, with a fine commanding frame, considerable length of neck, a slight curve in his crest, which was always high and firm, and the head beautifully put on. He was just the horse, in fact, that may be seen in the typical weight-carrier beloved by the late Charles Furse (fig. 4). The horse painted by Stubbs (fig. 7) shows unmistakable signs of thoroughbred descent, as is natural in an animal from the stables of George, Prince of Wales, who was soon prevented from hunting by his weight, but always insisted on having 'a bit of blood' to ride. His horse is cast in a lighter mould, but has good bone and muscular developments, and comes nearer to the usual ideal of the true Leicestershire hunter, as represented by Whiskey, the

famous winner at Islington and at all the more important recent shows in the kingdom (fig. 8).

'Nimrod' believed that the eighteenth-century hunter, as commonly used by lesser personalities than a prince, would never have carried a nineteenth-century sportsman on a good scenting-day over one of our best countries.

'His strength would be exhausted before he had gone ten minutes, by the increased pace at which he must be called upon to travel, but to which his breeding would be quite unequal. . . . If ridden close to the hounds he would be powerless and dangerous before he had gone across half a dozen Leicestershire enclosures.'

By way of meeting the demand for increased pace in hunters, called for by the vast improvement of hounds, 'Nimrod' was fond of recommending thoroughbred blood; and, if a pure-bred one was impossible, his advice was to get a horse as nearly clean-bred as possible. Good breeding is just as essential now as it was then; but in every generation of horses since 'Nimrod's' day there has been some improvement—minute, perhaps, but still an improvement. The supply has expanded with the demand; so that for one good weight-carrier in his time we can count thirty or forty to-day. Farmers and breeders in England and Ireland who devote attention to hunters have found that it pays to breed from good mares. The ideal Leicestershire hunter, 'sixteen hands, up to the weight of a man in full bloom, sired by a thoroughbred, and with a dam whose pedigree has scarcely a suspicion of stain,' will always fetch his full value; and 300 guineas is a frequent price for a really good mount. The cream of the well-bred, fast-galloping, and free-jumping horses will fetch double that sum. In the shires the modern master of hounds mounts his hunt-servants magnificently; and Arthur Thatcher and other huntsmen have their three horses a day.

The most successful of the old-time masters also considered it of the utmost importance to mount their servants efficiently. Meynell himself rode costly animals; and the average price paid by the hard-riding Meltonian of 'Nimrod's' time was 200 guineas. In regard to the second-horse system, 'Nimrod' tells us that it was brought into fashion at the time when Lord Sefton hunted Leicestershire, when Jack Raven, a light-weight, and

FIG. 7.

THE HUNTER OF A HUNDRED YEARS AGO.
Brown Horse, the property of the Prince of Wales (afterwards George IV).
From the Original Painting by STUBBS.
One of the King's Pictures now at Cumberland Lodge.

FIG. 8.

Whiskey.
Champion Hunter, 1906.

son of the celebrated John Raven, huntsman to the still more celebrated Mr Meynell, used to ride in his wake in the hunting-field with the thousand-guinea hunters, to which Lord Sefton changed his seat at the first convenient opportunity. Sir Harry Goodricke, master of the Quorn from 1831 to 1835, had eighty couples of hounds in his kennel and forty-four hunters in his stables; and 'Nimrod' believes that his predecessors, Lord Southampton, Mr Osbaldeston, and Sir Bellingham Graham, even exceeded this measure of establishment.

For the sake of comparison it may be noted that Lord Lonsdale offered fifty-eight hunters when he gave up the Quorn mastership in 1898, besides many harness horses, hacks, and young horses. That sale ranks as an important event in hunting history, as the following quotation from the 'Field' will show:—

'In July 1898 no little interest was aroused over the sale of the Quorn horses, the property of Lord Lonsdale, when Lady Lonsdale's Œdipus, a chestnut gelding by Œdipus, was bought by Mr P. Whitaker, of the Oakley, for 760 guineas, Bay Prince realising 660 guineas, and Eggshell 630 guineas. The average of fifty-four hunters was 290*l*., the average of nineteen of Lord Lonsdale's being 380*l*. This, of course, brought up a number of reminiscences; and it was remembered that in 1863 Lord Stamford sold seventy-nine of the Quorn horses, realising upwards of 15,060*l*., or an average of about 190*l*. each, individual bids being 520 guineas, 510 guineas, and 460 guineas. Again, in the summer of 1807, Sir G. Heathcote's hunting-stud was sold at Tattersall's, when one horse brought 360 guineas, while two others realised 310 guineas each, another 300 guineas, and three more from 200 guineas to 300 guineas. Lord Plymouth would give 700 guineas for a hunter; and in 1863 Mr Chaplin's hunters brought such long prices as 400 guineas, 350 guineas, and 300 guineas, while fourteen others realised over 100 guineas each. When Lord Henry Bentinck gave up the Burton, in 1864, his hunters brought 12,461*l*., the sale taking place on the same day as that appointed for the first horse-show held at the Agricultural Hall at Islington under Mr Sidney's management; and in the course of the afternoon that gentleman entered the arena to announce that the first three horses sold by Lord Henry had passed into the hands of Mr Chaplin for 1000*l*., and he urged his hearers to note the fact by way of bearing in mind what could be made out of hunter-breeding.'

That the hunter has now a more difficult line of country to cover than in 'Nimrod's' day is improbable. Indeed, 'Brooksby,' in his article on the Quorn in 'The Foxhounds of Great Britain and Ireland,' goes so far as to say that Leicestershire is easier to ride over than when Mr Coupland was master (1870–1884), and Tom Firr, the greatest of modern huntsmen, was in his zenith.

'For instance' (he says), 'every fence upon the Hoby, Brooksby, or Great Dalby lordships—all bullock-feeding land—was guarded by an ox-rail, often by one on either side, calling for a bold hunter and a determined man to "fly the lot." Of course such essential virtues are in existence now, but the same test is seldom applied. At that period . . . each fence within grazing districts had been "made up" to withstand the heavy bullocks; barbed wire had not been invented, and has happily been little used since. But the ox-rails have tumbled down; there is little wood forthcoming to replace them; and the stake-and-bound hedges remain guileless and comparatively easy.'

But hunting in Leicestershire has not altered half so much as it has in the home counties, where the remorseless march of the builder has produced quite new difficulties. London and many large towns are encroaching further and further on the country-side; and much of the land on which our grandfathers used to hunt is occupied now by suburban villas and highways. The modern Londoner finds it difficult to believe that the original Surrey hounds were kept in Bermondsey. At the same time Kennington Gorse and Sydenham Common were two of the most certain 'finds'; and Peckham Rye and Forest Hill were favourite fixtures with the sporting merchants and contemporaries of the immortal Jorrocks. All this lends an added interest to Mr H. R. Taylor's history of 'The Old Surrey Foxhounds.' The author's mournful statement, that 'the passing of the Old Surrey can only be a question of time,' is, it may be hoped, an exaggeration, for the disappearance of one of the few tangible links that connect us with Mr Jorrocks will not be an agreeable day for hunting.

The humour of much of Surtees would probably not have seemed quite good form to Apperley. But it would be both unfair and inappropriate in this place to use

'Nimrod's' writing merely as a storehouse for the facts which have provided the backbone of what, it may be feared, has been a somewhat dry and unadorned comparison of essential details in development. Apperley's 'immortal articles,' as his great successor, 'The Druid,' generously calls them, are instinct with a deep love not only of hunting, but of sportsmanship in the best sense of the word; and thus their interest is independent of the passing of our hasty generations. The two writers may be compared to Evelyn and Pepys. You admire the one; but you are never tired of listening to the other.

'The Druid' was, in his way, a genius, a man whose sympathy with everything in nature was so strong that, as a well-known statesman of his day remarked, 'he can even make you feel interested in pigs'; and his breezy, disconnected, delightful pages have a great share in that golden age of hunting-literature which may be said to extend from 1830 to 1860. He preserved that racy phraseology in which huntsmen of the prime, like old Will Goodall, would describe how the pack 'screamed over the fallows'; how, after 'a blazing hour,' they 'blew him up in the open,' or 'raced into him and ate him' on the hills. His intense understanding of these men gives a strength and colour to his work that is no other's, for they knew they could talk to him quite freely and never be misunderstood. Jem Hills, for instance, gives him an unanswerable explanation of his capacities: 'I had four brothers with hounds; we were by an earth-stopper from a huntsman's daughter, so we couldn't be better bred.' Dick Christian's 'lecture' is another extraordinary instance of the same fidelity to type; and the death of Tom Sebright is as touching a picture as all sporting literature can show. 'Don't you see them?' he said to his daughter. 'They're all round my bed. There's old Bluecap and Shiner, and Bonny Lass wagging her stern.' 'No, no, father,' she replied, 'you're mistaken.' 'Ah! they've gone now. Strange, isn't it, I should see them so plain?' He never saw them again. For him, as for Will Goodall, they could only 'swell that strange, mournful requiem which arose from the kennel, and fairly thrilled through the mourners as the hearse moved away.'

There had, of course, been occasional writings on the chase long before 'Nimrod.' 'The Maister of Game,' for

instance, is a manuscript attributed to Edward de Langley, son of Edward III; and the 'Boke of St Albans' was written before 1486. Yet of all these early efforts, only William Somerville's fine poem 'The Chase' (1735) and Peter Beckford's 'Thoughts on Hunting' (1781) can really be said to have survived. Nearer to 'Nimrod's' own day was Vyner's 'Notitia Venatica' (1847), a storehouse of those minutiæ of hunting which Delmé Radcliffe, master of the Hertfordshire, and author of 'The Noble Science,' expressly relegates to 'the servants' hall or the saddle-room.' Then there was Thomas Smith, master of the Craven and the Pytchley, with his Diary and his 'Life of a Fox'; and John Mills with his 'Life of a Foxhound'; and Surtees with the 'Handley Cross' volumes, that are still popular in every country-house smoking-room. A full decade later came 'The Druid,' who is far better than any of his successors, even if you count among them a Whyte-Melville, an Anthony Trollope, or a 'Brooksby.' But 'Nimrod' held, and still holds, a place of his own. Apperley had a consciousness not only of his own dignity, but of the dignity of literature. He might not have been able, as was said of Beckford, to 'bag a fox in Greek, find a hare in Latin, inspect his kennels in Italian, and direct the economy of his stables in exquisite French.' He might not have treated the practical and business side of the subject so exhaustively as Vyner. But he wrote precisely what the average hunting-man wanted to read, and he wrote it in good English. He introduced, for the first time, that personal touch which rouses the imagination as nothing else can; and he kindled a direct and lasting interest in sport because he loved to be in the first flight himself, and wrote of what he himself had done and felt.

'Nimrod's' work remains, perhaps, the most quoted of any hunting-literature, because it breathes the very atmosphere of the hunting-fields he knew; because we can still see, with him, 'at least two hundred well-mounted men' eager for sport at the covert-side, and follow them, too heedless of the cry, ''Ware hounds!' as they dash to the front in their anxiety to get well away. At the first check, after a terrific burst of nineteen minutes, only fourteen are near the huntsman. At the flooded Whissendine 'seven take the water in their stride, three

stop short, and three find themselves in the middle of it. At the kill in the large grass-field Osbaldeston's 'whoo-whoop!' is echoing as far as Cottesmore, ay, farther still; and the brave sound of it has not yet fallen into silence.

Small wonder that many who read those stirring pages must fall to asking whether, in the twentieth century, our horses and our hounds are really as stout, as fast, as high-couraged as were these; our first-flight men as dashing and as hard to stop as the magnificent performers of whom 'Nimrod' wrote. Some of us may well feel, as one of them did, that 'the pace is too good to enquire.' But all who care for hunting must recognise that, though times be different now, the large, open-air, honest spirit of the thing is with us still, as it was sixty or a hundred years ago. Compromises may be necessary; crowds may be greater and less amenable to suggestion than of yore; farmers may be poorer for the moment; masters may be faced with difficulties that may seem to them harder than any problems ever faced before; but it remains true that there are no dangers in the hunting future which hunting-men themselves cannot at once remove. The royal buckhounds are a thing of the past; but so is pigeon-shooting at Hurlingham; and so is many another form of sport in which our ancestors saw little harm. The spots that modern humanitarians can find in the fair fame of hunting can easily be wiped out by those who love the sport for what is best in it, and never ask that its abuses should remain. A frank recognition, on the one hand, that the growing expenses of a pack cannot be thrown upon the shoulders of a few, and, on the other, that the interests of many more are now concerned in hunting than was ever the case in previous generations, will be enough to keep the sport at the high level 'Nimrod' knew, and to base it upon foundations still wider and deeper than any he had ever contemplated.

Art. X.—THE HÔTEL DE RAMBOUILLET.

1. *La Jeunesse de la Grande Mademoiselle.* By 'Arvède Barine.' Paris: Hachette, 1901.
2. *La Société française au XVIIe Siècle.* Two vols. By Victor Cousin. Paris: Didier, 1858.
3. *Précieux et Précieuses.* By C. L. Livet. Paris: Didier, 1859.
4. *Mémoire pour servir à l'Histoire de la Société Polie en France.* By P. L. Roederer. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1835.
5. *Les Historiettes de Tallemant des Réaux.* Nine vols. Paris: Techener, 1854–60.

If it is true that imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, there are not a few who would willingly dispense with it. When tricks of manner, gesture, or language, or even a particular habit of mind, are repeated by the admiring disciple, it is trying to the temper; and to be haunted by an echo has been known to disturb the equilibrium of the brain. To become the creator of a school, whether of manners, of conduct, or of taste, might seem at first sight a position to be coveted; but for a man to behold his face with gratification in a glass it is necessary that the mirror should be unflawed; and so rarely is this the case with the human reflector that the reproduction is uncomfortably apt to assume the semblance of a caricature. The traits inviting the skill of the copyist are, besides, not those of which the possessor is most proud; and, though viewed with indulgence when unique, if multiplied indefinitely they may fail to meet with toleration, and the original may be included with his imitators in a common anathema.

Amongst those to a certain extent damned by success, so far as the general public is concerned, were the reformers of French society in the seventeenth century, whose successors were pilloried by Molière in the 'Précieuses Ridicules.' There might have seemed little danger that Madame de Rambouillet and her friends would be confounded with the pedants and prudes, drawn chiefly from the middle class, at whom the satire of the dramatist was directed. The frequenters of the celebrated *Hôtel* assisted at the performance; and its mistress, far from resenting any implied censure, took the wiser part of associating her-

self cordially with the author in the chastisement bestowed upon those who had vulgarised her work. But in later times there has been a tendency to exaggerate the closeness of the connexion between the pioneers of the movement and the men and women who afterwards brought it into disrepute.

Madame de Rambouillet had good reason to complain of her clumsy copyists. If the reform she inaugurated lent itself with special facility to travesty, it is none the less curious to contrast subsequent developments with the spirit and atmosphere prevailing in her salon. 'On n'y parle pas savamment,' wrote Chapelain to Balzac, 'mais on y parle raisonnablement, et il n'y a pas lieu du monde où il y eut plus de bon sens et moins de pédanterie'; whilst Tallemant des Réaux, whose accounts of men and things cannot be accused of good nature, after describing the *Hôtel* as the scene of the diversions of the Princesse de Condé and the Cardinal de la Valette, adds, 'C'étoit le rendezvous de ce qu'il y avoit de plus galant à la cour, et de plus poli parmi les beaux esprits du siècle.' With regard to the influence upon literature of the earliest *précieuses*, M. Brunetière may be accepted as an authority. Being women, he says, and women of the world, they caused the writer to shake off the dust of his library, freed literature from pedanticism, and rendered it, from having been almost purely erudite, *mondaine*. Had it been otherwise, had the later *précieuses* been the legitimate representatives of Madame de Rambouillet and her disciples, it may safely be asserted that the *Hôtel* would not have exercised such an ascendency over contemporaries, both of rank and of letters, nor have accomplished the feat summarised by M. Livet in the saying, 'Y naquit l'esprit de conversation.'

As to the magnitude of the service thus rendered to the world opinions will vary. Those who hold, with Stevenson, that the first duty of a man and his chief business in life is to talk, will naturally appraise it at a higher rate than will the adherents of Carlyle's gospel of silence. It is certain that the frequenters of the *Hôtel* would have agreed with Stevenson. Talking was their business, their profession; one might almost believe that in their opinion facts, feelings, sentiments, passions, existed primarily that they might be discussed, might furnish an oppor-

tunity for that species of conversation, graceful, epigrammatic, *spirituel*, carried by them to so high a degree of excellence. Talking, if not for talking's sake yet for something very like it, conversation as an end and not merely as a means towards an end, had its beginning, so far as France was concerned, at this time. The conscious cultivation of the verbal medium, the studied use of spoken language, was then introduced; the inter-communication, of set purpose, of a diversity of speakers became, for the first time, a habit; grace and brilliance of expression, the art of repartee and retort, of argument and discussion, were sedulously practised; and the *salon* was a field where lances were broken in a tournament of wit. Nor is it too much to claim for Madame de Rambouillet that, if she did not actually create social intercourse as it came to be understood in the Paris of the first half of the seventeenth century, she was the most eminent of its reformers. At her house the barriers hitherto set up between the aristocracy of the brain and the aristocracy of rank and race were broken down; and the *Hôtel*, whilst remaining in a sense unique, became the model upon which hundreds of such meeting-places were, successfully or unsuccessfully, moulded.

To have carried on the work, had it been already begun, would have required gifts of no common order. To initiate and almost, so to speak, to invent a totally novel system and scheme of social life implies something approaching to genius. The achievement was sufficiently remarkable to render it interesting to enquire into the methods used to effect it, and to examine the means by which the *Hôtel*, from a mere private *salon*, was transformed into what Saint-Simon calls 'un tribunal de jugement redoutable au monde et à la cour.'

If the achievement was remarkable, the time was favourable for its performance. When the Hôtel de Rambouillet opened its doors, in or about the year 1613, Henri-Quatre had been in his grave some three years; and with him had passed away a certain phase of French life. During his reign, says M. Cousin, the country had been great. Strength had abounded, but grace had been absent and good taste unknown. The profession of arms being considered the one worthy field for ambition, the qualities adapted to win military success had become of

disproportionate value, while manners and conduct had alike suffered. Delicacy and refinement were not attributes to be cultivated on the battlefield; and coarseness was in fashion.

A reaction, however, was setting in. With the death of the great soldier, men were beginning to question the accepted axiom that fighting was the principal end of life; to ask themselves whether they existed for no other object than to practise the soldier's art, and to cast glances of regret backward to the Court of the Valois kings, invested in the eyes of a later generation with a certain glamour, and where, in spite of its corruption, refinement and intellectual brilliance had not been lacking. Weary of a purely animal life, diversified chiefly by war or by fierce theological strife, a portion of the world of Paris was, if still half-consciously, seeking a new frame upon which existence might be shaped. And a model answering to the craving had been afforded by the 'Astrée' of Honoré d'Urfé. The admiration excited by that long-drawn-out and tedious romance can only be explained by the fact that it supplied a want widely and strongly felt—the want of a fresh ideal. According to 'Arvède Barine,' 'Le grand mérite d'Honoré d'Urfé a été de présenter à ses contemporains dans "l'Astrée" un miroir intelligent de leurs aspirations confuses.' He did his generation the inestimable service of interpreting it to itself. If the world he portrayed was artificial and unreal, it nevertheless suggested a possibility with which both men and women were eager to close, and offered an escape from the sensuality of the Court, the roughness of the battlefield, and the bitterness of polemical animosity.

It was the 'Astrée,' the first two parts of which had appeared by 1610, that paved the way for Madame de Rambouillet's great experiment. What was imperatively demanded, if a social reformation was to be effected, was a new departure, the creation of a fresh standard, the voluntary adoption of a rule or ideal of conduct and manners serving to attract those who, disgusted with the license of the palace and the street, were developing a taste for pleasures appealing to the intellect and the brain. A rallying point for the innovators was required; and it was supplied by the famous *Hôtel*. With a correctness of intuition proved by her unparalleled success,

Madame de Rambouillet gauged and met the necessities of the moment in ministering to the need, blindly felt, of exchanging ideas. 'Je me figure,' says M. Roederer, '. . . que jamais on n'eut autant besoin de se parler, en France ni ailleurs, qu'à cette époque.' The need sprang from a variety of causes. Whilst more impersonal matters called for discussion, the relations of the sexes were likewise undergoing a change; women were being admitted to a footing of equality with men; and, with the alteration of the terms upon which they had hitherto stood, the necessity for verbal expression was accentuated. Where plain speech was forbidden many words were required to produce full comprehension of what it was desired to convey. To quote M. Roederer again, 'Plus les mœurs sont chastes et réservées, plus il faut de conversation pour se faire entendre d'un sexe à l'autre. La licence est brusque, le cynicisme laconique.'

At the Hôtel de Rambouillet an opportunity, unattainable elsewhere, was provided for this species of conversation; and there were many eager to avail themselves of it. That its mistress was accorded, during more than a generation, undisputed supremacy in her own sphere, is not only evidence of the gratitude she evoked, but a tribute to the tact and skill with which, having begun the work, she was able to carry it on. Under the roof of a woman unassailed by any breath of slander, the reform of morals and that of manners were combined; the vague desire for intellectual, social, and spiritual development found a voice; and the cultivation of the mind and the purification of language and life went on together. If, as was inevitable, success could be but partial; if, as the century advanced, the Court of the 'Roi Soleil' replaced that of Henri-Quatre, a second Court existed for the future. To it intellectual superiority, grace, force of character, purity of life, refinement of speech and habits, were the passports, neither absence of rank nor divergence in creed or politics being permitted to serve as causes of exclusion. Such was the position occupied by the *Hôtel*; and such it continued to be while ministers rose and fell, faction displaced faction, and wars were waged. What were the methods used to maintain its eminence?

The general conditions rendering possible the creation

of such a centre have been indicated. But the triumph was undoubtedly won by Madame de Rambouillet's personal influence. Of the authority and weight she enjoyed, Mademoiselle de Scudéry, under the transparent veil she adopted in depicting the society of her day, has, in 'le Grand Cyrus,' given an account.

'Il n'y a personne en toute la cour qui ait quelque esprit et quelque vertu qui n'aille chez elle. Rien n'est trouvé beau si elle ne l'a approuvé; il ne vient pas même un étranger qui ne veuille pas voir Cléomire et lui rendre hommage.'

If her success was phenomenal, she was not without certain qualifications fitting the possessor to be the leader of the enterprise. Of an old race, a *marquise* in her own right, and connected by blood and marriage with many of the great houses of Italy and France, she could afford better than a woman of more uncertain position to disregard distinctions of class and rank; nor was there any danger that she would incur the suspicion of adopting an original mode of life because the paths frequented by the courtier and the noble were not open to her. If the Hôtel de Rambouillet, rather than the Louvre, was the scene of her triumphs, it was well known that preference, not necessity, dictated the choice. Nor did personal gifts fail to supplement the advantages of birth and position. Possessing in a singular degree the power of attracting affection, she retained to the end as a lover the husband she had married as a child of eleven; and it would almost appear that, in spite of her virtues and her superiority, she had no enemy. Cultivated, highly educated, and accomplished, she added to her other acquirements the invaluable art of disarming criticism by a skilful concealment of her knowledge. 'Elle n'ignore presque rien de ce qui mérite d'être sçu,' says Mademoiselle de Scudéry, continuing her panegyric; 'mais elle le sçait sans faire semblant de le savoir.'

Segrais points to another important attribute when he calls attention to her absence of prejudice—'elle ne sçavoit ce que c'étoit que prendre parti.' Her guests, of whatever colour their principles or political creed, and whether liked or disliked in high quarters, received an equal welcome; and that her house was recognised as a meeting-place for men of opposite opinions is shown by

a story giving likewise the key to the means she used to preserve its character. In earlier days Richelieu had been counted amongst her intimates; and the Cardinal's goodwill had been displayed by the appointment of M. de Rambouillet to the post of ambassador at Madrid. But the minister was not of the number of those who give and expect nothing in return; and it was presently discreetly intimated to the ambassador's wife that the service already rendered would be repaid, and the future advancement of the Marquis ensured, should the Cardinal be kept informed of the intrigues carried on by those of the frequenters of the *Hôtel* who were hostile to his government. In spite of the issues at stake, Madame de Rambouillet was frank and explicit in her refusal to perform the office required of her. She did not believe, she told the Cardinal's intermediary, that the intrigues he suspected were in progress; but in any case she would be ill-fitted to play the spy. Besides, she added courteously, all the world was so well acquainted with the affection she bore his Eminence that none would venture to speak ill of him in her presence. The argument was unanswerable; but it was nevertheless noted that no further promotion was bestowed upon the Marquis. His wife's fashion of dealing with a difficult situation is an example of the tact and loyalty essential if men of varying views were to feel themselves at ease in her house.

Not only in the case of divergent politics, but in the still more difficult matter of religion, she preserved the same attitude; and it was perhaps her greatest triumph that, at a date when the memory of St Bartholomew interposed a sanguinary bar between Protestant and Catholic, the adherents of the rival faiths were accustomed to meet in peace and amity under her roof, and there found a common intellectual bond of union. Whilst she and her family were ardent Catholics, men such as Conrart, first permanent secretary of the Academy and acutely conscious of the disadvantage attending his Protestantism, were included amongst her friends; another Protestant, the Marquis de Montausier, was for many years on terms of affectionate intimacy with her, before he smoothed the way to his marriage with her daughter by embracing Catholicism. Without this independence of party spirit, peculiarly rare at the time, it

would have been impossible, as M. Cousin points out, for Madame de Rambouillet to carry her work to a successful issue.

In enumerating her qualifications, her *humeur enjouée* must also be taken into account. Purely intellectual pursuits, undiluted superiority, would have been a too abrupt transition for men and women accustomed to the round of amusement which is habitual in Court life. But Madame de Rambouillet's natural gaiety and love of pleasure prevented her *salon* from assuming the austere character by which some of those whom she desired to attract thither would have been repelled. Pastimes of all kinds alternated with the conversation forming its special feature; young and old found entertainment; practical jokes were not unknown; and the celebrated *Chambre Bleue*, in spite of its academic renown, was well acquainted with laughter.

It may have been, in some sort, an assistance to her work—although the fact remains a curious one—that, leader of the intellectual life of Paris as she was, Madame de Rambouillet's talents would seem to have been rather social than literary; nor is there any evidence that she was possessed of uncommon brilliancy. The writing of verses, for instance, was an almost universal accomplishment amongst the cultivated men and women of the day; but the few of her compositions that are preserved are certainly not above, if they do not fall below, the level of the average *vers de société*; and her recorded sayings are rare. Such an absence of mental pre-eminence serves to accentuate the qualities of sympathy, critical appreciation, and charm, by means of which her task was accomplished and her predominance in her chosen domain secured. More important than all was the gift indicated by 'Arvède Barine' as the *génie de maîtresse de maison*. It is only when reckoning up the social centres where this attribute is wanting in the woman presiding over them that one perceives how rare is this qualification for acting hostess. It is one for which others might be readily bartered; and it was, when all is said, the groundwork and the explanation of Madame de Rambouillet's astonishing success.

When her scheme first took shape, she had on her side the almost indispensable attribute of youth. Early

in life she had decided that the Louvre held no attraction for her. Nothing there, she said, amused her, save the spectacle of the crowd that loved to resort to it and the bad order maintained. Other accounts attribute her withdrawal to disgust at the prevailing immorality of the Court. Whatever may have caused her to forgo the distractions offered by the palace, she was in no wise inclined to lead the life of a recluse, and quickly formed the design of creating a rival court of her own.

The initial step in the execution of her project was to provide the material framework favourable to its realisation; and in nothing more than in her grasp of this necessity was her intelligence displayed. Strange as it may appear, there had hitherto existed no such thing as an apartment set aside for the reception of guests. They paid their respects to the mistress of the house in whatever part of it she might choose to be found; and 'Arvède Barine' is justified in asserting that the recognition by Madame de Rambouillet of the need of definite arrangements in these matters marked an epoch in the history of French society. It is not easy to acknowledge originality in ideas so universally accepted as to have become matters of course; but it is an incontestable fact that, when, dissatisfied with the capabilities of her old residence, the Hôtel Pisani, she caused it to be pulled down to make way for one better suited to her schemes, no architect was forthcoming who proved equal to producing the design she desired to see carried out; and in the end it was she herself who, after prolonged meditation, calling for paper and ink, sketched the plan of staircase, *salon*, and connecting apartments, which were to prove so admirably adapted for the purpose she had in view. On the central room, named from the colour of the hangings the *Chambre Bleue*, the utmost care was expended. No detail was overlooked. The grouping of the company was assisted by a judicious arrangement of screens; the amount of light to be admitted from the long windows, reaching from the floor to the ceiling and affording a view of the garden beyond, was heedfully regulated; the number of seats affording accommodation for guests was strictly limited. Flowers, books, and objects of art were introduced, and the apartment became a species of secular sanctuary,

Within this temple of letters assembled almost daily all that was most brilliant in the intellectual world of Paris, as well as many of those belonging to the Court life eschewed by its mistress. The regency had succeeded to the rough license of the preceding reign; the dullness of the Court of Louis XIII followed; but changes of government were of little account at the Hôtel de Rambouillet. Kings might come and go; the rule of Richelieu might be exchanged for that of Mazarin; but for thirty years, until domestic grief and public convulsions combined to break up the charmed circle, the *Hôtel* held its own. And thirty years is as long a reign as any woman can fairly expect to enjoy.

For a whole generation the gatherings continued in the *Chambre Bleue*. Thither came authors to submit their compositions to the judgment of the assembled critics; there verses were composed, generally in praise of some idol of the moment; plays were performed and pleasant pastimes devised; friendships were formed and cemented, and love—talked about. For it is not the least curious part of the history of the great *Hôtel* that whereas love-making, in more or less realistic fashion, was a prominent and omnipresent feature of contemporary life, it was, if not excluded, consistently relegated, under Madame de Rambouillet's auspices, to the second place.

'L'amour en effet était banni de l'Hôtel de Rambouillet' (asserts M. Cousin categorically), 'tous les contemporains sont unanimes sur ce point. Il y régnait seulement cette noble et gracieuse galanterie qui, sans rien coûter à la vertu, fait la douceur et le charme de la vie humaine. On y faisait la cour aux dames, mais une cour à la fois enjouée et respectueuse. De là bien de tendres amitiés et nulle intrigue. Pour une femme, être reçue chez Madame de Rambouillet était un brevet d'honneur.' ('La Société française,' i, 353.)

Doubtless the account is in the main true. But, as 'Arvède Barine' observes, nothing is created, not even a *salon*, without sacrifices; and Madame de Rambouillet must have been driven to relax the severity of her principles at times, since we do not find that her next-door neighbour in the Rue Saint-Thomas-du-Louvre, Madame de Chevreuse, was excluded from the *Hôtel*, although, according to the Cardinal de Retz, 'no woman

ever had a greater contempt for what are called scruples and duty'; nor are we told that Madame de Longueville, perhaps the most attractive woman of her day, was denied entrance when she laid her heart at the feet of the cold-blooded philosopher, de La Rochefoucauld. But the Duchess was a princess of the blood; and as for Madame de Chevreuse, she was not permitted to carry on her intrigues within the precincts of the *Hôtel*, which, in the case of so great a lady, was perhaps all that could be expected.

It is said to have taken Madame de Rambouillet ten years to bring her *salon* to perfection. During those years an invaluable auxiliary was growing up at her side. Julie d'Angennes, her favourite daughter, was five years old when the experiment was inaugurated, and must have been one of the children with whom the Cardinal de la Valette was wont to play. For parents brought their little sons and daughters to the *Hôtel* that they might grow up versed in its precepts, bred in its laws; and there they too found a welcome, now interrupting the serious converse of their elders by their 'gentil babil,' now no doubt joining in the amusements provided for the latter, until they were ready to take their place amongst the regular frequenters of the *salon*. Childhood was not unduly prolonged in the seventeenth century. 'Or çà, ma grandmaman,' said Julie's own little daughter to Madame de Rambouillet, 'parlons d'affaires d'état, à cette heure que j'ai cinq ans'; and it cannot have been long before the Princesse Julie, as she was called, took the place in her mother's *salon* to be occupied by her until, at thirty-eight, she gave her tardy consent to become the wife of the faithful lover of thirteen years.

After the hostess herself, Julie was the life and soul of the *Hôtel*. It was the fashion amongst her mother's guests to adore her; and, without conspicuous beauty, she reigned supreme. Never, says M. Cousin, had any woman awakened so many passions, ideal and real—passions that she had the rare talent of converting into tender and substantial friendships. Never since Helen, asserts Tallemant des Réaux, had a woman's praises been so sung, 'La Guirlande de Julie' containing a series of madrigals in her honour, contributed by the whole circle of her mother's poetical guests. Yet, in spite of the

adoration lavished upon her, Julie knew how to play her part so as to avoid exciting a jealousy dangerous to the peace of the *salon*. 'Comme son cœur n'était troublé par aucun sentiment particulier, elle suffisait et répondait à toutes les affections'; whilst Mademoiselle de Scudéry, in the portrait introduced into 'le Grand Cyrus,' describes her 'tendresse générale pour tous ceux qui s'attachent à la voir.' A gay and friendly liking was at the service of her lovers; and with this each was perforce compelled to be content. Add to this light-hearted spirit of *camaraderie*, grace, charm, wit, and a love of pleasure so keen that she was never known to suffer from so much as a cold when any diversion was on foot, and it will be seen that the Princesse Julie was precisely the coadjutor required by her mother.

Round the figures of these two the rest of the heterogeneous company are grouped, scarcely a name of note being absent from the list. Some fill posts of honour in the inner shrine of the temple, the *Chambre Bleue*; some belong, so to speak, to the fringe of the company. There are those to whom it had become a daily and indispensable place of resort; others repaired thither fitfully and at such times as their various avocations or professions allowed. As the earlier visitors at the *Hôtel* were thinned by death, a constant stream of new-comers filled the gaps. Guests already admitted to intimacy obtained permission to introduce their friends; the fame of the *Hôtel* spread; and admission became an honour to be coveted. It was also a privilege demanding a certain amount of preparation. 'Apprenez à parler,' said some one to the elder Marquis de Montausier when, making use of some verbal vulgarism, he had begged for an introduction, 'et puis je vous mènerai.'

To form a conception of the singularly comprehensive nature of the company it is only necessary to glance at some few of the figures that stand out amongst the throng, and are representative of the groups which mingled, sinking their differences of class, creed, and politics, in the *Chambre Bleue*, and submitted to its influence. In the opinion of her biographer it was due to the *Hôtel* that la Grande Mademoiselle was not a 'mousquetaire en jupon.' The Princesse de Condé, Henri-Quatre's latest love, assisted at the inauguration of the *salon* and

brought her son and daughter, the Duc d'Enghien and the future Duchesse de Longueville, to take their earliest lessons in social arts at the *Hôtel*. Returning to his old haunts in the first flush of his military glory, the young Duke was found laying his laurels at the feet of Marthe de Vigean, educated in the same atmosphere, but so imperfectly penetrated by its spirit that she preferred the cloister to the world without the man she loved. His sister, too, retained the place she had won as a child when she had listened to the stories invented for her amusement by the Princesse Julie, remaining one of the most conspicuous guests, with the blue eyes, fair hair, and languid and melancholy grace that her contemporaries were so unanimous in naming angelic; but, like her brother, she was to forget the precepts enjoined at the *Hôtel* and to consider the world lost for the sake of the Duc de La Rochefoucauld.

Amongst the other great ladies most at home in the *Hôtel* was the Marquise de Sablé, to whom M. Victor Cousin has devoted a volume. A daughter of M. de Souvré, *gouverneur* to the young Louis XIII, she had been bred up in the atmosphere of the palace, and became the close friend of Julie d'Angennes. Angélique Paulet, in some respects even more prominent, was of bourgeois birth. Nicknamed 'la Lionne,' by reason, explains Tallemant, of her ardour, her courage, her pride, her bright eyes, and her too golden hair, since the day when, as a red-headed child, playing the part of Arion and mounted on a dolphin, she had made her *début* at the ballet performed at the Court of Henri-Quatre, she had been a foremost figure at the palace and elsewhere, and is said to have counted amongst her lovers not only princes of the blood, but the King himself. Tallemant, in his account of her early days, gives her credit for a *jeunesse orageuse*; but Mademoiselle de Scudéry and, on her authority and that of other contemporaries, M. Cousin assert that her fair fame had remained untarnished. At all events, from the time she became intimate at the Hôtel de Rambouillet, not Tallemant himself has a word to say against her; and she remained until the death of its mistress her inseparable companion.

To turn to the frequenters of the *Chambre Bleue* who have left behind them a literary reputation, amongst the

earliest of them was the old poet Malherbe, well known as the writer of the lovely lines in memory of Mademoiselle du Perier:—

'Elle étoit du monde, où les plus belles choses
Ont le pire destin;
Et Rose, elle a vécu ce que vivent les roses,
L'espace d'un matin.'

Subjugated no less than younger men by

'Cette belle bergère à qui les destinées
Sembloient avoir gardé mes dernières années,'

Malherbe laid a not uncontested claim to have conferred upon Madame de Rambouillet the name of Arthénice—an anagram of her own—by which she came to be widely known. 'Ah, madame,' he told her, 'I have found you the most beautiful name in the world,' going on to complain that his pupil, Racan, had stolen and appropriated it. 'I wish I had been killed!' he said on another occasion, when a gun, accidentally discharged at the *Hôtel*, had come near to causing the catastrophe. 'I am old; I have lived long enough; and they might have done me the honour of believing that M. de Rambouillet had had me slain.' Ménage too was there, engaged like Malherbe—who was accused in his more simple moods of naming a rose 'l'œil de printemps'—in sowing the seeds of future preciosity. 'Il me semble, madame,' he observed sententiously to Madame de Sévigné, 'que selon les règles de notre langue,' she had been guilty of an error in grammar. 'Vous direz comme il vous plaira,' replied the culprit impenitently, 'mais pour moy je croirois avoir de la barbe si je disois autrement.' At the *Hôtel* the pedant doubtless found pupils more submissive.

And there was Voiture—Voiture whom nobody could approve, and yet who had become indispensable at the *Hôtel*; Voiture, with his brilliance and his insolence, his bitter tongue, his ill temper and his charm, who, with the two-edged sword of his wit, had cut his way to the front. More than any other guest, he was representative of the democratic and intellectual side of the 'petite cour de Rambouillet.' It would scarcely have been itself without him. Yet his admission must have been one of the sacrifices made by its mistress to her *salon*. The son of

a wine merchant, the young *littérateur* had chanced to meet M. de Chaudebonne, already at home at the *Hôtel*, who recognised at once the quality and capacities of his new acquaintance. 'Vous estes un trop galant homme pour demeurer dans la bourgeoisie,' he told him; 'il faut que je vous en tire.'

He redeemed his promise by presenting Voiture at the *Chambre Bleue*; and Voiture never forgot what he owed to an introduction marking an epoch in his life. 'Depuis que M. de Chaudebonne m'a re-engendré avec Madame et Mademoiselle de Rambouillet,' he was accustomed to say; and from thenceforth he was rarely absent from his place at the *Hôtel*. It was a privilege of which he must often have risked the forfeiture. A 'roi nain' who passed his fifty years in dying—thus he is described by 'Arvède Barine'—gay, imprudent, presumptuous, the spoilt child of the house, he held his own in spite of all. Irritable and charming by turns, vain, moody, familiar to the verge of insolence, he must frequently have caused anxiety to a hostess. 'I will give myself to the devil if I understand a word of all you have been saying,' he broke in one day when the Marshal d'Albret, indistinct in utterance, had been delivering a prolix dissertation; 'will you always talk like that?' 'Hé, M. de Voiture,' protested the Marshal good-humouredly, 'spare your friends a little.' 'Ma foi,' returned the other, unappeased, 'I have been sparing you so long that I begin to be *ennuyé*.' His methods of avoiding *ennui* were not likely to be approved by a woman as quick to perceive a lapse in good taste and manners as Madame de Rambouillet; nor can such pastimes as his introduction of a bear-leader and two bears into the apartment where she sat reading have altogether commended themselves to the sense of humour of the presiding genius of the place. Even the kindly Julie, when once he ventured so far as to kiss her arm, bestowed upon him a look which is said to have deprived him of any desire to repeat the offence.

The indulgence he met with was doubtless somewhat of the nature of that accorded to the licensed jester. He would have been insupportable, the young Duc d'Enghien observed, with the contemptuous toleration of the great noble for the *roturier*, had he belonged to the speaker's own class—'s'il étoit des nôtres'; and, though the

partisanship of the young and the merry, the comradeship between him and the son of the house, may have helped to win him forgiveness, the true key to the situation is found in the retort made by Madame de Rambouillet to a gentleman who had observed to her, with a touch of patronage, that, having read a volume by Voiture, he thought it clever—'Mais, monsieur, pensiez vous que c'était pour sa noblesse or pour sa belle taille qu'on le recevoit partout?' To genius Arthénice, like a higher power, knew how to be indulgent.

Amongst her most favoured guests and one whose presence, unlike Voiture's, was attended with no drawbacks, was a second dwarf of a very different nature. This was Antoine Godeau, afterwards successively Bishop of Grasse and of Vence, versifier and priest. It was one of the pleasant customs of the *Hôtel* to keep absentees informed of all that was going forward there; and Julie had duly announced to Voiture the presence of a fresh guest. 'Il y a ici un homme plus petit que vous d'une coudée,' she wrote, 'et je vous jure mille fois plus galant.' The little cleric soon won his way to all hearts. Light-hearted, blithe, simple, affectionate, at home whether in a *salon* or in his provincial diocese, of unsullied reputation, devoted both to his friends and to his profession, he enjoyed a special popularity in the *Chambre Bleue*; and lamentations were loud when he was removed from it by ecclesiastical preferment. He had a facile literary gift; and Maucroix, deprecating Boileau's damning verdict, 'un poëte fort estimable,' pleaded that amongst his verses there were not lacking 'de beaux qui lui échappent,' as it were by accident. His zeal for his duties, his blameless life, and his genuine piety, set him apart from the fashionable prelates of the day. From his place of honourable banishment he kept up a correspondence 'pieuse et galante' with his old associates; and one fancies that there must have been times when he looked back with involuntary regret to the halcyon days when, still unburdened by episcopal honours, he shared, as 'le nain de Julie,' in all their pursuits. Nor would he consent, when at a distance, to to be forgotten by his former comrades.

'Il est fort à propos' (he once wrote to Ménage) 'que je vous remette en mémoire ma petite personne; car je ne veux pas

que vous me mettiez au nombre de vos pechéz oubliéz; je serois embarrassé dans un trop grand confusion, ou pour mieux parler, je serois trop oublié. Songez donc quelque fois qu'à deux cens lieües de Paris il y a un Chartreux mitré qui vous estime et qui vous aime, et à qui vous avez promis de l'amitié. . . . Enfin ne vous souvenez ni de la croix, ni de la mitre, mais seulement du nain de Julie.'

The denizens of the *Hôtel* were faithful to old loves, and there was no danger that the Bishop would be forgotten.

One more figure should not be overlooked—that of Chapelain, poor Chapelain, who had got a reputation upon credit, and lost it upon the publication of his great work. 'Le mieux renté de tous les beaux esprits,' he had been pensioned by M. de Longueville during twenty years in order that he might enjoy leisure to bring his expected poem, 'La Pucelle,' to perfection. A brilliant critic had been mistaken for an original genius. 'Sa conversation,' says M. Livet, 'fit son influence et sa reputation; l'impression de "La Pucelle" . . . gâta tout.' That he himself entertained doubts of his powers is clear. 'Je suis peu de chose,' he told Balzac, 'et ce que je fais est encore moindre que moi,' adding that the world, against his will, persisted in regarding him as a great poet. Whether the disclaimer was quite sincere or not, the public was not slow to acknowledge its mistake so soon as 'La Pucelle' appeared. That event, however, only occurred in 1654; and at the *Hôtel* he occupied the position of a man by whom much has been done but from whom infinitely more is expected. Mademoiselle de Scudéry had not succeeded in discovering anything he did not know; while, referring to the poem still unpublished, she described it as deemed by those in a position to judge as surpassing Homer's. In spite of the pension bestowed upon him by the descendant of Dunois, he was noted for the raggedness of his attire; and, though an improvement took place when he fell under the influence of the *Hôtel*, his clothes continued to show signs of the wear and tear of years. A true, honourable, and trustworthy friend, the 'walking caricature' deserved the place he won in the *salon*; and he shared with Conrart the honour of contributing to the foundation of the Académie Française.

It is impossible, in a few pages, to exhaust the list of

those most intimately attached to the *Hôtel*; and the enumeration of a few names can merely serve to indicate how widely representative were the men and women belonging to that inner circle. One feature in particular of the society gathered round Madame de Rambouillet should, however, be noted, namely, the close personal relationship existing between its members. They formed a species of extended family party, knit together in varying degrees of affection and familiarity. What touched one, in a sense affected all. Condé's triumphs, as the news of them was brought, were those of a son or a brother. When misfortune overtook a comrade, the whole *Hôtel* united in sympathy, sharing in a measure in the disaster. On the departure of Montausier, weeping, to assume the duties of lieutenant-governor in Alsace, it was not only Chapelain, most charming of letter-writers, but the Princesse Julie, the Mesdemoiselles de Clermont, and indeed all his old companions, who kept him informed of the doings of the brotherhood. 'L'Hôtel pleure avec le Marquis, répond vers s'il écrit vers, se fait guerrier s'il est en guerre,' says M. Livet.

So the years passed on in their pleasant sequence until the inevitable end. Time waits for no man; nor are any spared by grief and calamity. Through thirty years and more the great *Hôtel* had preserved its pre-eminence with Madame de Rambouillet presiding over it. Yet how often, if the truth were known, had the heart of the woman who thus had won her laurels, during that long period of success, been wrung. To mention only the disasters of which the world took account—and how small a proportion of the defeats suffered upon the hidden battlefield of the heart and soul are thus represented!—her little son, the Vidâme de Mans, had died in 1631, at seven years old, of the plague, his mother and his sister, the gay and brilliant Princesse Julie, watching in anguish beside the child until life was extinct. Fourteen years later his elder and sole surviving brother, the Marquis de Pisani, Voiture's boon companion, and regarded by him as his other half, found a soldier's death at Nordlingen, all the versifiers of the *Hôtel* vying with one another in offering lyrical tributes to the dead. Voiture alone was silent, to the amazement of those incapable of comprehending that grief, even at the Hôtel de Rambouillet,

could be too poignant and too deep-seated to find expression in well-turned sentences and graceful verse. The defaulter acknowledged that his critics had a right to reproach him with his silence. Would to God, he said, it were possible to respond to their demands; but for the present he could but weep. A mute sorrow was so rare that, to the mother at least of the dead, it may have carried conviction. Her wound, at any rate, was beyond the reach of help or healing.

Both her sons had thus been removed by death. Of three daughters who had entered the cloister, one, the Abbesse d'Yères, was a constant source of trouble and anxiety, if not of disgrace. Of the two sisters who remained, Julie had been steadfast in refusing to leave her mother and make a new life for herself; and it was finally at Madame de Rambouillet's own wish that she consented to reward the constancy of her faithful and patient lover, Montausier. Yet when she had gone her way to her new home, when also the Marquis de Rambouillet, never a prominent figure, but his wife's true friend throughout the course of their long married life, was dead, it scarcely needed the convulsions produced by the Fronde to break up the pleasant and joyous company who had for more than a generation made the *Chambre Bleue* their meeting-place. A few more years, years of failing health and spirits and of the predestined triumph of old age, and Paris knew it and its mistress no more.

There is something peculiarly evanescent about the atmosphere appertaining to a social centre such as that supplied by the Hôtel de Rambouillet. It comes; it goes; and for a time its aroma may cling to the old surroundings. But the true essence has passed away, dissolved, or diffused abroad, no man can tell whither. The society collected by Madame de Rambouillet ceased to exist, nor did it leave behind it any legitimate successor. Imitators it had many. Mademoiselle de Scudéry, clever, cultivated, and kindly, industriously strove to fill the gap. In her *salon* men of letters assembled, an occasional guest from another sphere recalling from time to time the old distinction of the Hôtel de Rambouillet. Like others, however, with fewer merits, her house remained essentially *bourgeois*. All over Paris *salons* were multiplying, and

were already developing a tendency to confound literary taste with pedantry, and culture with affectation. The place of the great *Hôtel* remained unfilled.

It is saddening, after the brilliant procession incessantly passing through it, to picture the *Chambre Bleue* deserted and empty. Or were there times when it was still peopled by the shadowy representatives of those, living and dead, who had been wont to find their pleasure within its walls? Were there nights when Madame de Rambouillet, once more displaying her *génie de maîtresse de maison* presided, gracious, sympathetic, and wise, over a ghostly company? Did Julie—not the Marquise de Montausier, learning at Court to connive at Louis XIV's infidelities to her mistress the Queen, but the Princesse Julie of old times, blithe, friendly, and cold—flit about, a graceful shadow, amongst her adorers? Did Madame de Longueville cease for a few hours to concern herself with the intrigues of the Fronde and return, melancholy and charming, to her former haunts? Was Voiture in his accustomed place, discharging, as before, his 'choice venom'? Did Godeau steal an hour from his episcopal duties to bestow the blessing of the Church upon his friends? Had the aged Malherbe revisited for a brief space the place of his predilection? and did Angélique Paulet, called *l'unique*, leave her grave for a night to grace the scene? One may fancy it was so. And then the cock will have crowed and the spectres of living and dead would vanish in haste, with no leave-taking; Madame de Rambouillet remaining the last in her empty room, to repeat, it may be, the epitaph she is said to have composed for herself:—

'Icy gist Arthénice, exempte des rigueurs
Dont la rigueur du sort l'a toujours poursuivie.
Et si tu veux, passant, compter tous ses malheurs,
Tu n'auras qu'à compter tous les jours de sa vie.'

IDA TAYLOR.

Art. XI.—LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL.

1. *Lord Randolph Churchill.* By Winston Spencer Churchill, M.P. Two vols. London: Macmillan, 1906.
2. *Lord Randolph Churchill.* By Lord Rosebery. London: Humphreys, 1906.
3. *Speeches of the Right Honourable Lord Randolph Churchill, M.P.*, 1880–1888. Collected, with notes and introduction, by Louis J. Jennings. Two vols. London: Longmans, 1889.
4. *The Fourth Party.* By Harold E. Gorst. London: Smith, Elder, 1906.
5. *A History of Modern England.* By Herbert Paul, M.P. Vols. IV and V. London: Macmillan, 1905–6.

IT is a commonplace of the modern world that it tends to uniformity in habits and characters and careers; that we are less individual, have less of distinct personality, than the older worlds of which we read. Of course, like many another commonplace, this may be an illusion; and there is the obvious reflection that the interesting personalities survive their death while the others commonly perish. Yet it does seem, as one reviews English politics, at least, in this and the last generation or so, that almost all of our eminences, the men who have risen to great power, or at any rate to high place, have had about them—it is no disparagement to their worth or public services—something mediocre in tone, something pedestrian in attitude, something inevitable in procedure, something drab, in fine, and dull, which must make their record, however satisfying to the earnest student of politics as such, appreciably tedious to him whose interest in men and affairs is mainly human and artistic.

From such a reflection, at least, the subject of this essay is triumphantly free. Whatever may be thought in future times of Lord Randolph Churchill's significance as a statesman, whatever be the value of his politics or his influence in public events, the memory of his personal career must live while any one has an eye for the dramatic in English history. The story of his rise exhilarates one like watching—it is a metaphor he would have liked—some good horse (unthought of by the experts) spring to

the front in a race and win with 'the rest nowhere'; the story of his fall is as poignant as a tragedy of Sophocles. He will live with Bolingbroke and Charles Fox and Disraeli as one whom a vivid and forceful personality must always make interesting. For this reason it is proposed in these pages to look rather at his personal course than at the abstract import of his views and arguments, which would bring us into the discussion of matters still practical and important and undecided. Not, of course, that they can be ignored; far from it. His personal course was intimately and inextricably bound up with them; first and last, he was a politician. But it will be enough if his attitude is stated as fairly as may be in regard to his career, without arguing round about it to enforce views which may be better urged on some other occasion. The perspective is different. The years since he died have not rescued us from the stress and uncertainty of the politics, but they have left the figure of Randolph Churchill clear-cut for our regard. It is the *man* with whom we are concerned. But again, it must be remembered, the man is known almost solely as a politician; and here we are brought to the nature and limitations of the written material before us.

No discreet biographer could give us as yet a really intimate and detailed account of Lord Randolph Churchill as he lived and moved and spoke in his private life. It is too soon since his death. We cannot have of him many such lively and illuminating pictures as we have of Charles Fox—by which it is not meant, by any means, that they would cause the moralist to sigh, as he must sigh over poor Charles, but merely that such pictures are rightly held private by those who loved a man and survive him. Least of all biographers can a son so indulge our interest. Affection and dignity alike prevent him. Lord Randolph, again, was remarkably frank and incautious in speech and letters; and dignified memories and persons had to be guarded. He loved chaff and the ironical method; and stupid misinterpretations had to be avoided. The little we get of personalities in his letters makes us frankly long for more. How gay and humorous, for example, is this passage from a letter to Sir Henry James from Egypt, about the time of the Parnell divorce case.

'In such a frame of mind' (he had been looking at Karnac and Ammon Ra), 'embracing a period of 10,000 years, your home politics, your House of Commons interests, the eloquence of Smith, the courage of Balfour, the honesty of Hartington, the financial glories of Goschen, and the adroitness of Joe, all acted upon, stimulated and developed by the lax morals of Parnell, present themselves to my mental optics much in the same manner as fleas may attract the notice of an elephant.'

But of such letters we have few, and of talk parallel to them next to nothing. Naturally so, and inevitably. Beside the reasons given, Mr Winston Churchill's absorbing interest is politics, and to politics he ever hurries. Bating a few Oxford and hunting stories, an anecdote or two of school-days, an account of Lord Randolph's marriage and a charming correspondence which passed concerning it, and some extracts from letters in India and elsewhere, the book is all politics.

That limitation given, however, and abundantly explained, it is to be said at once and heartily that Mr Churchill's achievement deserves all the high praises bestowed on it. Seldom have political themes been presented in a way so engaging to one's interest and fancy. The presentment may be lacking sometimes in depth of philosophy, but that it should be consistently and unquestionably readable is a remarkable fact. Another, and a yet greater merit is the dignity and manly restraint with which Mr Churchill has written of his father. When a son writes of his father, perfect taste is always difficult; but in this case the danger was extreme. Lord Randolph was bitter about his treatment by the Tory party. 'I expect I have made great mistakes,' he writes to his wife in 1891; 'but there has been no consideration, no indulgence, no memory or gratitude—nothing but spite, malice, and abuse.' It is vain to argue about this bitterness; it is certain Lord Randolph felt it, and it were not wonderful if his son felt it for him even more intensely. But it has not betrayed him into a single phrase of violence. He states the facts as they appear to him, and he lets his opinion be seen, but he raises his voice against no one, dead or living. The self-control is remarkable, and the more warmly to be praised that it was not, perhaps, altogether expected.

Mr Churchill's outward attitude to life is graver than

was his father's; and there are passages in the biography —passages both touching and amusing—where he seems to be protecting, as it were, his father's liveliness. He does not care to dwell much on Lord Randolph's humour, or to quote examples, as he might have in plenty even from the political speeches, of Lord Randolph's sense of fun, enjoyment of burlesque, one might almost say a sort of delightful buffoonery. That is a difference of temperament; he never, we imagine, omits this or that from partiality; thus, having mentioned his father's charm of courtesy, the fascination of his manner when he chose to exercise it, he adds fairly that sometimes Lord Randolph chose rather to 'toss and gore fools with true Johnsonian vigour and zest.' One other omission may be mentioned: we have nowhere in the book a clear picture of the outward man. Mr Churchill might have told his readers that his father was a man of real distinction in aspect and carriage, the more remarkably so that his figure was short—though not, of course, the dwarf of the caricatures —and slight. Such omissions, inevitable or accidental, are to be noted in the book; but on the graver essentials of character, it is full and, as we said, impartial, and on the issues and details of politics it is full and lucid. It is well-written throughout, in places finely written, with, on occasion, a very happy use of literary quotation. The account of Lord Randolph's tragic end is intensely moving in its simple pathos—but that it would be worse than impertinent to praise. Of necessity incomplete, the biography is on its own lines a splendid performance.

Lord Rosebery's little book is intentionally more personal. A contemporary has, of course, a freer hand than a son. But he too is prevented by the nearness of the times from giving us anything like a completely intimate portrait. The tone is intimate, almost curiously so, since he speaks throughout of his subject as 'Randolph' *tout court*; but the matter is in the main confined to generalities. There is no reason to complain of this; no one had any reason to expect anything more; and we have to recognise that Lord Rosebery's account is the most intimate we are entitled to have. He keeps mainly to generalities, but they are not cold generalities. He seems anxious to put on record, and does so effectually, that in him at least Lord Randolph had an admiring and

affectionate friend. It is a glimpse only, but an effective glimpse, of a wayward, faulty, ardent, lovable soul. Perhaps the best part of his tribute is the following:—

'Nor had he—what might have been expected in so ardent a nature—any jealousy of others; none, at least, that I could discover. This is a merit of the rarest water—a real mark of superiority. The ambitious man who can watch without soreness the rise or success of a contemporary is much rarer than a black swan. But Randolph's was a generous nature in the largest and strictest sense of the word, generous and profuse both with money and praise.'

His estimate of Lord Randolph as a statesman may be discussed later; it is cordial and sincere, but it is, in our opinion, vitiated by presumptions. One is grateful to him for being more indulgent to Lord Randolph's lighter side in politics than is Mr Churchill. He reminds us of that inimitable 'score'—which had a real point in it withal—over the late Mr W. H. Smith, about 'the mud-cabin argument,' in the treatment of Ireland in regard to reform in 1884.

'The difference between the cabin of the Irish peasant and the cottage of the agricultural labourer is not so great as that which exists between the abode of the right honourable member for Westminster and the humble roof which shelters from the storm the individual who now has the honour to address this Committee.'

And this charming piece of pantaloon humour:

'Was it for this that Mr Gladstone pranced down into Midlothian, blocked up all the railway stations in the north of England, and placed the lives of countless thousands of passengers and tourists in the utmost possible peril?'

Part of the attraction in Lord Randolph's speeches was that the audience might always hope for some such unconventional twist.

Mr Harold's Gorst's book on the Fourth Party, to be frank about it, is in great measure superfluous. Its chief facts are in Mr Churchill's Memoir, as are many of the letters quoted. Mr Gorst's object seems to be the very natural one of emphasising the importance in the Fourth Party of Sir John Gorst and Sir Henry Wolff; and that perhaps might have been as well achieved in an

article. Coming to it fresh from Mr Churchill, we seem to be merely reperusing a good deal. Yet the story is interesting enough to bear twice telling; and Mr Gorst tells it well. As to his essential matter, it would be ungracious indeed to carp, even if—as is not the case—one felt so inclined. But we may be permitted to remark that however invaluable the assistance of his colleagues may have been to Lord Randolph, it was he who was the indispensable member of the group. He might not have done as much without them, though, seeking for allies to supply what he wanted, it would have gone hard if he had not found others; but without him they would have done next to nothing. The success of the Fourth Party was due, in the first place, to Lord Randolph's leaping popularity outside Parliament, and next, to his genius as a debater inside it; the experience and learning and shrewdness of the others were a powerful, but a secondary assistance. Mr Gorst's chapters on what he calls the 'surrender,' and the charge, not obscurely made, against Lord Randolph that he sacrificed principle, if not friends, can best be discussed when we have indulged in a little historical recapitulation.

So with Mr Paul's estimate of him. The fourth and fifth volumes of Mr Paul's History include the period of our subject, and, so far as facts go, are not inconsistent with our other authorities. They are written in the bright and pungent manner for which Mr Paul is famous; and he is, on the whole, creditably free from retrospective partisanship.

We have added to our list the volumes of Lord Randolph's speeches which Mr Louis Jennings prepared with such faithful care in 1889, and introduced with a vigorous presentment of 'Tory Democracy.' As Lord Rosebery says, they are much better reading than most speeches. There is a naturalness about them, an absence of hackneyed phrasing, an impression of a real man speaking, that are entirely sympathetic. Something lingers in them of the cool, imperturbable air, which yet harmonised with an insistent vitality, of the seemingly unconscious audacity, the pleasant voice which a slight lisp seemed to make somehow familiar but never robbed of its clarity—something of all that which made up an interesting and radiant personality. The writer, as a

very young man, was fascinated as he heard, and is still fascinated as he reads.

Lord Randolph Churchill was born in 1849. One is glad to have a glimpse of his early school-days at Cheam, because certainly it is at a 'preparatory' school, when truly 'the heart's in its spring,' and before the hardening and regulating influences of the public school, that a boy's character and affections come most readily to the surface. The boundless romances and ambitions and mysteries of one's thoughts in those unreal days! It is interesting to read that the young Randolph Churchill impressed a contemporary with his 'large magnificence,' and recited the article on Predestination and Election with enthusiasm, and tooled a four-in-hand of companions round the playground. At Eton Lord Rosebery remembers him as a 'Scug,' 'a small boy in an extremely disreputable hat.' He was a pickle there, it seems, and did nothing to conciliate the strongest sentiment of his fellow-countrymen by proficiency in cricket and football; from the earliest possible period he loved horses and the hunting-field. At Oxford he took on something of the exquisite, belonged to the Bullingdon, and gained for his private pleasure a minute and intimate acquaintance with the Bible, Gibbon, and 'Jorrocks.' He started reading too late for a first in law and modern history, but only narrowly missed it, and was honoured by the friendship and respect of his tutor, the late Dr Creighton. We have a pleasing account of his sudden and ardent courtship of Miss Jerome, and his spirited but respectful correspondence with his father before the young people were allowed to marry. This was followed by some happy, careless years of social popularity in London and elsewhere, interrupted in 1876 by 'the deep displeasure of a great personage,' which Lord Randolph incurred by a reckless partisanship in the late Duke of Marlborough's quarrels, and which entailed the cold shoulder from fashionable society. The circumstance is mentioned here, merely because both Lord Rosebery and Mr Churchill seem to make too much of it. Mr Churchill goes so far as to say that 'without it he would probably never have developed popular sympathies or the courage to champion democratic causes'; and surely, in saying so, he makes too

little of his father's sincerity of conviction and strength of character.

In 1874 he had been elected for Woodstock; and in 1876 he went with his father, then appointed viceroy, to Ireland as an unofficial secretary. That time in Ireland was, in regard to genuine and useful statesmanship, some of the best spent in his life, for he used it to study Ireland and the Irish thoroughly; and on that subject at least, throughout his political career, he spoke with knowledge and consistency.

So we come to 1880 and the story of daring and unwearied activity, and the success which culminated and crumbled some six years later. It is unnecessary to recall those years in any detail here, or to describe the struggles over Mr Bradlaugh, Employers' Liability, Coercion, Egypt. The fight made by the Fourth Party—which, in the early years, included Mr Balfour—against an overwhelming majority opposite, and the mass of the Conservative party inside Parliament as well, whatever be thought of its merits, was one of the 'gamest' ever fought in politics. Two remarks may be made about it here. Lord Randolph incurred great odium among many excellent people for the freedom with which he attacked so old and eminent a man as Mr Gladstone. Well, fighting the party fight, he hit out as hard as he could; but it is well to remember that Mr Gladstone, in the thick of it all, admitted his personal courtesy, and that Lord Randolph —though less warmly than in later days—had a quite sincere admiration for the other's moral and mental distinction. The other remark is that the sort of amusement—almost mockery—with which the Fourth Party is generally spoken of now does not at all reflect the facts. So far at least as 'practical politics' and politicians are concerned, its achievement was indubitably great. In 1880 Mr Gladstone was triumphant, and Lord Beaconsfield was exhausted in energy and hope. The Conservative party was feebly led and fitfully inspired. Without Lord Randolph its stay 'in the desert' might have been indefinite. It was he, most ably seconded, no doubt, but again, first and foremost, he who made the party acceptable once more to the country and its return to office possible. Of course Mr Gladstone's Home Rule enterprise and the subsequent break-up of his party gave his

opponents their twenty years of office. But without the forces against him in the country, mainly marshalled and inspired by Lord Randolph, would Mr Gladstone ever have thrown himself into the Home Rulers' embrace? Surely not. Whether or not the Conservative party was as ungrateful to him as he thought, it is certain that the debt of gratitude it owed him was immense. For the rest, one reads of the Fourth Party's tone and atmosphere, its joyous spirits, its daring schemes hatched over little dinners, its nicknames and persiflage, with some wonder and contentment that even in English politics such things should be.

In 1883 came the capture of the 'machine' by the Fourth Party, Lord Randolph's election to the chairmanship of the National Union of Conservative Associations, to be followed by a reconciliation with Lord Salisbury, as representing the official chiefs, which Mr Gorst calls 'the surrender.' Every compromise involves some surrender; the question is if the vital is surrendered for the non-vital. In this case Sir Michael Hicks Beach, a close friend of Lord Randolph, was to be elected in his place; and a general undertaking was given that the Fourth Party would work in future with the official chiefs. The Primrose League was to be officially recognised; and the whole affair was to be celebrated happily by a dinner given by Lord Salisbury to the Council of the National Union. Now it is quite true, as Mr Gorst says, that 'no promise regarding the adoption of the principles of Tory democracy seems to have been obtained from Lord Salisbury at this memorable interview'—which took place, by the way, at a garden-party at Marlborough House. But could Lord Randolph, or any one else, have hoped for a moment that the Conservative party could be induced to adopt the principles of Tory Democracy, in any definite form, as its official policy? And would it have conduced better to the furtherance of those principles that the Fourth Party should be for ever irreconcilable, than that they should be supported, as far as possible, from a most influential position inside the regular party councils? Lord Randolph Churchill was a practical and party politician, and had to do his best with his materials. The answer may not satisfy an idealist; but politics seldom can be ideal. Sir John Gorst, we are told, was

not consulted, and disapproved; but, since this statement has come as a surprise to no less a person than Sir Henry Wolff, we may surely take it that nothing more than a misunderstanding was involved. Lord Randolph attacked Sir John Gorst soon afterwards in the House, but supported him on another question, and as he sat down said, 'Make it up, Gorst.' A thousand pities if it was not made up; but we need not assume that the fault was his.

In 1885 the game was won, and Mr Gladstone was out—Lord Randolph jumping on to his seat after the division and waving his handkerchief. And now we come to the alleged Tory compact with the Parnellites. Much has been said and argued about it; but the facts, so far as Lord Randolph was concerned, are simple. He was quite frank about it. 'I told Parnell, when he sat on that sofa, that, if the Tories took office, and I was a member of their Government, I would not consent to renew the Crimes Act.' That was 'good enough' for Mr Parnell, and that was all. Lord Randolph sincerely hated Crimes Acts. His Irish policy, formed years before by study in Ireland, was that, while Home Rule was impossible—and on this point Lord Rosebery bears out his consistency—much should be done to meet the just desires of the Irish. He was for conciliating the Church by giving it the educational boons it demanded. In fine, he was for going behind the Home Rule movement and breaking its force—the policy, substantially, of Mr George Wyndham. It was a possible policy then, whatever it may be now. Lord Carnarvon's famous interview with Mr Parnell in the empty house, where, according to the latter, an Irish Legislature was promised, was held (it seems) with the cognisance of Lord Salisbury, but was not held with that of Lord Randolph, who wrote to his chief (when the interview became known) that 'Carnarvon has played the devil.'

From the India Office Lord Randolph went to the Treasury when Lord Salisbury formed his Government in 1886, and was Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons at thirty-seven. A few months later, and all had gone. It is unnecessary to go over again all the facts of that much-discussed resignation. But a point or two should be made clear. In regard to tactics and his own interests there is no doubt about the mistake.

He chose his time badly and his ground badly. But the ground was one of principle; and the badness of the time proved his sincerity. It is possible, as Lord Rosebery surmises, that the beginnings of his terrible malady were already upon his nerves. But he was pledged to economy up to the hilt; and his colleagues would not give way. His budget, printed in Mr Churchill's book for the first time, and admittedly, on its democratic lines, a fine achievement, was impossible unless they did. Resignation, unless they met him somehow, was inevitable sooner or later. It was promptly accepted; and it is quite clear that his colleagues were glad he should go. The proof is this, that the economies for which he pleaded were substantially made afterwards. There is no space here for the details; and the reader is referred to pp. 297 *seq.* of Mr Churchill's second volume. In other matters besides, on which he differed from his colleagues, his policy was afterwards carried out in the main. No question but that he was a forceful and perhaps a difficult colleague. His relations with Lord Salisbury were most friendly in the India Office period. (They had, by the way, an odd habit, by which the next generation may profit, of writing long letters to one another, even when they were to meet on the same day.) Friends outwardly they remained; it was always 'my dear Randolph.' But both were men with an instinct for power and impatient of control. In political importance and—with the exception of Lord Halsbury—in intellectual power they dwarfed their colleagues in that Cabinet, and it is not human to enjoy being dwarfed. Also, of course, his colleagues may have feared his democratic tendencies. In any case they made no effort to retain him, though there can be little doubt that he thought they would.

That error was the beginning of the end. No one can suppose that a man of Lord Randolph's political genius would have stayed on the shelf if his life and health had been prolonged; but it is idle to guess at what his future would have been. From the point we have reached there is little but decline to chronicle. His malady may not have been on him when, by a lapse of political insight, he put his decision to stand for Birmingham into other hands, and lost a great chance and the friendship of his last political ally, Mr Jennings. Again, it may not have

been on him when he lost all self-control in the debate on the Parnell Commission fiasco, and made that speech with its horrible metaphor and shout of 'Pigott! Pigott!' In the former case, the mistake was due to over-scrupulosity; in the latter to resentment at what seemed to him a shameful blunder. He did admirable work as chairman on the Army and Navy Committee, and as a member of Lord Hartington's Commission; and for his services in the cause of efficiency, at least, the country should be grateful. He visited Mashonaland and the Transvaal, where he made money and was very near making a great fortune; and he raced at home, in partnership with Lord Dunraven, both with judgment and good luck. ('Let not ambition mock these homely joys,' quotes Lord Rosebery, delightfully, of this activity.) He visited Bismarck and sent home a vivid and interesting account of the interview to his mother. But, as the end drew nearer, England saw the dreadful and pathetic spectacle of a man fighting desperately, in the face of the world, an unconquerable foe. When death came, it came mercifully. Surely so tragic a fate must have stilled even the animus of mediocrities.

'Lord Randolph Churchill,' says Mr Herbert Paul, 'had no very deep convictions. He was a demagogue, who happened to have been born an aristocratic Tory.' 'This then was Tory Democracy,' according to Lord Rosebery; 'it was the wolf of Radicalism in the sheepskin of Toryism.' Both pronouncements come from the same assumption; all social reform is Radical; Toryism is opposition to social reform. It would be a strange assumption, if one did not know the power of human fancy to override facts. The most important social reforms in this country—important because they were the first definite revolt against the dominant, devastating theory of *laisser aller*, and because they abolished the worst of England's chief disgrace—were the Factory Acts, passed by Tories in the teeth of Radical opposition; and it may almost be said that such reforms have been usually carried by Tories. So far is the fancy from the facts. The best of Toryism has been the wise and coherent advancement of the people as a whole; the worst of Radicalism, as of Whiggism, has been the selfish advancement of an acquisitive class. But unfortun-

ately for Toryism—and here is some excuse for Lord Rosebery and Mr Herbert Paul—there is a worst of Toryism and a best of Radicalism. There are politicians numbered in the Tory party who are Conservatives—Lord Randolph, like Disraeli before him, hated the word—in the pettiest and stupidest sense, who, being unimaginatively content with our present social conditions, resist any change in them as long as they think resistance safe. To such as these Lord Randolph was anathema. But if such as these are to dominate the Tory party, then its future is nil. On the other hand, there are Radicals who are comparatively free from the narrow individualism of their forerunners. This, however, is no real justification for saying that Lord Randolph, desiring social reforms, had no business to call himself a Tory, and ought to have called himself a Radical. No doubt there were mistakes in his propaganda. Now and again he seemed hastily to adopt an idea which was rather Radical than a true development of Toryism. Latterly, too, when he was excluded from the party, and drew nearer, as his son tells us, to the collectivist principle, he may have wished to push the Tory party farther than is possible. But his Dartford speech, the high-water-mark of his public 'Radicalism,' contained 'not a word that is not sound, good Toryism—aye, and old Toryism too.' So said Lord Halsbury, an authority whom Conservative critics may be supposed to respect.

So much for the political theorist. As an administrator, Lord Randolph's short spells of office were enough to stamp him as a brilliant and unwearied worker. India Office and Treasury alike bear that testimony, and by no means on the ground—as no one with a knowledge of character could have imagined—that he was merely a docile pupil. As a party organiser and House of Commons debater he did the work of our politics, on its less edifying side, with a wonderful facility. As a platform speaker, only Mr Gladstone was his superior in command of a great audience; and, with all the prestige and, as it were, religious halo of that statesman against him, Lord Randolph ran him close.

Lord Rosebery's account of him as a friend and companion—'human, eminently human; full of faults, as he himself well knew, but not base or unpardonable faults;

pugnacious, outrageous, fitful, petulant, but eminently lovable and winning'—that account, in its plain sincerity, is one that the best of us might be content should be given of himself. The faults were those of a nervous temperament, of a man who lived on his nerves, as they say; the virtues, of an ardent kindness and affection. It should be added that, if he fought with his equals, he was idolised by those who served him.

When Lord Iddesleigh died suddenly in Downing Street, Lord Salisbury wrote: 'As I looked upon the dead body stretched before me I felt that politics was a cursed profession.' Something of that feeling one may well have as one closes Mr Churchill's life of his father. Jealousies and unkindness and bitterness of spirit are in most human labours; but our party system, with its insincerities and intellectual meannesses, seems to hold some poison of its own which narrows the vision and blunts the edge of principle. It is not true that Lord Randolph Churchill sacrificed principle to personal ends, as it has been too hastily and sometimes maliciously repeated; it is impossible to read the facts of his career impartially and not to see that the reverse is true. But he was a party politician; and it cannot be denied that he shared in the crudities and false perspectives of party. It seems a pity that the world could have no better use for that bright and strong intelligence, that zealous nature. His great gifts would have made him opportunity anywhere; they had no need of his class advantages, which have passed off so many moderately endowed politicians as wonders. After all, intelligence and nature proved ineffectual in the long run; and disappointment, though it only helped to kill him, may be said without great violence of phrase to have broken his heart. Many will see in his career the old story of genius crushing mediocrity, as he crushed poor Sir Stafford Northcote, and being crushed inevitably by mediocrity in turn. In any case his was a moving fortune, a brilliant and tragic figure, which will live in history.

G. S. Street.

Art. XII.—THE MEMOIRS OF PRINCE HOHENLOHE.

1. *Denkwürdigkeiten des Fürsten Chlodwig zu Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst.* Im Auftrage des Prinzen Alexander zu Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst herausgegeben von Friedrich Curtius. Stuttgart und Leipzig: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1906.
2. *Memoirs of Prince Chlodwig of Hohenlohe-Schillingsfuerst.* Edited by Friedrich Curtius for Prince Alexander of Hohenlohe-Schillingsfuerst. Translated from the first German edition and supervised by George W. Chrystal. London: Heinemann, 1906.
3. *La Fondation de l'Empire allemand.* By Ernest Denis. Paris: Armand Colin, 1906.

THESE two large volumes cover nearly a century of German history—a century upon which the Germans may well look back with pride. Yet for those, if there be any still left, who do not measure the greatness of their country solely by its material prosperity and the might of its mailed fist, a perusal of these volumes should provide ample food for sober reflection. It is indeed a common boast in Germany to-day that the Fatherland has reached its present position as a great world-power by discarding the antiquated foolishness of idealism and putting on the calculated selfishness of materialistic utilitarianism. In the jargon of the day, a robust *Realpolitik* has ousted the milk-and-water *Idealpolitik* of a bygone age. Prince Hohenlohe's Memoirs tell the whole story of this evolutionary process—tell it unconsciously, but none the less forcibly; and it is not an edifying story, for it shows at what cost to the moral self, both of the nation and of the individual, this process has been accomplished.

Prince Chlodwig zu Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst was born and bred in the living traditions of the great national uplifting which followed the dark days of Jena, when the whole German people responded with magnificent enthusiasm to the stern idealism of men like Stein and Hardenberg. The men who led and the men who followed in those heroic days, the men of action and the men of thought, were idealists in the highest sense of the word, for the ideals which they set up for themselves and for their fellow-countrymen were ideals of strenuous

endeavour, of discipline, of self-sacrifice, informed with a passionate patriotism. Those were the days of true *Idealpolitik*; and it was in those days that the foundations of all that is great in modern Germany were laid. The Bismarckian period represents the transition to the latter-day *Realpolitik*; and all that was best in Bismarck he inherited from the old idealism. But in that colossus of the nineteenth century the gold was heavily alloyed with baser metals. His head soared into the pure ether of idealism; his feet ploughed through the mire of rank materialism. Throughout the earlier part of his career the greatness of the task which absorbed all his faculties—the creation of a powerful German State—sustained him on the highest plane to which his genius was capable of rising. Even then his methods were often brutal; he put his faith in physical rather than in moral forces; men were to him, for the most part, merely instruments to be bent to his imperious will rather than fellow-workers in a common cause. But there was nothing ignoble about Bismarck. He had no consciousness of self outside his life's work; or, if he had, it was only as of something to be sacrificed, if necessary, to the accomplishment of his life's work. In the latter part of his career this relationship was inverted. Self became supreme and dominated his work until it sank to the level of Busch's diary.

Bismarck had carried the nation up with him into the heights. He carried it down with him into the depths. But to the last his commanding genius spread its luminous mantle over the depths; and they were revealed only when it was withdrawn. Then all the conflicting passions which Bismarck had held in restraint burst their fetters, with the results which the last fifteen years have witnessed—the Byzantinism of a servile Court, the feverish restlessness of a spectacular diplomacy playing to a disappointed gallery, the rapacity of a pauperised aristocracy driven to the wall by the growth of commercial and industrial wealth, the wanton brutality of a military caste condemned to the dreary inactivity of parade-ground routine, the malice and petty jealousies of a privileged officialdom, the atrophy of sham parliamentary institutions, the querulous discontent of an intelligent and strenuous middle-class, which has to bear the heavy burden of empire, paying the piper but never

calling the tune, and, beneath it all, the sullen rancour of a stout-sinewed but impotent democracy.

Through these three periods of the modern history of Germany Prince Hohenlohe leads us by the hand from year to year in the open pages of his Memoirs. He was himself the product—and no unworthy one—of the first period of lofty idealism. He did the best work of his life, as one of the chief makers of German unity, in the earlier and better part of the Bismarckian period of transition. Perhaps it would have been better for his fame had his Memoirs closed with the first volume, at the end of his administration as Bavarian Prime Minister in 1870, or at any rate with the first chapter of the second volume, when he was Vice-President of the first Reichstag of the new German Empire. Afterwards, as ambassador in Paris, as Governor-general of Alsace-Lorraine, enfeebled by advancing years, he succumbs gradually and almost unconsciously to the contagion of the baser atmosphere in which the later Bismarckian period is enveloped, until we get the last few glimpses of him as William II's Chancellor in the hey-day of *Realpolitik*, groping his way painfully and with many searchings of heart through the maze of intrigue from which, however much his soul may from time to time revolt, he no longer has the moral or the physical strength to break loose.

Prince Hohenlohe's family surroundings and early training, the great position he had inherited as the scion of an ancient and princely house, with branches spread over the greater part of Germany, and indeed over the greater part of the Continent, the adventurous part he played during the revolutionary period of 1848–49, throw an interesting light upon the condition of Germany during the first half of the last century. But above all they show the man in the making, to whom, with her rare insight into character, Queen Victoria turned in the early years of her widowhood to supply in some measure those sources of authoritative and confidential information with regard to the trend of the best German public opinion, from which she had found herself cut off by the death of her lamented consort. She turned to him, no doubt, because he was a kinsman of her own, the nephew of her half-sister, Princess Feodora of Hohenlohe-Langenburg, and still more because he had been a valued

friend of the Prince Consort, since they had been fellow-students at Bonn. But what drew her most of all to Prince Hohenlohe was that there was no keener patriot in Germany, and no more enthusiastic believer in the great destinies of his nation; whilst the broad catholicity of his German patriotism had placed him in an unusual degree outside and above the conflicting ambitions of the different German courts, just as the religious tolerance and liberal sympathies of a cultivated and generous mind had preserved him from the narrowing influences of sectarian and social bigotry. The lamentable fiasco of the first National Parliament at Frankfurt had permanently sobered his youthful enthusiasm; and he had in turn overcome the profound depression which very nearly drove him in the early fifties to settle down in Russia and devote himself to the administration of his wife's Lithuanian estates. The accomplishment of Italian national unity had once more quickened throughout Germany the hopes and aspirations which the reaction after 1848–49 had only temporarily stifled; and Prince Hohenlohe had put his hand to the plough again, and with greater steadfastness, because, perhaps, with fewer illusions. He had grasped the wisdom of a precept which he was fond of quoting from Spinoza: 'One should never lament over human affairs nor jeer at them, but just try to understand them.' His sister-in-law, Princess Constantine Hohenlohe, wrote of him with insight:

'Chlodwig always struck me as a transition character, with roots struck deep in the feudal conceptions of sovereign rights peculiar to the princes of the Holy Roman Empire, but possessed of a lively intuitive comprehension of all the liberal forces which have broken forth in our most modern days. To his temperate philosophy of life it was given to smooth away rough edges, to reconcile antagonisms. Whether he was not often himself painfully torn by conflicts within his own breast, was veiled by his impenetrable reserve. To me his unfailing equanimity seemed merely the result of self-conquest after long wrestlings of the spirit' (i, 140, 141).

The two letters from the Prince to Queen Victoria which are published in these volumes were written respectively in 1864 and in 1865, and they contain an admirable exposition of the condition of Germany and

of the general trend of public feeling in those critical years. The first letter deals largely with the question of Schleswig-Holstein, in which 'all other considerations are swallowed up,' and explains with broad statesmanlike insight the significance which attached to it in the eyes of the Germans and their passionate resentment of the threatened interference of foreign powers—a resentment which still underlies the hostility of many educated Germans towards England, and especially of the professorial classes brought up on Treitschke.

'Examining attentively the movements which have agitated Germany during the last fifty years, we find that their true origin lies in the discontent of the population of the middle and petty States, a population of nearly nineteen million souls, at seeing themselves excluded from participation in the affairs of Europe—in the position of grown men who are not permitted to have a voice in their own business. In time this becomes insupportable. You may say that the material condition of these States is very satisfactory, and that it would be folly to bring about a state of affairs which would certainly entail greater material sacrifices than do present conditions. But this ambition, or rather, this craving for due honour and repute, is a sign of the vitality of the German people, who put honour and repute above mere material comfort. It was to throw off this oppression that they fought in 1848 for German unity. This movement began in south-western Germany. It proved abortive, because neither Austria nor Prussia would bow to an ideal overlordship. One party then attempted to bring about the Prussian hegemony; but that, too, was frustrated by the refusal of the King of Prussia.

'The aspiration remained, however, because it was firmly rooted in facts. Then came the Schleswig-Holstein affair, which, had they been able to combine, would have afforded the middle and petty States an opportunity of winning for themselves a recognised political position in Europe. The people thought that the hour was come, and importuned their Governments. The Governments, disunited and incapable, let the happy moment go by; the German paramount Powers took the matter in hand; and so vanished the political hopes which the people of South Germany had built upon the Schleswig-Holstein affair. Not so, however, their interest in the matter. Public opinion turned once more to Prussia, for men cherished the hope that, after her military successes, she would not let the rights of the Duchies be trampled under

foot. Since 1848 the German people have made progress in their political education; in particular, they have learned to wait. They have learned that in political matters it is inexpedient to run your head against a wall. It is, however, inevitable in the prevailing state of public sentiment that a solution to the Schleswig-Holstein question offensive to the people's sense of justice would have the gravest consequences for Germany, and more especially for the very existence of the secondary States. Not that an immediate revolutionary movement would break out—the mass of the people is too peaceable, too phlegmatic for that—but contempt would arise for the Governments, who would be severely blamed because they did not seize the right moment, and a deep, growing irritation which must in the end undermine the existence of the dynasties of those States' (i, 134).

In the second letter Prince Hohenlohe turns from the Schleswig-Holstein question, which 'has now been relegated to the background'—Prussia had in the meantime cut the Gordian knot with the sword, and by the same token tested the keenness of the latter—to those problems of constructive statesmanship, whose solution could alone avert 'such a disastrous commotion as will shake even Vienna and Berlin.' He himself sees salvation in the 'Triad,' i.e. 'a closer union between the middle States and their organisation into a Federal State under the overlordship of Bavaria, which, together with Austria and Prussia, would form the great German Confederation.' But he does not attempt to conceal the 'many insurmountable obstacles to the realisation of this idea'—the disinclination of the minor sovereigns to surrender any part of their sovereign rights, the opposition of the democratic party—which, in southern and middle Germany, belongs mainly to the National Union, and, regarding 'Herr von Bismarck's Government as a passing evil,' looks to the organisation of a Federal State under the overlordship of Prussia—and last but not least, the objections of both Austria and Prussia.

'In Austria they want to keep the Confederation as it is, and are opposed to the formation of a third group of States, because in it Protestant and Catholic States would be associated, an idea most distasteful to the Ultramontane party. It is possible that Vienna looks forward to the complete break up of the Confederation in order to round off the Austrian

dominions on the German frontier with some of the remnants. . . . Prussia sees in the Triad not only a menace to the prospect of a Prussian hegemony, but also a hindrance to her territorial expansion in the North of Germany. So from this side too Bavaria will meet with determined opposition' (i, 136).

Prince Hohenlohe sees no other solution of the problem, but he admits that nothing will be done so long as due attention is not paid, both in Austria and in Prussia, to 'certain regrettable things.'

'Chief among these is the individual character of the various German races and the tenacity with which each clings to its peculiar characteristics. Social and political uniformity is not so difficult in France or Italy, where the national character shows greater uniformity and fewer idiosyncrasies in its component parts. But in Germany the races are as distinct to-day as they were in the time of Charlemagne; the Würtemberger is as much an Alemann or a Suabian, the Bavarian as unmistakably a Bojar as ever; you recognise the vivacious Frank in Central Germany, the reserved and hard-working Saxon in the population of Westphalia and Hanover. Thus, what is generally known as particularism has its root deep in the national character and is not to be torn up and thrown aside by theories.

'Where, as in Prussia and Austria, the influence of the Slav element has asserted itself, and even, in a way, predominates, legislative union and uniformity have been easily attained. In the South and West of Germany, the parts untouched by the Slav element, the separation has continued as the unavoidable result of race characteristics. It will be hard enough to induce these Principalities to enter into anything approaching a practical federation, but certainly easier than trying to fuse them into one State like Prussia or Austria. In political matters it is best to set one's mind only on what is possible, painful as it may be to renounce cherished theories' (i, 137–8).

The 'disastrous commotion which was to shake Vienna and Berlin' ensued earlier than he had expected, and even when the storm broke he did not anticipate the completeness or the rapidity of Prussia's victories. But he did not hesitate for a moment to recognise the full consequences of the war of 1866. The Germanic Confederation had been forcibly dissolved and Austria eliminated from the German problem, which had now to be readjusted to the new conditions arising out of Prussia's military ascendency

and the creation of a North-German Confederation under her hegemony. Prussia had indeed shown herself to be a formidable power, but for that very reason also, potentially, a capable instrument for the achievement of German unity and a safe shield for the common Fatherland against foreign aggression. On the last day of August 1866, even before peace had been formally concluded between Bavaria and Prussia, Prince Hohenlohe, from his seat in the Bavarian House, boldly declared in favour of an alliance with Prussia. Only three of his peers supported him; but before the end of the year the tide had swung round in his favour, and King Ludwig II entrusted him with the formation of a Liberal Ministry on the basis of a programme of which the object was specifically 'to prepare the way for such an alliance.'

In the four years that followed the war of 1866 and preceded that of 1870, the fate of Germany from within was to be decided, whether for national consolidation or for reversion to the discordant conditions of the past. During that period no man perhaps in the whole country, not even Bismarck himself, played a more useful and important part than did Hohenlohe in the achievement of German unity. It was one of those periods of transition that call for just the qualities of mind and temper which, as his sister-in-law noted, he possessed in so rare a measure. He handled with equal tact men of the most opposite types—his own sovereign, the visionary and eccentric Ludwig II of Bavaria, and the masterful Prime Minister of Prussia, Chancellor of the North-German Confederation. He kept in close and constant touch with all the various and often heterogeneous elements which his ingenuity could utilise for propagating the national idea—princes and professors, statesmen and pressmen, Conservatives and Democrats, southerners and northerners. Richard Wagner befriended him in critical moments with the King; and in the Grand Duke of Baden he found a staunch and ever-ready ally. In Bavaria itself Ultramontanism and Particularism, equally jealous of the ascendency of Protestant Prussia, were scotched but by no means killed, and were yet to have, before 1870, their brief hour of triumph—over an Education Bill. Austria and France were irritable and suspicious. Bismarck himself blew hot and cold by turns. At one moment, when

the Luxemburg question threatened to precipitate a conflict with France, he entrusted Hohenlohe with the delicate mission of sounding Austria as to her intentions in the event of war—a mission he discharged with discretion and success; at another moment, when the military negotiations with the South-German States failed to run smoothly, the Chancellor lost his temper, and used the Zollverein to put on the screw. But Hohenlohe's resourcefulness was never at fault; and, whether he yielded on a minor point or had to steer a long way round to avoid the rocks and shoals which beset his course, he never for a moment lost sight of his aim—the political unification of Germany under the acknowledged hegemony of Prussia, but without surrendering the individuality of the South-German States, and, as far as possible, with the goodwill of Austria.

It is needless to dwell upon the various schemes which Prince Hohenlohe successively drafted in the hope of finding a basis for immediate agreement, since none of them was ever destined to be carried into execution. The Hohenlohe Memoirs for this period are an invaluable quarry for the student of contemporary history, and they contain a large collection of official and confidential documents, hitherto for the most part unpublished, to which it is impossible to do justice within the compass of this article. But this much, at any rate, may be noted, that in Hohenlohe's schemes there can be traced not only a broad outline of the constitution of the German Empire, as it sprang into being after the war of 1870, but the germ also of the Austro-German alliance which, many years later, in 1879, was to be acclaimed as the crowning achievement of Bismarck's constructive statesmanship.

Prince Hohenlohe himself had to be content with having paved the way towards that close cooperation of all the national forces which, cemented with the blood of so many gallant Germans on the battlefields of France, finally brought about the unity of Germany and the proclamation of a new German Empire in the famous *Galerie des Glaces* at Versailles. In those great events he took no direct part, for his administration had been overthrown early in 1870 by the Bavarian Ultramontanes, whose hostility had been intensified by the attitude

which he had taken up towards the impending Œcumenical Council at the Vatican. A Roman Catholic by birth and by conviction, he had inherited from his father, who had been brought up at Vienna in the days of Joseph II, and from his mother, who was a Protestant, a liberal and tolerant spirit which had long ago revolted against the religious and political bigotry associated in his mind with the ascendency of the Jesuits. Under the date of Munich, May 9, 1846, the following remarkable entry occurs in his diary:—

'The abyss towards which I was being carried by the policy of the Jesuits has suddenly been revealed to me. Their intolerance, their hatred of Protestantism, which is one of their leading features, their idea that the Reformation with all its consequences was a mistake, that the great philosophical, literary and other splendid moments of our history were only aberrations of the human intellect, is an absurdity. It is treachery, utterly opposed to my inmost nature, and is a sign of internal corruption and decay, which makes it absolutely impossible for me to give the smallest help to that party, so long as I place any value upon the whole of my past life and my dearest convictions. I pray God for strength to deliver me from the temptations of this devilish society, which works only for the subjugation of human freedom, especially of intellectual freedom; I pray that I may never be led astray from the path of truth, either by promises or threats' (i, 30).

The deep antagonism between German Ultramontanism and the German national movement, and the fierce opposition of the clerical party in Bavaria to his own administration, had not lessened his early distrust of the Jesuits. In the proclamation of the dogma of papal infallibility, which was to be the chief business of the Vatican Council, he saw a fresh instance of the dangers with which Jesuit ascendency threatened both the Church and the State. His brother, Prince Victor, who was a cardinal of the Roman Church, shared his fears; and one of his own most intimate friends was Döllinger, the learned divine, who was the leader of liberal Catholicism in Germany. As Bavarian Prime Minister he took the initiative, which other Catholic powers hesitated to take, and despatched a diplomatic circular, of which Döllinger drafted the body, inviting attention to the grave consequences for the civil power with which the new dogma

would be fraught. The circular naturally intensified the hostility of the clerical party in Bavaria towards its author, and it met with but scant response anywhere, except in Berlin. The Vatican Council was held; the dogma was promulgated; and of the consequences which Prince Hohenlohe foresaw, the new German Empire was the first to have experience in the *Kulturkampf*.

In these Memoirs there are few more interesting letters than those in which the Cardinal pours out from Rome the bitterness of his soul to his brother. Perhaps it was the insight which the Prince thus obtained into the helplessness of even the most liberal-minded Catholics under the pressure of ecclesiastical discipline which made him so much more sceptical than Bismarck was about the outcome of the struggle with Rome. He certainly proved himself more clear-sighted than Bismarck as to the prospects of the Old Catholic movement, whose vitality was much overrated by the Chancellor; and on religious grounds he declined to take any part in it. But he threw himself none the less heartily into the political fray, and being, though a Roman Catholic, 'before all things a German Prince,' he did not hesitate to justify, both in public and in private, even the expulsion of the Jesuit Order from Germany as a measure of national self-defence against clerical aggression.

Prince Hohenlohe's election to the Vice-Presidency of the first German Reichstag in Berlin was a spontaneous and well-deserved tribute to the man who had done more than any other to bridge the Main; and his influence, though not directly exerted in debate, was a powerful factor in the new Parliament. Nothing marks more strikingly the continuous sterilisation of public life in Germany under the later Bismarckian regime and that of the present Emperor than the condition of insignificance and impotency to which the Reichstag has been gradually reduced. In the early days of the new Empire it represented a force with which Bismarck himself, in the full plenitude of his power, had to reckon. Compared with the puny parliamentarians of the present day, men like Bennigsen and Windthorst, Lasker and Ketteler, Forckenbeck and Mallinckrodt, Miquel and Bamberger, Roggenbach and Camphausen, were giants. To that first Reichstag, it may be noted, Bebel was the only socialist

elected. Now he leads a militant party which represents three million voters, though, owing to the inequalities of electoral districts, it is only the second strongest, numerically, in the House. So far has Germany travelled since her Imperial honeymoon!

In 1874 Bismarck's health gave rise to serious anxiety, and many important personages, including the Grand Duke of Baden, looked to Prince Hohenlohe to succeed him should the Chancellorship fall vacant. His name was even mentioned to the Emperor as a possible deputy for the invalid Chancellor; and his Majesty 'had assented.' But Bismarck recovered. Had he heard the talk and resented it? At any rate there was no vacancy in the Chancellorship, but there was one in the Paris Embassy; and the post of German ambassador in Paris, four years after the war, was not an easy or an enviable one, as poor Harry Arnim discovered to his cost. It was promptly offered to Hohenlohe, who had to accept it; and, though his friends comforted him with the assurance that the road to the Chancellorship might yet be through Paris, he was destined to find the road a very long one. Eleven years he remained in the French capital; and, if any one wants a bright and often racy picture of Parisian society between 1874 and 1885, let him turn to the diary which Prince Hohenlohe kept during that period. Of the French political personages of the day, Thiers and Gambetta, Marshal MacMahon, President Grévy, Jules Ferry, and many others, he is a shrewd and not unkindly critic; and with some of them, especially with the Duc Decazes, for several years Minister for Foreign Affairs, he maintained friendly relations, even when political tension was acute, as during the war scare of 1875.

The Prince often throws interesting sidelights on the international situation; but these, for the most part, merely confirm what was already known, namely, that Bismarck's one constant and dominant purpose after 1870 was to keep France isolated. To that end he reckoned chiefly upon the maintenance of the Republic to disqualify France for any alliance with a strong monarchical power, and, above all, with Russia; and upon French colonial expansion in Africa to embroil her with England and with Italy. In pursuit of this policy, he was ready by turns to bully or to coax, to threaten war whenever the

French took to thinking aloud about Alsace-Lorraine, or to dangle hopes of an alliance before them whenever their eyes were turned away from the annexed provinces to Egypt, or to visions of adventure and conquest in Tunis or Morocco. But we get these glimpses into the arcana of German policy when Prince Hohenlohe runs over to Berlin, as he was constantly doing, rather than when he was actually at his post. In fact his diary, notably during the war scare of 1875, leaves it very doubtful whether, as ambassador, he ever enjoyed the unreserved confidence of the old Chancellor, for at that critical juncture he was clearly left very much in the dark as to the true inwardness of German policy; and, when he went to Berlin and tried to cross-question Bismarck, he was put off with evasive answers and vague promises which were not fulfilled. Hohenlohe himself handled various questions, such as that of the removal of Gontaut Biron, the French ambassador—who was in much greater favour with Court circles in Berlin than with the Chancellor—with such marked discretion and even dilatoriness as to create the impression that he was more anxious to meet what he believed to be the secret wishes of 'exalted circles' than to carry out to the letter the instructions of his official chief. Neither the Chancellor nor the Minister seems ever to have forgotten that Hohenlohe had been mentioned as Bismarck's possible successor, and that 'the Emperor had assented.' The relations between the two men remained outwardly cordial, but there were traces of a latent antagonism; and these multiplied in proportion as Hohenlohe caught the contagion of that atmosphere of political intrigue which spread over Berlin with the old Emperor's declining years.

'The road through Paris' was not, however, destined to lead Prince Hohenlohe to the Chancellorship. In the summer of 1885, Field-marshal von Manteuffel, who had been Governor-general of Alsace-Lorraine since 1879, died; and Prince Hohenlohe was offered the post. It was not at all the post which he coveted, but he had no choice, for the old Chancellor was not in a temper to be crossed, and the Prince smelt an intrigue against himself in the Wilhelmstrasse which would have made it dangerous for him to refuse. The post had never before been held by a civilian, and the first objection which rose to Prince

Hohenlohe's lips when Bismarck suggested that he should go to Strassburg was eminently characteristic of the atmosphere of German official life: 'But I have no military uniform.' It is the atmosphere which produces a 'captain of Köpenick.' Bismarck promptly brushed this objection aside by telling the Prince to wear his ambassador's uniform, 'which will, moreover, please the Frenchmen, for it looks very French.' The ambassador's uniform did not, however, please the 'Generals'; and, though Hohenlohe remained nine years at Strassburg, the military party were never quite reconciled to seeing the German Warlord represented by a civilian in the annexed provinces.

Manteuffel, though a soldier, had adopted, on the whole, a conciliatory policy towards the people of Alsace-Lorraine; and Hohenlohe, who liked to preserve pleasant relations with his old friends in Paris, constantly set his face as far as he could against repressive measures. Occasionally he got a sharp rap over the knuckles from Berlin, as in a characteristic despatch from Bismarck of February 21, 1887. The Chancellor was at that time alarmed at the progress of Boulangism in France; and members of the French Patriotic League were supposed to be carrying on a specially active propaganda in the Reichsland in view of the impending *revanche*. Bismarck had received reports to this effect from the public prosecutor in Alsace-Lorraine, and he wrote to Prince Hohenlohe that his Highness must surely share his (Bismarck's) surprise that it had needed the personal intervention of the public prosecutor to put the law into motion against members of the 'Ligue des Patriotes.'

'It is beyond my comprehension' (the Chancellor added) 'that police measures and criminal proceedings were not at once taken against the suspects in accordance with the laws, or, if necessary, under the Dictatorship paragraphs. . . . I leave it to your Highness' enlightened consideration whether it is not expedient, in view of the dangers which might arise from internal enemies in connexion with mobilisation and railway communications, to admonish the State Secretary and the judicial authorities of the Reichsland with regard to their passive attitude' (ii, 365).

The Chancellor was also of opinion that a little severity would produce a wholesome impression in view

of the coming general elections for the Reichstag. Prince Hohenlohe seems to have thought otherwise. The elections in Alsace-Lorraine turned out thoroughly 'bad' from the German point of view. The 'Generals' were furious; and many schemes were brought forward for dealing with the refractory provinces, amongst others a scheme of partition under which a portion was to be annexed to Baden, another to Bavaria, and a third to Prussia. The crisis was acute and protracted; the Chancellor's attitude was not altogether reassuring; and not only the 'Generals,' but several of the Ministers in Berlin were making a dead set against Hohenlohe. The old Emperor, however, stood by him; and a series of new and draconian regulations, and the dismissal of one or two subordinates, placated the Governor-general's opponents. But a fresh storm broke out again in the autumn over the Schnäbele incident; and Bismarck insisted on the re-establishment of a galling passport system for which Hohenlohe could see no justification. In Berlin, too, the world was out of joint. The old Emperor could hardly live much longer; and the gravity of the Crown Prince's illness was already an open secret. These were difficult times in which to steer a safe course; and, with advancing years, personal considerations, it must be confessed, began to play a larger part in Prince Hohenlohe's political opportunism.

The reasons given to account for so sudden a change of front as that which took place within one week in May 1888 are hardly convincing. In his diary the Prince writes on May 8 that Berlin demands measures of great harshness in order apparently to drive the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine to despair, and thus provoke insurrections which shall afford an excuse for denouncing civil government and proclaiming a state of siege.

'It is now high time to retire with honour. If I yield I shall not avert the final catastrophe of a military regime, and then it will be too late to retire with honour' (ii, 384).

On May 10 he writes in the same sense to Herr von Wilmowski, chief of the Emperor Frederick's Civil Secretariat. On May 17 he writes again, but only to recant his former letter in response to an appeal from Prince Bismarck; and, while still unable to approve, he expresses his acquiescence in a measure 'of which I have not, at

any rate, to bear the responsibility.' After such a surrender one can hardly be surprised to find that, during the remaining years of his tenure of office at Strassburg, his influence upon the conduct of public affairs seldom appears to be decisive. He swims with the current, reluctantly when it hurries him towards the rocks and shoals of a repressive policy, more willingly when it bears him into the smoother back-waters of conciliation and goodwill. In fact his chief interest was no longer in the Reichsland. He became more and more engrossed in the fierce drama of passion and intrigue which was being enacted in Berlin.

It is a repulsive story which Prince Hohenlohe's diary discloses during the brief reign of the unfortunate Emperor Frederick and the early years of William II's reign; and the part which he himself played in it was scarcely worthy of his earlier and better self. Considering how intimate had been Hohenlohe's relations with the old Chancellor, how closely they had been associated in the great national work of German unity, how much he himself owed in former years to Bismarck's friendship, jealous and masterful as it was apt to be, one would have looked for more steadfastness and greater generosity from him in the days when the giant was tottering to his fall. There is something that jars upon one in the eagerness with which Hohenlohe pricked up his ears at every whisper that the mighty one was, or might soon be, no longer almighty. He got the first inkling of it during a visit to Berlin, a few days before the old Emperor's death (ii, 381). He was told that 'two Emperors might have to be buried within a very short space'; and that 'there were signs that, when the Prince [William II] became Emperor, he would not be able to live in permanent agreement with Bismarck.'

The young Emperor on his accession received Hohenlohe very kindly; but a few days later the Prince was evidently much perturbed by a story that Waldersee was undermining Bismarck's influence, and that 'Bismarck therefore desired Waldersee's removal, and meant to send him to Strassburg as general in command.' Bismarck was, he feared, trying 'to make my position untenable and thereby to render an opponent harmless if I retired.' In the following winter he tried to sound the Emperor as to his

views concerning Alsace-Lorraine; but 'I saw that he was entirely under the influence of the Imperial Chancellor. So I had to give up the attempt to clear the way for a change of opinion in that quarter.' A few days later he notes, however, very carefully, that 'Prince Bismarck is harming himself more than the dead Emperor' by his campaign against Geffcken, who had published the Emperor Frederick's diary; and that, according to the Grand Duke of Baden, it was not unlikely that 'the Emperor would part with Bismarck if he noticed that all was not told him,' though 'his Majesty still needs him for the passing of the Army Bill. In August 1889 the the Grand Duke invited Hohenlohe into his railway carriage at Strassburg. Again they compared notes.

'The Emperor was beginning to notice that every now and then things were kept from him, and was becoming mistrustful. There had already been a collision between the Emperor and Bismarck; and the Grand Duke thought one must be prepared for the eventuality of the Chancellor's dismissal' (ii, 406).

In October they met again. On this occasion the Grand Duke's language was even more significant.

'The Emperor has had enough of him [Bismarck]; and then he [the Grand Duke] drew a line, not, as is the usual accompaniment of such an expression, up to his neck, but up to his eyes' (ii, 407).

These symptoms of the impending dissolution of the greatest political force in Germany are registered with the matter-of-fact precision of a physician's diary. Even when the end had come and Bismarck had fallen, Prince Hohenlohe had no word of regret for his old fellow-worker. He paid a formal visit to the fallen Chancellor; but all he could bring himself to say was, 'This was a very unexpected event to me'; to which Bismarck replied, drily and perhaps more truthfully, 'So it was to me.' When they parted, Bismarck said to him, 'If you care to come to Varzin or to Friedrichsruhe you will be welcome.' But it may be noted that Prince Hohenlohe never responded to this invitation until, having himself been called upon to assume the Chancellorship, it was clearly to his interest to disarm Bismarck's hostility by an act of

formal courtesy. In fact, after Bismarck's fall, Prince Hohenlohe's chief anxiety seems to have been lest it should not prove final. On one occasion he drew out the Emperor by remarking that in Alsace people were still afraid that Bismarck might return, to which the Emperor replied with a laugh, 'They can make their minds easy; he will not return.'

When Caprivi began to fall into disfavour, Hohenlohe watched the squalid intrigues directed against 'a dignified, honourable, loyal soldier' with feelings of disgust, but even more with alarm. The Emperor had sent an aide-de-camp to Friedrichsruhe with friendly messages and a present of wine; and Bismarck had replied that he would come after the Emperor's birthday to thank his Majesty in person. Moreover, Herbert Bismarck had been present at the Ordensfest; and this had 'fluttered the dovecotes.' So on January 22, 1894, Prince Hohenlohe writes in his diary: 'Caution is necessary. If a Bismarck regime came in I should naturally not remain much longer at Strassburg, but should have to make room for a friend of Bismarck's.' Five days later the formal reconciliation between the Emperor and the old Chancellor had taken place. Caution was more than ever necessary. So Prince Hohenlohe went and left a card on Bismarck. The reconciliation, however, remained purely formal; and, with the returning conviction that, come what might, the Emperor would never recall Bismarck to office, the reactionary parties, which had for some time past been at work to undermine Caprivi's position, returned to their task with renewed zest.

Throughout Caprivi's tenure of office Prince Hohenlohe's diary abundantly testifies to the admiration and sympathy which he felt for the single-minded officer who, at the bidding of his youthful sovereign, had assumed the heavy burden of the old Chancellor's inheritance. Caprivi was above all a soldier, and a gentleman in the fullest sense of the term. With a chivalrous sense of duty and honour, based on the highest conception of military discipline, he combined the cultured and philosophic mind of a thinker and the broad outlook of an enlightened and tolerant conservatism, which, in the eyes of the unbending Prussian Junker, appeared to be more than tainted with liberal

heresies. Caprivi, in fact, belonged in many ways to the school of political thought in which Hohenlohe had graduated, whilst the factions which finally compassed his fall represented the reactionary tendencies, the selfishness of class interests, the arrogant pride of caste, and the narrow spirit of Prussian ascendency, against which Hohenlohe's youthful enthusiasm had risen years ago in revolt when he was a modest *Assessor* at Potsdam. At the beginning of 1894 Hohenlohe, who had noted the signs of the impending storm, wrote piously in his diary: 'God grant that he [Caprivi] may weather this storm'; and it was a strange irony of fate that, when, in October 1896, the storm burst and Caprivi was dismissed, it was Hohenlohe who was summoned to Berlin to step into the place from which Caprivi had been driven by the intrigues of those whose influence in the State Hohenlohe himself most profoundly distrusted.

'Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor.' In 1890, just after Bismarck's dismissal, the Empress Frederick had hinted to Prince Hohenlohe that he ought to have been Bismarck's successor. In reply to this flattering suggestion Hohenlohe reminded her that he was born in the same year as Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. In 1894, when William II sent for him, he was four years and a half older. No doubt it would not have been easy for him to resist the appeal made to him by the Emperor in the 'important interests of the Empire.' But one cannot help feeling that he would have better consulted both those interests and his own reputation had he firmly declined to assume a burden which it was beyond his failing powers to bear usefully or with dignity. With his intimate knowledge of the Emperor William's headstrong personality, and of the conditions of public life in Berlin, he can hardly have had any illusions as to the part which he was intended to play as a decorative figure-head, or as to the perpetual struggle in which he would find himself involved with 'all those intriguing figures' that flit across the latest pages of his diary.

The pages which deal with his Chancellorship are but few in number; but they are enough to throw a melancholy light upon his declining years. Now and again the old Prince tries to cheat himself into the

belief that he is fulfilling some of the dreams of his patriotic youth, as when he records the successful passing of 'two naval estimates.' For, years ago, in the course of that curious episode of his early life when, deputed as special envoy of the German nation to the Greek and Italian courts by the Archduke-Administrator of the Empire under the ephemeral Parliament of Frankfurt, he roamed about the Mediterranean in an English gun-vessel, one of the dreams which had fired his imagination had been that of a powerful German fleet under one German flag. But the dominant note is one of bitter disillusionment. The years of Prince Hohenlohe's Chancellorship cover many important developments in Germany's *Weltpolitik*. They witnessed, above all, the growth of an estrangement between Germany and Great Britain which has very considerably modified the international situation, not only in Europe, but all over the world. Yet there is not a single word in the diary about Anglo-German relations; not a word, for instance, about the famous Kruger telegram which followed close upon Baron von Marschall's declaration that Germany had a special interest in South African affairs; not a word about the unsuccessful attempt made, as Count von Bülow afterwards admitted, to follow up the Emperor's telegram by a European combination against Great Britain; not a word about Germany's attitude of bitter animosity towards us throughout the South African war.

This was also the period of German expansion in the Far East; and to this there is one very instructive reference in a conversation between Prince Hohenlohe and the Emperor of Russia in September 1895—not quite a year after the Prince became Chancellor. The official explanation of Germany's cooperation with Russia and France in ejecting Japan from the Liautung peninsula after the Chino-Japanese war has always been that she considered it a European interest to maintain the territorial integrity of the Chinese Empire on the mainland of Asia. Unofficially she gave it at the time to be understood that she could not afford to leave Russia and France *en tête-à-tête* in the Far East. We now have, for the first time, an authoritative statement that Germany was then already seeking a foothold in China. The Tsar told Prince Hohenlohe (ii, 463) that

'he had already written in the spring [of 1895] to the Emperor William that he would have no objection to our acquiring something out there as a *point d'appui* or a coaling station.'

That was the price demanded by Germany for her co-operation against Japan. Prince Hohenlohe hinted at the Chusan Islands, at the mouth of the Yang-tsze, though, as he admitted, England might put forward claims to them. The hint evidently threw Nicolas II off the scent; and great, we know, was his surprise and annoyance when, three years later, Germany, taking him at more than his word, pounced upon Kiao-chau, well within that region, 'a thousand miles north of Hong Kong,' of which the Tsar had said, laughingly, in allusion to the supposed designs of Great Britain: 'Mais ce serait chez nous.' No wonder the Emperor William sent his Chancellor a gushing telegram of congratulation when the convention with China was signed which confirmed Germany in possession of Kiao-chau. Beyond that telegram no further reference is made to Far-Eastern affairs. This is, however, not surprising. The editor of the diaries intimates that 'unassailable considerations prevent, at present, the full publication' of the diary for this period, and that the excerpts now given are intended only to convey a general idea of the Prince's impressions and experiences during the last stage of his public career.

Prince Hohenlohe was no longer a mere interested spectator of all the squalid intrigues and petty jealousies which he had so abundantly noted down during his frequent visits to Berlin from Paris and Strassburg. He was himself in the very hot-bed of them. Within a year after he had taken office, in the autumn of 1895, he writes:

'I know that a number of politicians and intriguers of high rank are bent upon discrediting me with the Emperor. They want another Chancellor, alleging that more energetic action is necessary' (ii, 465).

He had other difficulties too. Berlin, though the capital of the German Empire, is still essentially Prussian; and there are features in the Prussian character, at least amongst the ruling classes, which had always repelled him from his early youth. Nor was it only a question of personal repugnance; there were fundamental differences of principle. Prince Hohenlohe had, all his life, been 'a

German through and through.' He had worked, not for Bavaria, nor for Prussia, but for Germany as a united nation and a united Empire. In Berlin Germany is still overshadowed by Prussia. And Hohenlohe felt this keenly.

'When I sit amongst these Prussian Excellencies, the contrast between North Germany and South Germany grows clear to me. South German Liberalism cannot hold its own against the Junkers. They are too numerous, too powerful; they have Royalty and the Army on their side. Even the clerical party goes with them. That contrast explains all that I have lived through during these four years [of Chancellorship]. . . . As I worked from 1866 to 1870 for the union of South and North, so I must strive now to hold Prussia to the Empire. For all these Excellencies snap their fingers at the Empire, and would let it go to-day rather than to-morrow' (ii, 474).

In other words, it was the perpetual conflict between the old feudal and aristocratic Germany, incarnate in Prussia, based morally upon the principle of authority, and materially upon the predominance of the landed interests, and the new liberal and democratic Germany which, however much it may repudiate its origin, is the spiritual child of the French Revolution, and has been quickened to rapid maturity by the sudden growth of vast industrial and commercial forces peculiar to the modern world.

Nowhere is the acuteness of that conflict more fully displayed than in the versatile genius of William II himself, so curiously medieval in some aspects and in others so intensely modern. Hence, no doubt, the frequent fluctuations of Imperial temper reflected in his Chancellor's diary. A life-long opportunist, in the best sense of the word, Hohenlohe accommodated himself to them, as best he could, for more than five years, not without some sacrifice of personal dignity, but consoling himself with the thought that he was discharging his duty towards 'the Germans, who regard my presence in Berlin as a guarantee of [national] unity.' As years went on, however, the Emperor's medievalism prevailed more and more, especially in the domain of internal policy; and Prince Hohenlohe, more fortunate, or with a greater experience of the atmosphere of Courts, did not wait, like his unhappy predecessor, Count von Caprivi, to be turned out

brutally, like a flunkey in disgrace, but asked permission to be allowed to retire; and the permission was granted, 'with a readiness which showed that my resignation was expected, and that it was high time for me to go.'

Thus did William II drop his third pilot. There was no scene such as that in which inkpots were nearly flying about, after two court officials had been despatched to remind Bismarck that the young Emperor was still waiting for the resignation of his Chancellor—of the Chancellor to whom the Hohenzollerns owed their Imperial throne and title; nor was there any explosive manifestation of Imperial displeasure such as that which re-echoed through the Schloss when Caprivi, the simple soldier who was *trop honnête homme*, was sent packing. Prince Hohenlohe is a *grand seigneur*; nay, more, he is 'der gute Onkel Chlodwig.' He is elbowed out gently and with pleasant words, not to mention the inevitable decoration 'in brilliants.' But he has to go nevertheless, in order to make room for the supple courtier, who will trim his sail to every breeze that blows 'aus allerhöchster Stelle.' But even suppleness exhausts itself in the fulness of time. And what then? *Facilis descensus.* Let us hope, at any rate, that, when Prince Bülow has disappeared from the stage, his diary too will be given to the world. It will help to fill many a lacuna in Prince Hohenlohe's. It will, perhaps, be less edifying, but it will be equally instructive in other ways, and, if kept with the same candour, it may explain how and for what purpose a personage of Prince Alexander Hohenlohe's rank and position has been allowed, *consule Bülow*, to publish so peculiar a combination of calculated indiscretions and careful reticences as the last chapters of his father's Memoirs in their present form contain.

Mr Heinemann is to be congratulated on the unusual enterprise which he shows in producing so many important foreign works in English dress. The translation of Prince Hohenlohe's Memoirs published by him is, on the whole, as good as could be expected considering the speed at which it has been produced. Several translators would seem to have been at work upon it, for some parts are very much better than others. Most of the quotations in this article have been taken from the

English text, but some have been translated afresh from the original, when Mr Chrystal's translation failed to convey the flavour of the German idiom, or when, as in one or two passages, it blundered badly. The worst of such blunders occurs in a passage already quoted (p. 266). It runs as follows in the original. 'Der Grossfürst sagte dann: "Der Kaiser hat den Fürsten auch bis hierher"—dabei zog er die Linie,' etc. Of this the translator makes sheer nonsense by rendering it: 'The Grand Duke then said: "The Emperor is a prince up to here," and then drew a line,' etc. The expression used by the Grand Duke is German slang, corresponding to the English 'fed up with,' and, as used by him, meant that the Emperor was thoroughly sick of Bismarck.

For the sake of the general reader it must be regretted that the English edition adds nothing to the meagre notes and comments provided by the German editor of the Memoirs. These can be barely adequate even for the ordinary German reader; and an Englishman, unless he has made a special study of German politics, will, it is to be feared, find it often difficult to follow Prince Hohenlohe's references to events and people that have long since ceased to be as familiar, even to his own fellow-countrymen, as when the diaries were written.

Readers inadequately furnished with the knowledge requisite to follow Prince Hohenlohe's Memoirs with ease may find considerable assistance in the remarkable work which stands third on our list. It is remarkable not for originality of views or for novelty of information, but for the lucidity of its narrative, the soundness of its learning, the comprehensiveness of its survey, above all, for its total freedom from prejudice. It is marked throughout by the quality most essential to permanent historical work, by what the Germans call objectivity. It is a quality which, since the war of 1870, has revolutionised the study of history across the Channel. In no department, perhaps, has the moral and intellectual recovery of France been more signal and complete than in the new conception of history which now prevails in that country. To compare the works of Thiers, of Michelet, or of Lamartine with those of Sorel, Houssaye, Luchaire, Lavisse, Seignobos, and many others of the new school, is to understand the distance which the France of to-day has tra-

velled from the France of the Second Empire. The historians of this school may not be so brilliant as their predecessors; they deal less in epigrams and startling generalisations; but they are scientific, laborious, sound and impartial. Without discarding the best French literary qualities of style and unity, they contrive to see facts as they are.

In this admirable band of workers Prof. Denis deserves a high place. He sets out with the determination to examine the causes which led to the greatest disaster which his country has ever sustained. The process is a painful one for a patriotic Frenchman; but Prof. Denis does not flinch. He has not hesitated to probe the still-smarting wound, and to analyse with German *grüindlichkeit* the causes of the enemy's superiority. He has done this without rancour or sarcasm, without any attempt to minimise French defects or to exaggerate German advantages. While attributing German success mainly to the nation as a whole, and to causes beyond the scope of politicians, he is scrupulously fair to the leaders. In the delineation of character and the tracing of its effects he is very successful; nothing can be better than the contrast he draws between the vehement, audacious, astute, inventive and unscrupulous Chancellor, and his slow-moving, unimaginative, but withal kindly, courageous, and generally right-feeling master. He sets forth the dark side as well as the bright of Bismarck's policy, but he does not waste breath in moral indignation; what he emphasises is the clear conception of aims, the pertinacity of pursuit, the marvellous adaptation of means. He shows how the stronger will and vigorous initiative of the Minister drew the old King in his wake, but also how the monarch's caution often applied a beneficial drag to his servant's impetuosity. Against such a combination neither Francis Joseph, with his mediocre councillors, nor Napoleon, irresolute, incapable, vague, and physically ailing, could hope to contend with success. Well is it for the nation whose teachers can thus, without fear or favour, study and inculcate the painful lessons of the past.

Art. XIII.—A TESSELATED MINISTRY.

ALL Administrations have their distinguishing features, to describe or deride which the political wits of the pre-Reform days were wont to invent nicknames. It would perhaps be a difficult task to discover any single term that would do adequate justice to the peculiar characteristics of the present Government. Burke's famous description of Chatham's last Administration might furnish a not inappropriate phrase. In the historic speech on American taxation, which bristled with keen and polished epigrams, Burke said:

'He' (Chatham) 'made an Administration so checkered and speckled; he put together a piece of joinery so crossly indented and whimsically dovetailed; a cabinet so variously inlaid; such a piece of diversified mosaic; such a tesselated pavement without cement—here a bit of black stone, and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers, King's friends and republicans; Whigs and Tories; treacherous friends and open enemies—that it was indeed a very curious show; but utterly unsafe to touch, and unsure to stand on.' *

Allowing for the exaggeration of metaphor, the description would fit Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's Administration like a glove. The 'Tesselated Ministry' would not be an unfair or opprobrious nickname. The previous relations of different members of the Cabinet would not, indeed, justify Burke's declaration that 'the colleagues whom the Prime Minister had assorted at the same boards stared at each other, and were obliged to ask, "Sir, your name?" "Sir, you have the advantage of me." "Mr Such-a-one, I beg a thousand pardons."' But it is not so long since there was a conflict between those who now sit together on the front bench, wittily described as 'war to the knife and fork,' when a banquet given to one prominent man was regarded as a mark of disloyalty and almost of insult to another distinguished leader. Those were the days of tents and tabernacles,

* This well-known passage was quoted with singular infelicity by Sir William Harcourt on the first reading of the Home Rule Bill. For though it was meant to apply to the Unionist alliance, it was at once perceived how thoroughly it described those amongst whom the speaker sat, and every sentence was punctuated by loud Opposition cheers.

of shibboleths and cross-currents, of leagues and counter-leagues. In public, at least, there has been no recantation on either side, or on any side, of the divergent views, or even of the somewhat bitter language, in which opinions were expressed. In the space of many months the present Prime Minister managed to make speeches of an hour's duration without mentioning the name of a single Imperial Liberal; while Mr Asquith, now his Chancellor of the Exchequer, observed a similar significant reticence with regard to his titular leader. The President of the Board of Trade and the President of the Local Government Board were almost as fierce in their denunciations of Mr Haldane and Sir Edward Grey as they were in their diatribes against more legitimate opponents. Yet to-day 'they find themselves'—Burke must bear responsibility for the ungracious phrase—'pigging together, heads and points, in the same truckle-bed.'

The veil of Cabinet secrecy, not so opaque as of yore, is still thick enough to forbid our knowing with what degree of harmony Ministers co-operate in the council chamber. The results, however, are curious. The cement of a 'tesselated' Ministry is usually the personal influence of the Prime Minister. That has been wanting. Circumstances which elicited very sincere and universal sympathy for Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman prevented him, during the period before the adjournment, from discharging in anything like completeness the exhausting duties imposed upon the head of the Government. But the slackness of control, due in the first instance to sad domestic affliction, was equally manifest during the autumn sitting. Indifferent health has also been a contributory cause to the limited attendance of the Prime Minister in the House of Commons. More frequently than not Sir Henry has been absent from the front bench after questions have been answered; and the most memorable results of his intervention in business have been seen in the unceremonious jettisoning of two of his colleagues at the imperious bidding of the Labour leaders. It is a necessary though distasteful task to call attention to these facts, because the extreme Radical supporters of the Government persistently indulge in fulsome panegyrics of Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman as being the most

capable and successful leader of modern times. The effect of this flattery—which in its extravagance amounts almost to an affront—is obvious. The extremists are anxious, not so much to keep Sir Henry in the House of Commons, as to prevent the leadership of the party from falling into other and stronger hands.

What is flagrant in Parliament may also be inferred with practical certainty in the Cabinet. Internal evidence—and none other is available—tends to prove that the present Prime Minister is unable or unwilling to be master in his own house, or to maintain that Cabinet discipline which was always enforced with greater or less vigour by his predecessors. Mr Lloyd-George has not attained a position in the country comparable to that occupied by John Bright when he became a member of Mr Gladstone's Cabinet. Yet strong, independent, and influential as he was, Gladstone felt constrained publicly to curb Bright when he made a comparatively tepid attack upon the House of Lords. Bright allowed his words to be explained away, and even proffered what was to all intents and purposes an apology for his indiscretion. But the President of the Board of Trade is allowed to stump the country and to rail at the Upper Chamber in the intemperate and indecorous language of an irresponsible demagogue; and this not only once or twice but repeatedly. Two of the Whips—those functionaries whose efficiency depends upon silence, tact, and vigilance—denounce the tyranny of Labour; and another pair of officials is told off to counteract the bad impression created amongst Radical working-men. If the Secretary of State for War indulges in patriotic aspirations for the development of an efficient 'citizen army,' one of his colleagues receives a special license to chant the attractions of disarmament, and the moral beauty of peace at any price.

It would be easy to multiply instances of this patent absence of a governing mind in the Cabinet. The same conclusion would be reached by studying the administrative action and the legislative proposals of this 'tesselated' Ministry. Every department works upon lines dictated by its immediate chief or sub-chief. The novel system has doubtless some advantages, since, for instance, it is an approximation to the ideal of trusting the man on

the spot; but it produces some glaring inconsistencies and is the negation of the time-honoured theory of joint Cabinet responsibility. Our foreign policy is the policy of Sir Edward Grey, warmly supported, no doubt, by some of his colleagues, but palpably distasteful to others, amongst whom may possibly be included the Prime Minister himself. At any rate it is manifest that Sir Edward Grey's principles and practice, eminently satisfactory as they are, cannot be squared with the utterances of a chief who declares that he hates the word 'Imperial' and 'does not much like the thing,' and who writes the most gushing testimonials in praise of Lord Courtney, the champion of internationalism, as the desirable alternative to Imperialism.

In one other department this system of individual authority and independence has worked very well. The danger of fussy interference on the part of Downing Street with the policy of pro-consuls in distant parts of the Empire is nowhere more real than in India; and at no period since the Mutiny would hasty and ill-considered action by the Secretary of State or the Cabinet be fraught with graver consequences than at the present time. An inexplicable, ill-defined, but quite palpable ferment of unrest is creating vibrations through the Mohammedan world. The political seismograph shows very similar tracings in India, Egypt, and Morocco; though in India, fortunately, the tremors are somewhat neutralised by the scornful disapproval with which the virile adherents of the Prophet regard the growing pretensions of the loud-tongued but unwarlike Babu. Still the situation requires vigilant watching and skilful handling.

The appointment of Mr Morley—presumably at his own wish—to the India Office caused some surprise and, amongst men unacquainted with his character, not a little misgiving. Mr Morley does not profess to be an Imperialist; and, in his antagonism to any expansion of what he considers an overburdened Empire, he has not unreasonably or unnaturally been classed with the Little-Englanders. But his Little-Englandism is unlike that of the more blatant adherents of that craven creed. It is negative and not positive. Never has he been known to subscribe to the washy sentimentalism which affects to believe that if the strong man would only throw away

his weapons no one would spoil his goods. His main objection, for instance, to the British occupation of Egypt, apart from what proved to be the unfounded fear that it would embroil us with France, was his apprehension that a protectorate would 'bring India to the shores of the Mediterranean.' There is, however, all the difference in the world between a policy of pushing outwards the landmarks of the Empire and that of resolutely defending all that lies within them. No Imperialist, we feel assured, would resist with more dogged and unyielding resolution any invasion of British territory than the present Secretary of State for India. In semi-critical times such as these, few men could have so many incidental advantages in the execution of a steady, consistent, and patriotic policy. His championship of Home Rule constrains the Irish Nationalists—even the pugnacious and pertinacious Mr Swift MacNeill—to forbear from raising inconvenient and baneful controversies in a House of Commons which, painfully ignorant of the facts of Empire, is in the main more confused about Indian affairs than about those of any other British possession, not excluding South Africa. His unflinching Radicalism, and the deserved esteem in which he is held by the left wing of his party and the Labour members, enable him to disregard the mischievous and misleading criticisms of the handful of Indian cranks who sit in Parliament as Radicals. To a statesman enjoying these adventitious advantages, the new system of governing by departments affords practically a free hand; and the circumstances of the day call for a free and a strong hand to hold the reins of Indian administration.

The Colonial Office is differently situated. Lord Elgin's varied and successful experiences as a pro-consul ought to have made him an ideal man for the post exalted by Mr Chamberlain's occupation, and filled with credit by his immediate successor, Mr Alfred Lyttelton. Certain allowances, moreover, must be made for the Colonial Secretary. Lord Elgin has not been accorded a free hand in the sense in which Sir Edward Grey and Mr Morley have enjoyed that privilege; and his representative in the House of Commons, in spite of his remarkable abilities, is what the French call a *mauvais coucheur*. Moreover, colonial policy has most unfortunately been

denied that immunity from sheer partisan criticism which is now universally recognised as the prerogative of the Foreign Office. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman owed his majority so largely to the success of the campaign of misstatement, misrepresentation, and slander which was recklessly waged over Chinese labour, that the Cabinet doubtless felt that no single Minister could be trusted to deal with South African problems.

But, when all has been said that can be said on Lord Elgin's behalf, there remains the fact that his management of the affairs of his department has been marked by a want of tact and consideration for the susceptibilities of the sister nations quite astonishing in an amiable and cultivated gentleman who has enjoyed so much personal experience in the administration of the Empire beyond the seas. Slightly to adapt the refrain of a music-hall ditty much in vogue some years ago, 'It's not exactly what he does, but the nasty way he does it.' There was something almost discourteously abrupt in the haste with which, by a stroke of the pen, the ordinance granting a graduated constitution to the Transvaal was cancelled. This instrument had been the subject of the most careful consideration and elaborate correspondence extending over many months between the High Commissioner and the Colonial Office. To rescind it after what could at best have been a perfunctory study of the question, was discourteous not only to Lord Milner, Lord Selborne, and Mr Lyttelton, but also to their official advisers, and to the Transvaal Government.

Nor was that all. The Government sent out at the public expense a special Commission, two members of which were avowed opponents of the late Ministry; while not one, so far as is known, represented the policy initiated by Mr Chamberlain and followed by Mr Lyttelton. Nothing can be said against the other qualifications of the Commissioners; but the non-representative character of the Commission would have discounted confidence in its report, if that report had ever been allowed to see the light of day. Its contents still remain unrevealed. This secrecy is unjustifiable, and is unfair to those whose views and opinions were sought by the Commissioners, but who have no means of ascertaining how far their communications have been accurately reported and interpreted.

Parliament has had to debate the merits of the new Constitution unaided by the report of a Commission the cost of which will come upon the votes.

As to the Constitution itself, as it appears in the Letters Patent which have been published and presented to Parliament, all that it is necessary now to say is that it might have been much worse. The danger lay, and still lies, in the departure from the invariable rule of our colonial policy that even in the most well-disposed colonies under the Crown responsible government should not be granted *per saltum*, but through the intermediate educational step of a representative but only semi-responsible system. Now that the Constitution is granted, the wisest and most patriotic course for British subjects at home is to refrain from retrospective criticism, and for all sorts and conditions of white men in South Africa to co-operate in making the best of the new state of things. We could have wished that more generous terms had been arranged with regard to the land-settlement scheme, in the development of which Lord Milner and the late Mr Rhodes, as well as most other competent and far-sighted authorities, saw the fairest chance for the extinction of racial prejudice. Mr Rhodes' experiment at Stellenbosch and the Paarl proved definitely that the scheme was practicable, and that the results would be such as were hoped and anticipated.

However, this excessive secretiveness is infinitely preferable to the amazing indiscretion, to use no stronger term, displayed in connexion with Mr Bucknill's report as to the prevalence in the Chinese compounds of vice in its most repulsive form. On many, perhaps on all grounds, it was expedient that the Government should have kept secret the report, and especially the evidence obtained in confidence by Mr Bucknill. But what did they do? They allowed the contents of the report to be shown to a fanatical opponent of Chinese labour, and further gave him permission to disclose the information he had gleaned to members upon his own side of the House and to them only. Naturally, extracts which appear to have been garbled found their way into the less nice Radical press. This was Lord Elgin's doing; and few more grievous offences against the usage and practice of constitutional Governments have ever been

permitted by responsible Ministers of the Crown. These documents were Cabinet papers, against the improper publication and revelation of which there is in existence a recent statute imposing the penalty of hard labour. Yet a Cabinet Minister becomes morally if not legally an accessory to an offence against this salutary law. All these incidents, in themselves quite avoidable, have roused a bitter feeling amongst the staunchest upholders of British supremacy in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony. The old murmur is heard that 'it does not pay to be loyal'; and the dangerous belief is revived that the home Government will always sacrifice the real friends of England in order to propitiate actual enemies, or to curry favour with some fractious section of ill-informed agitators in Parliament.

Take again the case of Natal, the one colony which, during the late war, not only raised its own volunteers, but equipped and paid them out of its own exchequer. A Zulu rising took place; and there was substantial reason for believing in the existence of a wide-spread and concerted plan for overthrowing the authority of the colony. How alarming such a prospect is for settlers mostly scattered over an area of 45,000 square miles may be understood by a glance at the census. The last available returns show that out of a population of something over a million there were less than 100,000 Europeans or whites, a few more than 100,000 Asiatics and mixed breeds, and no less than 900,000 natives, of whom only some 80,000 were employed as servants. When it is further remembered that thirty years have not elapsed since Zululand was under a stringent military autocracy of exceptional efficiency, it is easy to understand with what apprehension the heads of families, living almost in isolation on their homesteads, hear of 'native unrest.' The colony took prompt steps. It raised volunteers but declined Imperial assistance; it proclaimed martial law; and, in spite of very serious climatic and geographical difficulties, managed to stamp out the fortunately premature revolt.

Now it must be admitted, and indeed rigorously claimed, that when a self-governing colony finds itself obliged to suppress native risings by force of arms, the Imperial Government should show the greatest vigilance,

and, in case of need, enforce its authority. This duty is imposed upon the central Executive, mainly because Parliament sanctions the exclusion of natives from any substantial representation in the colonial Legislatures. They have therefore a special claim to the protection of the mother-country. But the duty must not be executed in such a way as to convey the belief that the authorities at home distrust the justice or clemency of Britons beyond the seas in their dealings with coloured races. There is no ground for such distrust, or for the injurious myth that Englishmen, Scots, and Irishmen lose their inherited and ingrained sense of humanity as soon as they cross the equator. The late Henry Cloete, a most loyal subject, in his work on 'The Great Boer Trek' (p. 83), stigmatised Lord Glenelg's fatuous despatch of December 26, 1835, as 'containing the most unreserved condemnation of the whole policy and operations of the war, and abusing in unmeasured language the barbarous manner in which (the Secretary of State asserted) the war had been conducted'; and he went on to say: 'To expect that an entire population, thus insulted and injured, should still continue loyally and well affected towards the Government was as impossible as to expect that "of thorns men should gather figs, or that of a bramble-bush they should gather grapes."' The arrogant folly of Glenelg was followed by the great exodus to the north under Retief, and by the permanent alienation of the Dutch colonists who had become reconciled to British rule.

It was then the manifest duty of Lord Elgin to keep himself in constant touch with the Government of Natal, and to take steps to secure the fullest information as to the treatment of the rebels. Nothing was easier. The Colonial Secretary knew that martial law had been proclaimed; he could be in no doubt as to the consequences its proclamation involved, or as to the punishment which would be meted out to those found guilty of treason. All that he had to do was to instruct the Governor to ask the Natal Ministry to keep him informed with all due promptitude on every important incident, so as to give the Imperial Executive an opportunity of advising, or, if the need arose, of remonstrating. But it was not till the anticipated had happened, not till rebels had been tried and sentenced, and the sentences confirmed by the respon-

sible authority and sanctioned by the King's representative, the governor of the colony, that the Secretary of State intervened. His method of interference was so tactless and maladroit that it affronted not only the Natal Government (which promptly resigned by way of protest), and not only British-born subjects in all the South African colonies, but also the Dutch inhabitants as much as the rest; for there is no matter on which they are so touchy as upon the meddling of Downing Street with the business of repressing a native rising. That nothing worse happened was due to the fact that Lord Elgin took no further action; but the incident left behind a sense of irritation not easily or quickly to be relieved.

Again, there is the difficulty over the Newfoundland Fisheries question. A *modus vivendi* was arranged by Sir Edward Grey with the President of the United States behind the back of the Newfoundland Government, and in spite of their protests. The Foreign Secretary was not to blame for the intense indignation aroused in the colony; he had to act on behalf of the British Empire, and to consider what is for the best interests of the whole. But it is the unmistakable duty of the Colonial Secretary to see that the interests of the several colonies, whereof he is the guardian, should be fairly and firmly placed before his colleagues, and to do his best to consult the wishes, to remove the doubts, and to study the susceptibilities of the colonial Governments. So far as the official correspondence goes, there is nothing to show that Lord Elgin discharged any of these duties. The consequence is that the same uneasy feeling of insecurity has been inspired not only in Newfoundland, but in a minor degree throughout the Dominion of Canada. Very similar tactlessness and lack of consideration were displayed with regard to the otherwise admirable arrangement with France about the New Hebrides. Australasia grumbled, not so much at the settlement itself, as at the cavalier way in which the colonists were treated.

In a 'tesselated' Ministry this must inevitably happen. A capable Minister does good work, and the lack of control by the Cabinet no doubt renders his task easier; but an inefficient Minister, not subject to the supervision of his chief or his colleagues, may easily do, by a few strokes of the pen, more mischief than his successful colleague

can ever hope to make good. The collective work of a united Cabinet is probably less efficient than that which the best of its members could turn out; but, on the other hand, it is infinitely superior to the output of its least capable member when left to his own devices.

This truth is illustrated by the mental attitude of the public generally towards the War Office and the Admiralty. Were the efficiency or the existence of our defensive forces dependent upon the collective wisdom of the Cabinet, there would be deep and natural uneasiness. The most diverse and contradictory speeches have been delivered upon this supreme national problem by different members of the Cabinet. Some have talked of disarmament as an example to others, just as in the country a few theorists contend that the withdrawal of gamekeepers would put an end to poaching; others have urged sweeping reductions in the votes on the ground that the money thus saved 'might be given to the poor.' On the hitherto accepted theory of joint Cabinet responsibility, both or either of these sets of opinion might be taken to represent the reasoned policy of the Administration. But, on the 'tesselated' principle, it is not the view of the whole body that really counts, but only that of the heads of the departments directly concerned, subject to the veto of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Consequently the public is not much disquieted about the War Office and the Admiralty, but for two different reasons. Mr Haldane enjoys a large measure of confidence as a patriotic, prudent, and highly-gifted man; he has never attempted to hide his Imperialism under a bushel; and, as the intimate personal and political associate of Lord Rosebery —a connexion which even the tiff over the withdrawal of the Scots Greys from Scotland is not likely to have disturbed—he is trusted to see that the 'Republic incurs no injury.' The Secretary for War will retain this confidence till, if ever, he deliberately forfeits it by pandering to the senseless faction that will not even try to read the signs of the political heavens. Lord Tweedmouth, on the other hand, enjoys a certain confidence, not because he is a strong man, as Mr Haldane is, but because he is a weak man with no official experience and little power of initiation or exposition. It is therefore assumed, and probably with reason, that he will be guided and directed

in all essential matters by the genius of the First Naval Lord, in whose professional skill and patriotic feeling great confidence has hitherto been placed. It is unnecessary to analyse in detail the other departments of State. Enough has been said to show that the 'tesselated' principle, so far as administration is concerned, is neither an unmixed good nor an unqualified evil.

When we turn to the subject of legislation, which our constitutional system—unwisely as many think—combines with administrative responsibility, we are confronted with a very different picture. There is a passage in 'Coningsby,' written over sixty years ago, which, with a very few changes, might be read as a picturesque description of the present situation.

'The success of the Reform Ministry on their first appeal to the new constituency which they had created had been fatally complete. But the triumph was as destructive to the victors as to the vanquished. "We are too strong," prophetically exclaimed one of the fortunate Cabinet, which found itself supported by an inconceivable majority of three hundred. . . . It is evident that the suicidal career of what was then styled the Liberal party had been occasioned and stimulated by its unnatural excess of strength. . . . No Government can be long secure without a formidable Opposition. It reduces their supporters to that tractable number which can be managed by the joint influences of fruition and of hope. It offers vengeance to the discontented, and distinction to the ambitious; and employs the energies of aspiring spirits who otherwise may prove traitors in a division, or assassins in a debate.'

The resemblance between the present position and that described in 'Coningsby' is not a mere coincidence; it is an illustration of the truth that history repeats itself, but always with a difference. When the conditions are more or less the same, the resultants will bear a strong family likeness. It would be an interesting task to analyse the antecedent political phenomena of 1833 and 1906 respectively, but it would be irrelevant to our immediate object. Suffice it to say that what we have ventured to describe as the principle of tesselation characterised the majority ostensibly supporting Lord Grey, though it was hardly reflected in the composition of the Cabinet, which

was almost exclusively Whig. Dr Franck Bright, in his 'History of England,' thus sums up the position as it presented itself when the first reformed Parliament, with an overwhelming Whig-Radical majority, met on January 29, 1833:

'The twofold connexions and interests of the Government could not but, sooner or later, prove a cause of weakness. Their aristocratic tendencies, which remained unabated, prevented them from throwing themselves heartily into the wishes of their more popular supporters, and laid them open to the constant suspicion of an inclination towards Toryism. Their dependence upon the popular party compelled them to take in hand many difficult questions for the solution of which the nation was clamouring. They had therefore to be constantly steering a middle course, and assuming an appearance of weakness, which rapidly undermined their popularity, while the two tendencies which they represented, affecting the individual members of the Cabinet in different degrees, speedily led to a division among themselves.'

The Ministry of January 1833, backed by the 'greatest majority' in English history, was reconstructed in June 1834; and a month later it resigned, as the Prime Minister would say, *in globo*. From the passage quoted above it is easy to discern the main difference between Lord Grey's Administration and that of Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman. The Ministry of 1833 did not represent the majority in the House of Commons as a microcosm does its macrocosm. The majority was democratic in the social sense of the word; the Ministry was more essentially aristocratic than many of the Tory Governments which had preceded it. By no conceivable stretch of imagination could Lord Grey and his colleagues be described as 'the electorate writ small.' On the other hand, the present Administration may be regarded as more representative of the majority upon which it depends than any other since the Civil War. It contains, indeed, a sprinkling of peers and of statesmen of noble birth, but no one would dream of calling it aristocratic. Every bit of white stone and every bit of black stone are hewn from quarries existing within the precincts of the House itself. Every formation and every stratum have contributed their shares to the mosaic; and the paradoxical thing is that the pavement coheres simply because of the lack of cement.

Were the component parts of the Ministry welded into one compact whole, the Cabinet would break up as rapidly as did Lord Grey's.

The result has been that the legislation presented to Parliament has been as 'tesselated' as the Government itself; and this is true not only of its legislative measures as a whole, but of nearly every separate Bill. There are an unprecedented number of Nonconformists in the House of Commons; they are represented proportionately in the Cabinet. Not a few socialists were elected; they are not without their witnesses in the inner circle of the Government. A handful of republicans may be seen on the Speaker's right; and in the Cabinet is at least one who declared, in his election address, that he was opposed to hereditary officials of all kinds. It was impossible to secure the services of the Irish Nationalists; but there are several declared Home-Rulers in the Cabinet, and the religious views of most Irishmen were represented, if but feebly advocated, by Lord Ripon.

Now, of course, on a smaller scale, this representative principle has been applied before; but it is utilised by the present Administration in quite a novel fashion. Hitherto the drafting of a Bill to be presented to Parliament began with the collection of ideas and suggestions on the part of a sub-committee of the Cabinet, presided over by the Minister to whom would be entrusted the task of piloting the measure through the House of Commons. Then the draft, in a rough state, was submitted to the whole Cabinet for discussion and criticism. The different ingredients, so to speak, were well mixed and stirred, and the pudding came out a fairly representative amalgam of the culinary skill of the combined cooks. The new method is different. Each member, or group of members, seems to have contributed his share, and to have insisted upon its retention in its original state, and, instead of the amalgamated pudding, we come back to the tesselated pavement. There is no cohesion or symmetry or fusion in the product. The fact that it is of joint composition renders it very difficult to accept any really serious amendments, because to do so is to destroy the whole handiwork of one member or group of members in the Cabinet. There is the case of the Trades Disputes Bill, morally and politically one of the least defensible

proposals ever submitted to and sanctioned by Parliament. This measure, as it came before the House of Commons, bore the most obvious signs of the method of its concoction. One part had been put in by the Labour representatives; the other part had been inserted to soothe the consciences of the legal element. In this particular instance, it is true, the mosaic was mutilated because of the strike of the Labour and Irish members working in concert, and because of the flabby timidity of the lawyers in the Cabinet, coupled with even greater cowardice on the part of the Radical employers, who are found in great numbers in the House.

The Plural Voting Bill may be dismissed as summarily as it was by the House of Lords. Apart from its impracticable machinery and its penal clauses, its introduction was inopportune in the first session of Parliament, especially when Ministers were fully aware that the session would be hopelessly congested. Not, however, content with legislation of a kind which, according to all precedent, is deferred till Parliament is nearing the term of its allotted life, the Cabinet must needs go forth into the byways and slums to pick up other people's bantlings and rear them, to the detriment of their legitimate children. The Agricultural Holdings Act and the Town Tenants (Ireland) Act belong to this class. The former does really nothing for the tenant farmer that he cannot already secure for himself from landlords, good and bad, though its tendency may be to endanger the generally friendly relations which have hitherto existed between English landlords and tenants; while the latter is a peculiarly wanton measure of confiscation which the Government would never dare apply to Great Britain, though, so far as town property is concerned, there is no distinction in practice between England and Ireland.

Naturally, on the 'tesselated' principle, the Education Bill, on which so much time was fruitlessly lavished in spite of the rigorous invocation of gag and guillotine, was in more senses than one the *pièce de resistance* of the session. Of all the quarries from which the ministerial majority was hewn, the Nonconformist mountain was the largest; consequently the most conspicuous single piece in the tesselated pavement was also Nonconformist. So an Education Bill acceptable to dissenters was brought

in. With the frankness of official juvenility, Mr Birrell —to whose eloquence, wit, and almost invariable good temper a tribute is due—revealed in a phrase the hidden mainspring of the measure which died unlamented on December 20. 'Minorities,' he said, 'must suffer; it is the badge of all their tribe.' He repented of the phrase, not because it did not truly represent the spirit of the Bill, but because it did. In using it, Mr Birrell could not have meant that those who were opposed to denominational teaching in our elementary schools were a majority of the parents of this country, for that he could not prove, nor is it a fact. He was manifestly referring to the views of the minority of members of the House of Commons, which is quite another thing.

The vindictiveness against one single denomination, and that denomination the historic National Church, which was stamped on every clause, caused the measure to be hailed with pæans of triumph by the militant dissenters. There were some grumbles and growls, it is true, but they came from those who, like the small boy in 'Punch,' sympathised with the lion 'who had no Christian,' or with others that had not Christians enough. Untiring efforts were made to square the Roman Catholics and the Jews—efforts which, to the honour of both denominations, were unsuccessful; but the Church of England was told without ceremony that what was good enough for the Nonconformist conscience was good enough for theirs, if indeed such a thing as a conscience could really be recognised in Anglicans. It seems to be constantly forgotten, or rather deliberately ignored, that all the 'concessions,' properly so called, have come—as they were bound to come—from the Church side. So far as the Bill, whether in its original or its amended form, fell short of Nonconformist expectations, it was regarded as embodying Nonconformist 'concessions'; but these concessions were only partial limitations of a measure which, in all its positive enactments, was to the Nonconformists pure gain. Not a single material concession was made to the Church during the progress of the measure; and, in both Houses, a stubborn and unreasoned resistance was offered to every amendment moved to secure that the Establishment should be treated as well as other denominations. It is superfluous to recapitulate

the story of the collapse, or to defend the Opposition from the charge of wrecking the Bill, since we know from Lord Crewe's own lips that there was never any intention of modifying its principles; and chiefest of all these principles was the punishment of the Church of England.

The Prime Minister, Mr Birrell, and the Lord Privy Seal all declared, within the few last days of the session, that the objects of the Bill were to secure what they called a national system of education, to the exclusion of denominational teaching in the elementary schools. They admitted that the exceptions grudgingly made to this rule were due to a desire to conciliate Roman Catholics and Jews, with whose support it would have been inconvenient to dispense. In the funeral oration pronounced by the Prime Minister on December 20, it was implied that churchmen ought to be content with the diluted system of Christian teaching which satisfied 'the Protestant free churches of this country.' If that was the real design of the Bill, and if its main principle was the gradual exclusion of denominational teaching from schools in which it had hitherto been given, then it was a mockery to talk about compromise and friendly settlement. Again, if such was the intention of the authors of the Bill, we flatly deny that these intentions were submitted to the country at the last election; and certainly the country has never expressed approval of them. Two passages from pre-election speeches by the Prime Minister and Mr Birrell respectively have been recently quoted. The former, speaking at Norwich on October 26, 1904, said:

'We want the child to be brought up in the faith of his father, at least until he comes to such an age as to be justified to be judge of a faith for himself. I am sure that the Liberal party throughout the country has but one object, which is to secure perfect freedom of conscience and equal treatment and complete public control over the system.'

Mr Birrell, on the very eve of the general election, declared that,

'not only was he anxious that there should be Christian education in all schools, but he was also anxious that facilities should be given whereby all religious denominations would

have an opportunity of instructing children in what they believed to be the true religion. His anxiety was great upon the subject. It was a difficult thing to be able to do, but at any rate his efforts were all in the direction of throwing open all schools in this country, not only for simple elementary Bible instruction, but also that facilities should be given to enable parents to have their own children instructed in their own particular doctrine.'

The latter speech is more important than the former, because it was delivered by Mr Birrell after he had been actually appointed Minister of Education, and at the moment when he must have been revolving in his mind the lines upon which the new Bill was to proceed. There is hardly a churchman who would refuse to accept a measure which conformed rigidly to the principle laid down in these two extracts. The Bill as it was presented to Parliament, and even as it left the Lords in its amended state, fell far short of these liberal propositions.

The Bill is dead; and we are promised a renewal of the agitation against the House of Lords. It is practically certain to prove as abortive as similar attacks have been in the past. The latest of these arose out of the deadlock between the two Chambers over the Reform Bill of 1884–5. That campaign ended with the surrender of Mr Gladstone and his colleagues, for the House of Lords gained in substance the one principle for which they had striven, namely, that the extension of the franchise and the redistribution of seats should go hand in hand. The main moral, however, of the last agitation was that, though it was conducted with unparalleled energy, and was prolonged over many months, the elections of 1885 proved that the old urban electors had been quite unmoved by the demonstration. For the first time since the Reform Act, the cities and boroughs of England returned in that year a majority of Conservatives to the House of Commons. The Radicals will no doubt do their worst to stir up animosity against the Second Chamber, but they suffer under the grave disadvantage of having no inspiriting cry. It is a deplorable fact that the overwhelming majority of the people of this country is indifferent to the cause of education; and, though not a few may be displeased with the action of the Lords, on the ground that they have prevented the

withdrawal from public controversy of a wearisome subject, by far the larger portion care too little about the cause of the conflict to allow themselves to be flogged into an artificial indignation.

The recent general election turned upon a variety of subjects; and among these the Nonconformist grievance, though perhaps the most bitterly felt, was only one. No one can pretend, with any show of justice, that a vast majority of electors voted for a revolutionary measure such as the Education Bill, in the hands of the Nonconformists, became. No one, therefore, can justly blame the Upper House for referring the settlement of the question, enormously enlarged as it was, back to the country. No doubt it is extremely irksome to waste so much time as has been wasted this session, and still worse to contemplate the prospect of a fresh conflict on the same ground; but even this is better than accepting a Bill which would merely have substituted another grievance, and one far juster and greater, for that which it was intended to abolish. The main grievance, such as it is, might have been removed, and may still be removed, by a very short measure, which, in the present state of public opinion, would meet with little or no resistance. If the Government have its removal at heart, let them reverse the decision of the House of Lords on the West Riding case; let them secure that Nonconformist children in single-school areas shall, either by the right of entry for a Nonconformist minister or by the appointment of a Nonconformist teacher, receive the religious teaching which their parents desire—such teaching to be paid for by the said parents; and let churchmen make up their minds to pay for their own religious teaching. If nothing is attempted in the next session to relieve the Nonconformists of the payment of rates for teaching which they disapprove, we shall know that the grievance is being kept alive for other purposes.

As for other causes of offence, the Lords have avoided a quarrel with Labour by accepting the Trades Disputes Bill, of which indeed the less said the better; for their only excuse—which hardly amounts to a justification—for passing so ill-omened a measure was that, if even Conservative members were so far pledged that hardly thirty votes could have been raked together against the

Bill in the Lower House, it was not practical politics for the Lords to resist. They have also accepted, with a few reasonable amendments, such contentious measures as the Town Tenants (Ireland) Bill, the Agricultural Holdings Bill, and the Workmen's Compensation Bill. It is difficult to conceive that a cry of any threatening volume against the House of Lords can be got up on the strength of the Education Bill and the Plurality Voting Bill alone.

No doubt a further attempt will be made to 'fill up the cup'; and, if the Irish measure which has hitherto appeared imminent should turn out to be at all like what has been foreshadowed, this will certainly add another drop. Mr Bryce's promotion to the high and responsible duties of ambassador at Washington would, naturally, make it very difficult for a successor, hardly in his saddle, to produce a measure of real importance in the coming session. But there is no saying what this Government will not do in order to stop the mouths of so hungry and so powerful a section of their followers as that led by Mr Redmond; and several Ministers have made no secret of their ultimate aims. It is true that, so far as promises go, the Government is debarred by its own utterances from proceeding to extremes; for, if there was anything clear about the declarations of Ministers on the eve of the polls, it was that, whatever might be said about a 'larger policy,' or about 'ruling Ireland according to its own ideas,' this was not to be a Home Rule election. In 1906 Home Rule was not, as in 1886 or 1895, a question before the constituencies at all. Still, it would be folly, in circumstances like the present, to rely on any such preliminary negatives. It is only too probable that the Union may be gravely threatened; and in that case the House of Lords must stand firm, as it did fourteen years ago. An Upper House which should fail to reject, without the clearest utterance of a large majority of the nation, a measure practically amounting, or obviously tending, to Home Rule, under whatever disguise, would be guilty of a disastrous dereliction of duty. It is not by the rejection of such a measure under present conditions, nor by such action as has been taken during the last session, that the House of Lords will bring down upon itself any storm of popular resentment which need inspire alarm.

Art. XIV.—THE ECCLESIASTICAL CRISIS IN FRANCE.

THE attitude of the organs of opinion of both our political parties towards the Roman Catholic Church in England and in France respectively is not very reasonable. In our educational controversy, the Roman Catholic Church has been the object of the favours of both parties. Our anti-clericals have treated the Roman creed with an indulgence which they have denied to the National Church, by reason of the value to their party of the support of the Irish Catholic members. The Opposition has lavished its caresses on the Romanists as being the extreme exponents of the denominational principle in education. But, when both parties have turned their eyes across the Channel, as though to make up for their forced friendliness with Rome in domestic politics, they have refused all sympathy for the Roman Catholic Church in its conflict with the Government of France. Our publicists who support a clerical policy at home, as well as their opponents, seem to reason that, since the *entente cordiale* took its rise under the anti-clerical premiership of M. Combes, all the subsequent ecclesiastical legislation of the French Radicals is admirable, that the Separation Law of 1905 is a model of statesmanship, and that M. Briand is a heaven-sent lawgiver. Such an attitude is no doubt patriotic; for the Anglophobia which remains in France is chiefly cultivated by the clericals, and no understanding with England would have been possible had they been in power. Yet this method of appraising French politics by the light of our own international interests is unscientific, and does not help to throw light on the difficulties of the situation in France.

How difficult that situation is, may be judged from a recent speech by the able and experienced politician who is now Prime Minister of France. In the Chamber of Deputies, on December 21, replying to the taunts of M. Camille Pelletan, his former chief lieutenant on the 'Justice,' who, representing the extreme anti-clericals, has of late bitterly criticised the so-called concessions of the Government to Rome, M. Clemenceau made use of the following words: 'We are, M. Pelletan, grappling with difficulties such as no Government has encountered

since 1870.' M. Clemenceau is not an orator given to epigram or paradox for the sake of effect. He is a master of incisive, terse eloquence, which precisely expresses his thought; and, when he compares the present difficulties with those of 1870 he knows what he is talking about. Alone of his Ministry he took part in the revolution of September, which made him during the siege of Paris mayor of Montmartre, where the insurrection of the Commune broke out in the following March. So, when M. Clemenceau compares the situation with that of 1870, we may be sure that all is not for the best in the best of Republics.

The same afternoon, in another place, another Republican statesman was throwing some light on the situation from a different standpoint. At the Institute of France M. Ribot delivered the customary discourse which new members of the French Academy have to make on taking their seats. M. Ribot is a former Prime Minister of the Republic, who, in his day, was looked upon as an anti-clerical by the Catholics; and he would not disavow that epithet even now. But he is one of the almost extinct school of Liberals, and is, moreover, what we should call an Erastian, convinced of the advantage to the State of a Concordat with the Papacy. He was, on these lines, the most formidable critic of the Separation Bill in the Chamber, where, with few exceptions, the 140 Catholic and Monarchical deputies displayed themselves as feeble or mute defenders of the Church.

M. Ribot had an audience worthy of his talent. Under the dome of the Palais Mazarin mutually hostile politicians of the Palais Bourbon sat in friendly proximity—M. Maurice Barrès, at the Chamber a nationalist deputy but here an Academician-elect, side by side with the Socialist leader, M. Jaurès, and M. Denys Cochin, the host of the aged Cardinal-Archbishop of Paris, recently expelled from his palace. M. Ribot was able to place appropriately some allusions to the present situation in his appreciation of his predecessor, Duc Pasquier, who had inherited his *bourgeois* dukedom from his kinsman the Chancellor Pasquier, an opportunist of the age of Talleyrand, and, like him, successively the servant of the Empire and two Monarchies. The deceased Academician was thus brought up in the Concordatory school of Galli-

canism. So M. Ribot was able to appeal to this veteran of the Monarchical Catholic party for an admonition to the Ultramontanes.

'It shocked the Duke' (he said) 'that the Church of France should look to Rome for its inspiration and for its word of command, not in questions of doctrine, but in questions of discipline and in the administration of its affairs.'

These are also the sentiments of M. Ribot, who, having thus made clear his own attitude towards the Papacy, went on to say that the separation of Church and State had been effected 'in circumstances galling to the Holy See and consequently not less dangerous for the State than for the Catholic Church.' Among M. Ribot's audience was also M. Viviani, who, as the head of the newly-founded department of Labour, had, in his first official speech at the Chamber, thought fit to utter a rhetorical pæan to celebrate the passing-away of old beliefs. For 'the vanity and pitiful metaphysic' of free-thinking politicians of his school M. Ribot had a word, asking them if they imagined that,

'in the name of scientific progress, they were going to destroy all faith in the supernatural; and that the whole human race, weary of believing and hoping, would cease its searching, beyond the visible world, for the secret of its destiny and the solace of its sufferings.'

These *obiter dicta* of the leader of the Republican Opposition, uttered by chance almost at the same hour as the anxious words of the Prime Minister of the Republic, show forth some of the reasons why M. Clemenceau should have compared the difficulty of the present situation with that of the year of national disaster. The quasi-official boast of the Minister of Labour, in spite of its rhetorical form, expressed a plain truth—that the Radical-Socialists wish not merely to check the pretensions of clericalism and to assert the superiority of the temporal over the spiritual power, but to stamp out the influence of revealed religion within the nation. This has been the widespread teaching of the most active party in France ever since it became a powerful political organisation. So, whatever provocation the Republic had received from the clericals, it is certain that the retaliatory

legislation enacted since the century began would not have been carried in its actual form but for the zealous activity of the enemies of all religion. They may be only a small minority in the nation; but, since their doctrine has obtained official protection, they have naturally increased in numbers, and have exercised increasing influence on each successive Ministry.

These intolerant free-thinkers—'libres penseurs qui ne sont pas des penseurs libres'—partly owing to the relative indifference of the Moderates, have become the masters of the situation. They are obviously the last people in the world capable of dealing with the not less intolerant pretensions of the Papacy. No wonder that a Prime Minister who is not intolerant, but a sceptic of Liberal tendencies, should find the situation embarrassing. If the French clergy were of the same school of Catholicism as the late Duc d'Audiffret-Pasquier, and other eminent Catholics of the French Academy, such as M. Brunetière, who died amid the conflict, or as M. d'Haussonville and M. de Vogüé, who remain, the difficulty would be less acute. But, in that case, the crisis would never have taken place, and the Concordat would probably still subsist. As it is, the praise of Gallicanism is an entirely academical exercise. The episcopate and the clergy are an Ultramontane body, whose ruling principle is implicit obedience to the Pope, however much it conflicts with their private judgment as to right or opportuneness, or with their consciousness of what his predecessor, Leo XIII, would have done in the unlikely case of the rupture of the Concordat during his pontificate.

This brings us to M. Ribot's third observation, that separation had been effected in a manner galling to the Holy See, with consequences as dangerous for the State as for the Catholic Church. If separation were inevitable (though this has not been proved), it is difficult to see how it could have been accomplished in circumstances not galling to a Pope even as intelligent and as diplomatic as Leo XIII, unless those circumstances had included an agreement with him for the rupture of the Concordat. But every politician in France knew what type of pontiff is Pius X. They were aware that his piety is that of a mystical peasant having a profound faith in the miraculous interposition of Providence; and that his ignorance

of France is as complete as his ignorance of the French language. M. Briand, the chief author of the Separation Law, who did not enter Parliament until twenty-one years after M. Clemenceau's legislative career began, no doubt grew in Liberalism as he grew in knowledge. His famous 'report' on the separation of Church and State, on which the Bill of 1905 was founded, is, to any one familiar with the subject, the work of a beginner. His view of it, as he proceeded, grew in statesmanlike breadth; and, if separation had to take place, it cannot be said that the Bill, when it had passed through Parliament, was an ungenerous or an illiberal measure, taking into consideration the peculiar conception which Frenchmen of all schools have of liberty and of the relations which a paternal State ought to maintain with every organisation within its borders.

Both during the debates on the Bill, and afterwards by circulars modifying its operation, M. Briand made such concessions as to earn for him the bitter reproaches of his former comrades of the Socialist party. But, had he gone even farther in the direction of M. Ribot's criticisms in Parliament, there would never have been any hope of Pius X accepting the law. With such a Pope on the apostolic throne, deadlock was inevitable. Nor is it right to blame the bishops and the clergy for their subservience to the papal orders, lamentable as are the consequences, especially to themselves. The first rule of the Roman Catholic religion, as it is taught in English and Irish rate-supported schools, as well as in French diocesan seminaries, is that of implicit obedience to the Holy See. The alternative to that obedience is schism; and, if either of the great Gallican prelates were to come back from the dead, if it were Dupanloup or even Bossuet himself, he could not lead to revolt an episcopate and a clergy steeped in the Ultramontane tradition which has prevailed in France for two generations.

The situation thus, at the beginning of the new year, is most perplexing, and justifies M. Clemenceau's strong description of it. It must be borne in mind that the parochial clergy of France have never shared the unpopularity of the religious Orders. Moreover, they are all sprung from the people, or from that slightly superior class to which the great majority of Republican senators

and deputies belong. There are few of the Concordatory bishops who do not owe their appointment to their acquaintance or kinship with a minister or a member of Parliament; even some of those chosen by the Holy See since the rupture owe to republican protection their promotion to the higher ranks of the clergy which qualified them for the mitre. No parish priest of France who has borne the official title of *curé* has been invested with his modest cure without the approbation of the Government of the Republic. Neither they nor the more numerous *desservants* and *vicaires*, who make up the parochial clergy, have any connexion with the reactionary families either of the so-called aristocracy or of the *haute bourgeoisie*. It is true that the bishops and clergy have not been zealous in defence of the Republic, and that, when they have taken part in politics, it has usually been on the other side. But, all the same, the spectacle of aged bishops and humble priests deprived of their homes is one not calculated to make even a Radical politician joyful—especially when, as is often the case, he has a wife or daughters who are not precisely militant anti-clericals.

Yet, while the distress of the clergy is producing a situation which is painful to the more statesmanlike of the parliamentary leaders of the anti-clerical party—veterans like M. Clemenceau, or comparative novices like M. Briand—it must be avowed that the nation as a whole looks on unmoved. Neither the passing of the Separation Act nor the failure of the Act as a workable law has created anything which by any exaggeration of language can be called a religious war. While Ministers are perplexed, the country remains indifferent; and it is a pity that the Pope has not had at his side a counsellor acquainted with the evolution of the French national character. It may perhaps be interesting to set down some of the causes of the popular indifference, especially those which have come into play during the year succeeding the passing of the Separation Law. The list is not exhaustive, nor are the causes enumerated of equal importance; but all of them have contributed in varying degrees to the apathy of the nation.

To begin with, the French soon get tired of any agitating subject after its novelty has worn off. The

rehabilitation of Captain Dreyfus was as much owing to the weariness of the nation as to a national desire to perform an act of justice. The ecclesiastical crisis is an epilogue of the Dreyfus affair—an epilogue a hundred-fold more important than the drama; and it has lasted too long for the average Frenchman, who is, moreover, much more affected by material considerations than by the theoretical and doctrinal questions which exercised his forefathers. The 'Figaro' is a clerical journal in the eyes of the Radical-Socialists. Yet, on the morning after Christmas, that organ of the wealthy reactionaries did not devote its first critical comments on Parisian events to the omission of the midnight mass, but to the failure of the telephonic service. In the same way, fashionable newspapers of a more pronounced clericalism, in the earlier days of December, when the Separation Law came into operation, devoted less space to the tribulations of Cardinal Richard and the dissolution of the historical seminary of St Sulpice, than to the annual exhibition of automobiles. The crowded Grand Palais in the Champs Élysées was a greater attraction for the rich Catholics of Paris than the deserted Palais de l'Archevêque in the Faubourg St Germain.

The Gallicanism of the intellectual Catholic laity, already referred to, which has been quickened by recent events, has in cruder forms obtained a wide expansion in the nation. Pius X is regarded by an increasing number of Frenchmen as a foreign potentate who wishes to interfere with the domestic affairs of France. This commonplace of anti-clericalism under other Popes has taken a more damaging and definite form when applied to Pius X. He is accused of being the agent of the Triple Alliance, the instrument of the Emperor William, whose aim is to humiliate France in the interest of the Germans. It is vain to argue that an old Venetian is not likely to have much love for Austria, or to point to the friction between William II and the Catholic party in Germany. The Austrian veto of the election of the Francophil Cardinal Rampolla, at the last conclave, is believed to have been a deliberate political move on the part of the *Triplice*. The Pope's protest against the visit of M. Loubet to the King of Italy is looked upon as an act of the grateful Italian agent of Austria

and Germany, indignant at the friendly relations of the Italian Government with the French Republic. The difficulties of the disestablished bishops have not been lessened by the attribution to the Pope of words, probably legendary, to the effect that the bishops of France have regarded the crisis from a too French point of view. However innocent the Pope may have been of hostile designs on France, he will remain in French popular imagination as the Gallophobe Pope of the Triple Alliance.

Hence it is that the houseless and impoverished condition of the bishops and clergy moves the public slightly, as they are believed to have aggravated their misfortunes by their blind obedience to an enemy of France. This feeling has been rendered more acute by skilful anti-clerical writers, who have drawn pictures of Pius X luxuriating amid the artistic treasures of the Vatican, as though the simple-minded Patriarch of Venice had become a voluptuous pontiff of the Renaissance, while the French bishops and clergy, by his caprice, are enduring the direst straits of poverty. Unjust as this is, it has its effect; and there is no doubt that Pius X has played the game of the French anti-clericals as successfully as Leo XIII checkmated them. As M. Aulard, one of the ablest of them, has recently written: 'Béni soit ce bon pape, qui fait si bien les affaires de la libre pensée.'

The financial question is another factor in the indifference of the people. The 'voluntary system' has never flourished in France. The French have been accustomed to pay the Church for services rendered—baptisms, marriages, interments, votive masses—and in many regions have supplemented such payments by gifts in kind to the priest. But the idea of paying an annual voluntary tax for his support and for Church expenses is so foreign to the domestic and social economic system of a thrifty people as to restrain the interest they might otherwise feel for their clergy, impoverished by the suppression of the Budget of Public Worship. The material prospect for the clergy is very dark amid a provident population unused to giving, as do the members of all creeds in the United Kingdom; especially as the Government puts severe restrictions on the right of the Church to receive gifts or legacies and to accumulate funds.

Sympathy for the Church has also been chilled by a number of recent scandals among the clericals. Publicity has recently been given to facts which led to the death of a Nationalist deputy, showing that an active organiser of the forces of clericalism in Parliament was a prodigy of immorality. The only young member of the reactionary party who has shown talent in the Chamber has been the hero of a conspicuous divorce case. The French do not (as we do) permit their journals to be disfigured with the reports of such trials; but the collateral financial issues of this case were so remarkable as to give it unusual notoriety, which was not of advantage to the cause of 'the throne and the altar.' The parochial clergy, as a rule, are examples of morality; but, by ill-luck, several exceptional cases have seemed to prove the contrary during the past critical year. The disappearance of a *curé* of the diocese of Chartres last summer was so mysterious that it filled the newspapers, clerical as well as anti-clerical, for many weeks. On the very day on which the Bishop had sent his Vicar-general to preside at a solemn requiem for the missing priest in his parish church, it was discovered that he had eloped to Brussels with a religious novice. Another priest, whose immorality had led to crime, was sentenced to three years' imprisonment at the assizes at Montpellier. As his offence was committed in the region of the most influential anti-clerical journal in France, the 'Dépêche de Toulouse,' it was commented upon in a manner not calculated to aid the Church in its hour of trial. Scandals in the Republican camp have taken place in the same period; but, as the anti-clericals make no pretension to moral perfection, the effect on the public has not been the same.

An incident in a very different category has caused discouragement to the Liberal party within the Church. A small company of high-minded priests, loyal to the Republic, but discountenanced by their own bishops, found support in the bold attitude of certain American prelates towards the Vatican. One of them, Archbishop Ireland, exercised peculiar influence over certain young French ecclesiastics, as at their age he had been almost one of them, having been educated at the seminary of the diocese of Belley. To a fascinating personality and a persuasive eloquence he added a seemingly lofty dis-

dain for the ornamental trappings of the Church—a feature which increased his influence over those who fell under it during his visits to France. The recently-published Roosevelt-Storer correspondence, which has caused such a painful impression in the United States, has shown the democratic Archbishop vainly soliciting from the reactionary Pius X a cardinal's hat, which the Liberal Leo XIII had not thought fit to bestow upon him, and lending himself to an unworthy intrigue essayed by unworthy hands. The story, in its French versions, reads like a sequel to M. Anatole France's bitter anti-clerical satire 'L'Anneau d'Améthyste'; and that Mgr Ireland should be the hero of it is the death-blow of 'Americanism' in the Church in France. With Americanism thus discredited, the Liberal propaganda within the Church seems to be nothing more than a literary movement, which is not likely to become popular or to stir the nation out of its indifference.

We have deliberately said nothing about the new law, of six short clauses, which has been hurried through Parliament in the last days of 1906, to supplement the Separation Law of 1905, which the injunctions of the Pope have made unworkable in its provisions regarding the organisation of public worship. It is useless to discuss the effect of the new law when, possibly before these lines appear, new orders may come from Rome which will render it inoperative; especially as M. Briand, in his eloquent speech before the Senate, indicated that he had little hope as to its finality. We have thought it better to set forth some of the conditions which are ignored by English writers, and which have impelled the French Prime Minister to compare the difficulties of the present situation with those of the year of the Franco-German War. In so doing we have not spared our criticisms of the French Catholics; but, whatever their faults, we feel that they deserve pity rather than blame from the people of England, in whose country the Roman Catholic Church is favoured and protected by all parties in the State.

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THE

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2. *The Labour Movement in Australasia; a Study in Social Democracy.* London: Constable, 1907.
3. *Democracy versus Socialism.* By Max Hirsch. Melbourne, 1906.
4. *The Melbourne 'Age,' and other newspapers.*

SOCIALISM entered Australian politics with the appearance of the Australian Labour party. The formation of parties representing the manual workers as a class was a consequence of the disastrous strike which convulsed all Australia during the year 1890. The unions, which had entered light-heartedly on this tremendous struggle, were left by it in a shattered condition. Their financial resources were exhausted; and their members, who had sacrificed between 1,500,000*l.* and 2,000,000*l.* in wages, and thousands of whom found themselves penniless and displaced by non-union men, left them in large numbers. Trade-unionism had to be built up again by long-continued and painstaking effort. The lesson, however, which the unions and their leaders drew from this defeat—the impossibility of a successful industrial war with employers when the latter were really determined to resist—has deeply influenced the political history of Australia, for it led to the determination to concentrate the forces of Labour on the political field, and to make of the unions a political machine for the creation and maintenance of separate political Labour parties, in the hope that, by so doing, Labour might achieve by legislation what it had failed to enforce by industrial warfare.

The conditions for the organisation of a Labour party

were and are more favourable in Australia than in the mother-country or in the United States. Parties of historical origin, having fixed political traditions, have not yet had time to develope. Party distinctions exist, but they are mainly based on economic differences. In the earlier days the land question had been the most important factor in determining political groupings. On the one side stood the pastoralists, holding land under long leases from the Crown, and their adherents; on the other stood all those who desired the land to be made accessible to cultivators. When this question was decided, the fiscal question became the solvent separating men into different camps. But, strange to say, the working classes have not been united on this issue. In Victoria, it is true, practically all of them are, and for many years have been, Protectionists; but in New South Wales the great majority of the workers are Free-traders. In the other States they are more or less divided on this question. Moreover, Free-trade has not become identified with Liberalism or Protection with Conservatism. In Victoria the majority of men of advanced political thought are Protectionists, whereas the majority of the Conservative or reactionary classes are Free-traders. In New South Wales it is just the other way. Moreover, in no State was there any political party to which the working classes were so bound by ties of sentiment or tradition that their detachment from it would offer any serious difficulty. Nor was or is there any party organisation capable of offering strong resistance. Consequently, the principal obstacles which have so far prevented the aggregation of the manual-labour classes into a separate and independent party in the United Kingdom and the United States have, so far, had no existence in Australia. Even the fiscal question forms no difficulty in Victoria, where nearly all wage-earners are Protectionists. In the other States, where this issue might have divided the wage-earners, the difficulty was avoided by the party leaving it an open question, on which its members might differ, as long as they conformed to the Labour platform.

Another favourable condition arises from the recent settlement of cultivators upon much of the land of Australia. These settlers were mostly successful miners, shearers, sailors, and other manual labourers, who, in

becoming farmers, have not changed the class feeling which they imbibed as wage-workers. Where the original settlers still hold the land, as is the case over large areas in Queensland, New South Wales, and Western Australia, they generally vote for the Labour party. Thus the leader of the Federal Labour party represented, and several of its members still represent, constituencies which are mainly composed of land-owning farmers.

As a result of these favourable conditions, as well as of the energy and organising capacity of the leaders, the establishment of a Labour party, based on trade-unionism, was immediately and permanently successful. At the next general election (1892) five Labour members were returned in Victoria, the total numbers of the Legislative Assembly being 95; three other members, moreover, though not returned as Labour members, habitually voted with them. Since then the strength of the Labour party has steadily increased. It now consists of eighteen members, in an assembly the total membership of which has been reduced to sixty-eight owing to an amendment of the electoral law. There being three parties, the Opposition consists of these Labour members and eleven others, and is officially led by the leader of the Labour party, Mr M. G. Prendergast.

In New South Wales the new party was even more successful. The general election took place in 1891; and 36 Labour members were sent to a House consisting of 141 members. This great success, however, was not maintained. In 1894 the number of Labour members was reduced to 27 in a House which, owing to a change in the electoral law, had been reduced to 125 members. In 1895, after a dissolution, the number was further reduced to 19. Since that date, however, the party has steadily added to its parliamentary strength. It now consists of 25 members in a House which, owing to a further amendment of the electoral law, has a total membership of 90. The House also contains four members who are not of the Labour party but who usually vote with it.

In Queensland the Labour party entered Parliament at the general election of 1893. Owing to a system peculiarly favourable to plural voting, it sent no more than 15 representatives to a House of 72 members. Plural voting was abolished in 1902, when the system of

'one adult one vote' was adopted. At the ensuing general election 35 Labour members were elected. A coalition government was then formed, containing two members of the Labour party.

South Australia returned three Labour members in 1891, all to the Legislative Council. In 1894, however, it also elected eleven members to the Legislative Assembly, then consisting of 54 members. These numbers were increased to twelve members of the Assembly and six of the Council by the general election of 1896. At the present time the Labour party holds twenty seats in the Assembly, reduced to 42 members, and only two in the Legislative Council. Owing to an arrangement made with the leader of the Opposition, prior to the general election of 1905, Mr Price, the leader of the Labour party, has become Premier in a coalition government composed of members of these two parties.

In the other States of the Commonwealth, Tasmania and Western Australia, the Labour party is of later origin. In Tasmania it is represented by 7 members in the Legislative Assembly (consisting of 35 members), and in Western Australia by 15 in the Legislative Assembly (consisting of 50 members), and one in the Legislative Council. This represents a decline of representation, for in the preceding Parliament the Labour party held 22 seats in the Assembly, and, with the support of four Independents, held the reins of government.

So much for the Labour party in the several State Parliaments. In the sphere of the Commonwealth it has been even more successful. The first Commonwealth Parliament was elected in 1900. The Labour party returned on that occasion 18 members of the House of Representatives and ten members of the Senate. At the ensuing general election, held in 1903, the Labour party materially increased its strength, It elected 27 members to the House of Representatives and 15 to the Senate. As the House of Representatives consisted of 76 members and the Senate of 36, the Labour party held slightly more than one-third of the seats in the former House and nearly one-half the seats in the Senate. The remaining seats were held as follows:—The Opposition, consisting of Free-traders and independent Protectionists, led by Mr G. H. Reid, numbered 33 in the House of

Representatives and 13 in the Senate. The Government party, all Protectionists, led by the Prime Minister, Mr Deakin, numbered 16 in the House of Representatives and 8 in the Senate. It will thus be seen that the party holding the smallest number of seats had grasped the reins of government, and must have been supported by one of the other parties. The Labour party rendered this support.

The last elections, which took place in December 1906, may materially alter the relations of parties to each other. The Ministerial party, having gained one seat in the House of Representatives and lost five seats in the Senate, now consists of 17 and 3 members in the House and the Senate respectively. The Opposition, including independent Protectionists, has lost one seat in the House and has gained five in the Senate. It now consists of 32 representatives and 18 senators. The divergence of its two sections on the fiscal question has, however, become more pronounced. The Labour party, while losing one seat in the House, has maintained its strength in the Senate, and consists now of 26 and 15 members respectively. The principal result of these changes is that the anti-socialist opposition in the Senate, consisting of exactly one-half the number of senators, is now strong enough to reject any concession to the Labour party which might be made in the House of Representatives—a condition which seems to militate against a successful renewal of the alliance between the Government and the Labour party. An alliance between the Ministerial party and the Opposition, even if the irreconcilable Protectionists stood out, would have a small majority in each House, thus enabling the Government to be carried on. Great difficulties, personal and political, however, stand in the way of this consummation.

The slight check to the growth of the Labour party applied through the late elections, is due to two causes One is that the anti-socialist electors had gained a clearer conception of the aims of the Labour party, and were slightly better organised than on previous occasions. The other, and more potent, is that in Queensland a split had occurred in the ranks of the Labour party itself, which deprived it of three seats each in the House and in the Senate. As far as this latter cause is concerned,

the check to the progress of the Labour party is not likely to be permanent.

The representation of the States in the new Legislature is as follows:—

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

—	Ministerial Protectionists.	Labour.	Opposition.		Totals.
			Free-traders.	Protectionists.	
New South Wales	5	11	11	—	27
Victoria . . .	8	4	2	8	22
Queensland. . .	1	4	4	—	9
South Australia .	1	3	3	—	7
West Australia .	1	3	—	1	5
Tasmania . . .	1	1	3	—	5
Total . . .	17	26	23	9	75

SENATE.

—	Ministerial Protectionists.	Labour.	Opposition.		Totals.
			Free-traders.	Protectionists.	
New South Wales	—	—	6	—	6
Victoria . . .	2	2	—	2	6
Queensland. . .	—	3	3	—	6
South Australia .	—	4	2	—	6
West Australia .	—	6	—	—	6
Tasmania . . .	1	—	3	2	6
Total . . .	3	15	14	4	36

The Labour party draws much of its strength from those States whose large and only partly developed territory is occupied by a scanty population, viz. Queensland and Western Australia. This condition is particularly noticeable in the Senate, owing to the fact that each State elects the same number of senators, regardless of differences in the number of their population. Thus five out of the six senators elected by Queensland to the late Senate were Labour members; and in the present

Senate all the West Australian senators belong to the same party. All the New South Wales senators, on the other hand, belong to the Opposition. This is owing to the large preponderance of Free-traders in that State.

In order that the political situation may be understood, attention must also be drawn to the fact that the Government party stands alone in being united on the fiscal question. They are all Protectionists. The anti-socialist opposition in the House of Representatives is composed of two Victorian Free-traders, three from South Australia, three from Tasmania, three from Queensland, and eleven from New South Wales. It also contains eight Victorian Protectionists, and one from Western Australia. The Labour party, the members of which, outside of Victoria, are elected regardless of their fiscal faith, contains, as far as now ascertainable, twelve Free-traders and fourteen Protectionists. Moreover, the Government party, all Protectionists, contains a preponderating number of men who otherwise display strong democratic tendencies with socialistic colouring. The Opposition, composed of Free-traders and independent Protectionists, is more conservative, though it embraces a considerable number of Radical Democrats, and is united upon the one issue, resistance to socialism. The Labour party, also composed of Free-traders and Protectionists, is now unanimously in favour of socialism.

The electoral successes of the Labour party are largely due to its superior organisation. While the other parties have hitherto lacked any permanent organisation, and have depended upon such temporary organisations as might be evolved *ad hoc* on the eve of general elections, the Labour party has created a permanent organisation of remarkable efficiency and discipline.

Its permanent body consists of the members of the trade-unions, all of whom are bound to vote for selected Labour candidates under penalty of expulsion from their union. The union leaders are also the political leaders of the party; and nearly all its parliamentary and municipal representatives have won their spurs as members of unions. The political organisation is, in most of the States, known as 'The Labour Political League.' It has created branches in every subdivision of such electorates as it may hope eventually to carry. These branches,

of which all trade-unionists are *ipso facto* members, look after the enrolment of electors favourable to Labour views, and nominate parliamentary and municipal candidates. Each branch sends delegates to a conference of all the branches within an electorate, which conference selects the parliamentary candidate of the party for such electorate, subject to the approval of the General State Committee. In each State there is a permanent General Committee of the party, chosen annually, which co-ordinates and supervises the activities of the branches and possesses large powers of direction. Once a year all the branches within a State send delegates to a conference at which the General Committee is elected and the platform and constitution of the party are confirmed or amended. Every third year an Inter-state Conference of Delegates is held, which deals in like manner with the platform and constitution of the Federal Labour party.

Every candidate for municipal and parliamentary positions is required to sign the following pledge:—

'I, the undersigned candidate for selection by the . . . branch of the Labour party's recognised political organisation, hereby give my pledge that, if not selected, I will not in any way oppose the candidature of the duly selected nominee, and, if selected, I will go through with the contest. If elected, I agree to advocate and support the principles contained in the . . . Labour party's platform, and on all questions affecting the platform to vote as a majority of the parliamentary party may decide at a duly constituted caucus meeting.'

In addition to voting on questions affecting the platform as a majority of the caucus may decide, Labour members are also expected so to vote on all questions which decide the fate of a Ministry. Though, for obvious reasons, this obligation does not appear in writing, it is nevertheless rigidly enforced; and a member disregarding it would have no hope of renomination by the party.

Inside and outside of Parliament the Labour party thus enforces a discipline which enables it to wield its forces with absolute efficiency. This discipline and rigid organisation, together with the divisions amongst its opponents, have enabled the Labour party to increase its representation and to exercise a power over legislation

far in excess of the proportion which the number of its adherents bears to the total number of voters. To some extent this condition must continue, for there is as yet no prospect of any similarly efficient party organisation on the other side. Efforts, however, have been made to heal the division amongst the opponents of the Labour party. Some Protectionists have joined the Free-traders in an anti-socialistic organisation and party on the basis of dropping the fiscal issue. How far such a combination can induce the electors to disregard the fiscal opinions of a candidate, and for how long such a combination can last, the future alone can show. All that can be said at present is that the recent elections have yielded no marked result in this direction.

Another cause making for the success of the Labour party has been the extension of the suffrage to women, adopted in four of the States and, since 1902, in the Commonwealth. Experience has shown that the proportion of women of the working class who use the right to vote is very much larger than that existing in the classes which might be expected to vote against the measures of the Labour party. The abstention of the latter class of women, when not necessitated by distance from the polling-booth, as is the case largely with the wives and daughters of farmers, arises from a false idea that it is unwomanly to enter a polling-booth. This idea is disappearing; and in future elections the woman's vote is likely to give less help to the Labour party.

The successes of the Labour party have been won entirely at the expense of politicians who stood nearest to them in the advocacy of democratic measures and of legal interference with industrial conditions in favour of the workers. Politicians expressing such views generally represented constituencies containing a large number of working-class voters, whose support they received. When, however, candidates appeared in the field who bore the hall-mark of the Labour Political Leagues, these voters mostly transferred their support to them. Where their number was sufficiently large, the Labour candidate was elected. Failing this, the seat fell to a candidate holding views in accord with those of the more conservative electors. The instances in which the Labour party abstained from running a candidate in a favourable

locality out of consideration for its democratic representative, even if he habitually supported Labour measures, are exceedingly few. Lately the party has even refused to ratify an arrangement made by its official leader, Mr Watson, with the Deakin Government, by which ministers and certain of their supporters were granted immunity from Labour opposition. For most of the seats in question official candidates of the Labour party were in the field. The party could not afford to act otherwise. It could not hope to gain electorates in which the majority of voters are Conservatives; its success was, and is, only possible at the expense of its neighbours; and these have been ruthlessly sacrificed.

The first indication of the direction in which the political movement of the Australian unions would travel was given immediately after the collapse of the maritime strike of 1890. A meeting took place in Brisbane towards the end of that year, composed of delegates of various trade-unions, the preponderating numbers being those of representatives of bush-workers and miners in the northern States. The Council of the Federation subsequently issued a 'political platform' adopted at the conference. As this is the first political platform published on behalf of any body authorised to speak for Australian workers, it is of sufficient importance to be here reproduced almost in full.

'The general Council of the Australian Labour Federation recommends to its various districts the consideration of such political action as is demanded by the increasing intelligence of the age, and the desire for social justice which now moves the workers of the world.

'Federated political action is a force, the potency of which, if rightly appreciated, is second only to federated social action. All forces must be availed of if it is the purpose of the workers of Australia to root out those social wrongs which deprive the workers in other lands of all the happiness of living, and already show themselves in this so-called "paradise" of the working-man.'

After setting forth the 'social wrongs' from which the working classes suffer, the manifesto proceeds:—

'This general Council is individually and collectively convinced, and believes, as the vast majority of thinking workers

are coming to believe, that social misery, poverty, vice, and enmity are the natural fruits of the industrial system as it exists to-day, denying to the workers the liberty to work and live except by permission of a class which is permitted to hold for its own advantage the means of production and distribution without which none can live. And this general Council is further convinced, and believes that by industrial reorganisation, as hereinafter proposed, every man and woman would be insured work, every old person and young person and sick person would be insured comfort, and every child born into the State would be ensured full opportunity to develop its brain and body as is possible in our civilisation, did we only cease to compete with one another.

'Therefore this general Council recommends and urges the unions and members of the Federation to authorise its executive to declare that the present industrial system, commonly called the competitive system, is destructive, pernicious, and altogether evil, and must be replaced by a social system which will not leave it in the power of one man to take advantage of the necessities or disabilities of another, and which will provide for all the workers opportunities to avail themselves of the bounties of nature, and to partake fully of the fruits of civilisation, and to receive the full benefit of their share of the common toil.'

The political aims of the Federation are defined as follows:—

'1. The nationalisation of all sources of wealth, and all means of producing and exchanging wealth.

'2. The conducting by the State authority of all production and all exchange.

'3. The pensioning by the State authority of all child, aged, and invalid citizens.

'4. The saving by the State authority of such proportion of the joint wealth-production as may be requisite for installing, maintaining, and increasing national capital.

'5. The maintenance by the State authority from the joint wealth-production of all education and sanitary institutions.

'6. The just division among all the citizens of the State of all wealth-production, less only that part retained for public and common requirements.

'7. The reorganisation of society upon the above lines to be commenced at once, and pursued uninterruptedly until social justice is fully secured to each and every citizen.'

It is recognised that it is only by political and constitutional means that these ends can be attained.

'Therefore the general Council recommends the adoption of a People's Parliament platform, and the subordination of all other measures to that all-important step. In one year a People's Parliament will give Queensland workers more justice than can be wrung from capitalistic Parliaments in a generation.

'*The People's Parliament Platform.*

'1. Universal white adult suffrage for all parliamentary and local elections; no plural voting; no nominee or property-qualification chamber.

'2. State registration of all citizens as electors.

'3. Provisions for full and complete enfranchisement of the floating population.

'4. All parliamentary elections on one day, and that day a close holiday, and all public-houses closed.

'5. Equal electoral districts on adult population basis.

'6. Annual Parliaments.

'7. Abolition of veto.

'*Conditions of Labour Candidature.*

'1. All Labour representatives to agree to occupy seats on Opposition cross-benches, no matter what party is in power.

'2. Previous to election, Labour candidates shall give a written pledge to resign on a requisition signed by a two-thirds majority of their constituents.'

The foregoing document shows that, from the start, the creation of a socialistic State was the conscious aim of many of the leaders of the Labour party. It would, however, be a mistake to assume that the authors of this document faithfully represented the opinions and aims of the majority of the workers of Australia. The majority of the delegates represented bush-workers and miners, men who in their isolation had eagerly absorbed socialistic literature and were predisposed to the acceptance of any plausible scheme for the regeneration of humanity. The great majority of the Australian workers, however, had not as yet travelled so far. Their aims were the more modest ones of obtaining, through political action, that immediate improvement of wages and working conditions which they had failed to achieve through industrial warfare. When, therefore, the Political Labour parties were

organised in the several States, the open demand for the acquisition and conduct of all industries by the State was kept out of their platforms. These first platforms are such as any democratic party, however individualistic, might, with few exceptions, have adopted. The greater number of the planks are of a political character; and nearly all the others demand legislation regarding industrial conditions, such as Eight-hour Acts, Factory Acts, Minimum Wages Acts, compulsory arbitration between employers and employed, old-age pensions, and measures of like character. All the platforms, however, contain a demand for a national bank of deposit and issue. The New South Wales platform demands the nationalisation of the land, and the others the progressive taxation of the unimproved value of the land; that of Victoria the establishment of a State department for fire and life insurance. The Queensland and South Australian platforms also demand the exclusion of coloured aliens.

The parliamentary action of the several Labour parties corresponded with the more moderate tone of these platforms. Till the establishment of the Commonwealth in 1900, their endeavours were exerted mainly in the direction of securing more democratic forms and methods of government and improved working conditions for the masses of the people. Whether the measures which the Labour party has promoted during this period always, or even generally, tend in these directions, may be open to question. But there can be no question that they were so intended. Nor can it be denied that the improvement of the present social system, and not its destruction, with a view to the creation of a new system, has been, during this period, the aim of the Labour parties in the Parliaments of the several Australian States.

Their main achievements have been the establishment of an old-age pension system in Victoria and New South Wales, of the wage-board system in Victoria, and of the Compulsory Arbitration Acts in New South Wales and Western Australia. The main object of the two last measures is to secure to all manual workers a minimum wage which will allow of the satisfaction of reasonable wants. The method employed in Victoria—the wage-board system—differs materially from those adopted in the other States. Under the former system a special

tribunal is created for every trade, consisting of an equal number of representatives of employers and employed engaged in the industry concerned, presided over by a chairman jointly elected or, in case of non-agreement, appointed by the chief secretary. While expert knowledge of each industry is thus utilised in determining the wages payable in it, the further precaution has been taken of making every decision of a Board subject to review in the Supreme Court, should any person affected thereby so desire. The Compulsory Arbitration Acts, on the other hand, create a tribunal composed of a presiding judge and of two assessors elected respectively by the employers and organised employés (trade-unionists) of the whole State, which tribunal deals with all the industries of the State. It adjudicates not only as to wages, but as to all other conditions of employment as well. Its decisions may be made binding upon the whole industry to which they relate; and an appeal to the Supreme Court only lies on questions of law.

One of the provisions of this law is especially characteristic. It provides that preference in employment shall be given to trade-unionists; and this clause has been strictly enforced. Under it employers have been fined for engaging non-unionist workers when workers belonging to the union were available, though the latter were inferior workmen. Another provision is that the employer is not at liberty to discharge workmen except for cause shown. If the cause is a reduction in output, he must discharge workmen in the order of their engagements, those engaged last having to be discharged first. It will thus be seen that the Arbitration Acts go much further than the Wage-board Acts, and contain provisions which have the effect of conferring legal privileges upon trade-unionists, thus creating a privileged class of workers. It is admitted that one of the objects of these provisions is political, viz. to drive all the manual workers into the unions, and thus to increase the hold of the Labour organisation over its voters and to enlarge the numbers of the party. This object has also been steadily kept in view by the Federal Labour party, as will presently be shown.

The tyrannical conditions created by these Acts should not be overlooked in any consideration of the influence

of the Labour party on Australian legislation. The Melbourne 'Age' (July 23, 1904) writes as follows:

'The position taken up by some of the Sydney unions under the Arbitration Act is this. "The Act allows our members a first call upon available employment, and therefore workmen must pay up and join us or be unemployed. It must rest with us, however, to dictate the terms upon which workmen shall be admitted to our unions, or whether they shall be admitted at all." This is by no means an overstatement. In connexion with the Coal-lumpers' Union, for instance, the conditions are that every candidate for membership shall be proposed and seconded by financial members two weeks before the regular meeting, and must pay an entrance fee of one guinea. How is an unemployed coal-lumper, who probably has a wife and large family, to spare a guinea? He must do so, however, or starve. Further than this, even if he find the guinea, he may be debarred from working for his living by petty personal prejudice. A ballot is required; and a very limited number of black balls is sufficient to reject the applicant. Foreigners must produce an elector's right before the ballot; and Australians or Europeans must do so within six months of their admission. Thus a coal-lumper must qualify to vote for a Trades Hall candidate, fly the country, or remain idle.'

Appearing in a newspaper which for many years has advocated similar legislation, and which also supported the Federal Compulsory Arbitration Act, this criticism cannot be regarded as coming from a hostile source.

The Compulsory Arbitration Acts of Australia have not yet been in existence long enough to develope their tendencies to the full. They are however modelled on the New Zealand Act of the same title, which has now been on the Statute-book for about ten years. It may therefore be predicted that the economic result of the Australian Acts will not materially differ from that of their prototype. Some of these results have been graphically described by Mr Edward Tregear, who, as Secretary for Labour, is charged with the administration of the New Zealand Act. Mr Tregear is a socialist and has been an ardent advocate of this type of legislation for many years. His evidence, therefore, is that of a friend and not of a captious critic. In an official Report, dated May 31, 1904, and addressed to his official superior, the Minister of

Labour (the late Mr Richard Seddon), Mr Tregear maintains that the advantages which the Act was intended to secure to the working classes are being nullified by the rise in rent and in cost of goods. The following quotations will show the trend of this Report:—

'The general effect of the Act has been to benefit the whole community by insuring to the employer stability of business and output, to the worker higher wages and shorter hours, to the general public that continuity of trade and business which was formerly too often dislocated by the mischievous waste of strike and lock-out. These results have been of high advantage to the whole colony, as the great prosperity shown by every indication of the economic barometer denotes. Such effects are, however, rapidly becoming neutralised; and soon only the empty shell of an apparent prosperity will be left us if the unbridled covetousness of a few be not regulated and checked.

'Some of the necessaries of life cost more than in former years; their price is rapidly advancing, and this out of all proportion to the rise in wages of producers. Of course the rise in wages given by the Arbitration Court to certain classes of workers is asserted by some to be the reason for the increased cost of articles and services; but this argument runs in a vicious circle, for it is the increased cost of necessaries which has caused the concession of higher wages. There has been no fair ratio between the rise in wages and the rise in prices. The fact is that there is a third hand in the game besides the employer and employé; and it is this third man —the nonproducing ground-landlord of city and suburban property—who alone will rise a winner in the end.

'Other items of necessaries, such as meat, bacon, eggs, coal, firewood, etc., have also risen in price considerably, and have helped to minimise any advance in workers' wages. It is beyond doubt that the advantages bestowed by progressive legislation are gradually being nullified, and will eventually be destroyed by certain adverse influences. Those influences must be sought out and neutralised fearlessly and effectively in the interests of all classes of workers—i.e. of the vast majority of the citizens of the colony.'

The facts underlying Mr Tregear's Report are confirmed by Mr T. Coghlan, then Government Statist of New South Wales. In 1904 Mr Coghlan reports as regards New Zealand that, while wages in the large centres have risen 8½ per cent. during the preceding fifteen years, the

price of meat has advanced 100 per cent., house rent 30 to 50 per cent., and other items from 10 to 50 per cent. Mr Tregear naturally tries to discredit the view that these increases in the cost of living are consequences of the artificial interference with wages which the Compulsory Arbitration Act was intended to produce. Less partial critics however cannot shut their eyes to this fact, especially as no such increases have taken place during this time in any of the Australian States.

The New Zealand correspondent of the Melbourne 'Age' writes on this subject as follows, May 6, 1904:—

'There is at present a movement in both the North and South islands to obtain a reduction in the price of bread. While flour in Melbourne is from 7*l.* 10*s.* to 8*l.*, it is about 10*l.* 5*s.* in Auckland. Thus, despite the fact that last season the colony had 1,500,000 bushels available for export, wheat is dearer to the extent of about 6*d.* a bushel than in Australia. Bread is 7*d.* the 4-lb. loaf in Auckland, and runs up to 11*d.* in the country districts.

'Inquiry into the causes of the high price of bread has revealed a remarkable state of affairs. There is a combine of bakers to keep up the price of bread, a combine of millers to keep up the price of flour, and a combine of farmers to keep up the prices of wheat and other products. All these combines claim that they were necessary, in the first instance, to fight the trades-unions in the Arbitration Court; and that after awards have been given, combination to maintain prices is necessary to enable employers to pay their way. Industrial legislation forces employers to form associations, for otherwise they could not have their case presented to the Arbitration Court. Prior to industrial legislation there was free and open competition. Now that all employers have to conduct their businesses very much on the same working basis, competition has been checked, and is in a fair way of disappearing from industry.

'The response made to every award of the Arbitration Court is an increase in prices. Thus every claim from a trades-union for an increase of wages is based largely on the increasing cost of living. And so it goes on—wages increasing and the employers' combines raising prices. The tramway employés in Auckland are as well off as those in Melbourne, but they are seeking increases on account largely of the increased cost of living. The question is, where it is all to end? Wages and prices cannot go on increasing for ever. There

must come a time—and it is not far off—when recourse must be had to sumptuary laws, or when the whole artificial industrial fabric will collapse.'

The Labour party, simultaneously with these activities in the several State Parliaments, has conducted an active and persistent propaganda for socialism outside Parliament. The leading spirit in the conference of the Australian Labour Federation in 1891 was Mr William Lane, who subsequently established the communistic settlement of 'New Australia' in Paraguay. An Englishman, who had imbibed socialism from a close study of Marxian literature, a journalist of great parts, and a magnetic personality, he, more than any other man, gave to the Australian Labour Movement the socialistic direction which now pervades it. In March 1891 he established in Brisbane the first Labour journal of note, 'The Worker,' which is still the most influential Labour paper in the Commonwealth. Its principal object was, and is, the advocacy of socialism. When Mr Lane withdrew from the editorial chair, it was occupied till December 1900 by Mr W. G. Higgs, who vacated it when elected to the Senate of the Commonwealth. Senator Higgs followed in Mr Lane's footsteps with equal ability. Several other Labour papers were subsequently established, notably 'The Tocsin' (Melbourne), 'The Labour Herald' (Adelaide), 'The Worker' (Sydney); all of which took their policy from the Brisbane 'Worker.' In addition to this journalistic propaganda, the platform is constantly and largely utilised for the spread of socialistic ideas. The efforts of Australian Labour leaders in this direction have been reinforced by the engagement, as lecturers, of English Labour leaders, notably Messrs Ben Tillett and Tom Mann. The latter especially has been of immense service to the Socialist party.

The result of this socialist propaganda began to show in the platforms of the Labour party at a comparatively early date. Thus the platform of the New South Wales Labour party, adopted in 1895, contains the following planks—nationalisation of any industry which becomes a private monopoly, nationalisation of the land, nationalisation of coal-mines, State ironworks, State farms, State woollen mills. The socialistic nature of these demands was emphasised in 1897, when the following additional

plank was adopted—the nationalisation of the land, and of the means of production, distribution, and exchange.

Queensland followed suit. In 1898 its Labour party embodied the following demands in its platform—national markets and storehouses, State bank, loans to settlers, State sugar-refineries, quartz-crushing mills, slaughter and chilling works, State manufacture of all railway rolling-stock, State life and fire insurance, State coastal shipping service for the carriage of mails, goods, and passengers. In 1905 the following planks were added thereto—public trust offices, State smelting works, State manufacture, importation and sale of intoxicants, State coal-mines and ironworks. In the same year the following 'objective' was adopted and placed at the head of the constitution of the party:—

'The objective of the Labour Movement is the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth by furtherance in the national, State, and municipal legislation of the following principles: (*a*) securing full results of their industry to the wealth-producers by collective ownership of means of production, distribution, and exchange, to be obtained through the extension of the industrial and economic functions of the State and local governing bodies; (*b*) the cultivation of Australian sentiment, based on the maintenance of racial purity, and the development in Australia of an enlightened and self-reliant community.'

The party platforms in the other States show a similar development. Gradually more and more demands of a socialistic character were embodied in them, till at last each of them, with the exception of that of South Australia, embodied the full demand for the socialistic organisation of industry. In the years 1904 and 1905 the demand for the nationalisation of the means of production, distribution, and exchange, was introduced either in the platform or in the constitution of the Labour party of every State of the Commonwealth, with the exception of South Australia. The Labour party in that State is no less socialistic than elsewhere; the sole reason for the omission was the fear of alienating the rural voters who preponderate in South Australia.

In the year 1900 the first Commonwealth Parliament was elected; and with it appeared the Federal Labour

party. It is composed of the most able of the Labour leaders of Australia, who elected Mr J. C. Watson, one of the representatives of New South Wales, as their leader. This choice has been very successful. Mr Watson, formerly a compositor, is a man of much intellectual and social culture, of agreeable manners and moderate in speech and temperament. Not only has he led the party in Parliament with consummate skill, but he has been largely successful, outside Parliament, in moderating the language of the party platforms, in concealing the party's real aims, and consequently in abating the mistrust with which these aims have inspired large sections of the public. Nevertheless, or rather for these very reasons, a considerable section of the party, regarding him as a mere opportunist, resists his influence and endeavours to undermine his position. That he and many of his close adherents will sooner or later be displaced by men of less moderate temperament seems to be more than probable.

The first Federal platform was adopted in a conference of the Labour party sitting in Sydney in 1902, and was confirmed in 1904, practically unaltered. The planks composing it are these—maintenance of a White Australia, compulsory arbitration, old-age pensions, nationalisation of monopolies, restriction of public borrowing, reform of Navigation Laws, Commonwealth bank of deposit and issue, Commonwealth life and fire insurance departments, uniform industrial legislation, cheap registration of Federal patents. With the exception of three items, this is a programme which, in these days, will hardly alarm any worthy citizen.

In Parliament, however, the course of the party was less innocent than this platform had led the voters to expect. Especially has this been the case during the second Commonwealth Parliament. The 'White Australia' policy was used to keep white people out of Australia if they came under contract, as well as to prevent coloured labourers from using mail steamers. In the Federal Arbitration Act it was sought to embody a provision which would absolutely exclude any non-union man from employment as long as any unionist was to be had. The further demand, also made by the Labour party, for the insertion of a clause specifically applying this Act to the employees of the State railways led to the

downfall of the first Deakin Ministry and to the advent of a Labour Government, with Mr Watson as Prime Minister. The Commonwealth Trades-mark Act was amended so as to include a union label on the American model, thus boycotting goods not made solely by union-labour, and depriving non-unionists of employment.

The opposition aroused by these legislative enactments, for which the Labour party was sponsor, was intensified by proposals of a directly socialistic character. On the motion of Labour senators, two Royal Commissions were appointed to investigate respectively the tobacco and shipping industries, both of which were said to have grown monopolistic in character. The majority of the members of both these Commissions was selected from the Labour party; and this section of both Commissions has duly reported in favour of nationalising these industries. In a thin Senate, Labour senators also managed to pass a resolution in favour of the nationalisation of the sugar-refining industry.

These various demonstrations of the determination of the Labour party to use the law in order to drive or starve all workers into the unions, and to carry out socialistic schemes in advance of its published platform, roused a considerable amount of public feeling. This found vent in the formation of anti-socialist organisations on a platform which both Free-traders and Protectionists could support, and which met with great success. To unite against the Labour party by sinking the fiscal issue was seen to be the only method to prevent the latter making use alternately of each party for its own ends.

These developments in the Federal sphere reacted upon the States. In every direction the open acknowledgment of the real intentions of the Labour party had roused the resentment of large bodies of electors; and its representatives in the Federal and State Parliaments, with few exceptions, began to fear that they would lose their seats. But a method was not easily found which would pacify the electors without exasperating the wirepullers of the Labour Political Leagues in the several States. The method adopted was to change the wording of the 'objectives' of the State platforms in such a manner that, to the initiated, they would still proclaim the real intentions of the party, while enabling the leaders to deny them in

public. The first and decisive fight for this object was made at the conference of the New South Wales Political Labour League, which took place in February 1905. As a preliminary step it was resolved to exclude the Press from the meetings of the conference, with the exception of one of the party organs, the Sydney 'Worker,' whose discretion the leaders thought could be relied upon. The following account is taken from the report of this paper.

The discussion on the nationalisation proposals was inaugurated by one of the dissentient members of the New South Wales Parliament, Mr J. H. Cann, representing the intensely socialistic mining constituency of Broken Hill. He moved 'That the Federal and State fighting platforms should have a permanent prelude, clearly defining the ultimate purpose of the party thus—a co-operative commonwealth founded upon the socialisation of the production and distribution of wealth.' This meant that the nationalisation proposals would be removed from the comparative obscurity of the party's 'constitution' to the greater publicity of its fighting platform. This proposal was opposed by every other member of the Legislature who took part in the discussion, mainly for reasons which were summed up by a supporter of the motion in these terms: 'The Labour members seem to think that the proposal they are asked to adopt will make their seats harder to gain.'

Mr J. C. Watson, the Federal leader, not only opposed the motion, but also urged the elimination of plank 17 (embodying the nationalisation proposals), 'from the standpoint of tactics.' He admitted that 'there was a necessity for some declaration which would put forward beyond doubt an idea of what the Labour Movement was.' He urged that 'it was the wisest thing to make it a *sine qua non* that those who joined the party were socialists'; and that, 'the sooner it was made clear that the movement was socialistic in its trend and intentions, the better for it'; but that 'they should eliminate plank 17, as it was outside the realm of practical politics at the present time.' An amendment was then proposed and carried, that a committee be appointed to draft an 'objective,' to be placed at the head of the fighting platform. The report of this committee, subsequently presented by Mr Watson, proposed as an 'objective':

'(*a*) The cultivation of an Australian sentiment based upon the maintenance of racial purity and the development in Australia of an enlightened and self-reliant community.

'(*b*) The securing of the full results of their industry to all producers by the collective ownership of monopolies and the extension of the industrial and economic functions of the State and municipality.'

Regarding clause (*b*) of the proposal, Mr Watson said:

'There was no doubt as to whether monopolies should be in the hands of the community as against private enterprise. They went on to say "the extension of the industrial and economic functions of the State and municipality"; and the only question remaining was whether that sufficiently indicated their attitude in regard to socialism. In his view it made their attitude reasonably clear, and it should take the place of what they had on their platform. They wished to say that while they favoured the collective principle, whilst it was taken as a beacon-light guiding the Labour Movement, they wished to proceed step by step in a manner that would secure success.'

After a prolonged and at times acrimonious debate, the motion to adopt the 'objective' drafted by the committee was carried, as also a resolution to alter clause 17, so as to read 'the nationalisation of the land.'

At the triennial conference of the Federal Labour party, held in Melbourne in July 1905, the same 'objective as passed in Sydney, and now generally referred to as 'the Watson resolution,' was adopted against considerable opposition, the Victorian and Queensland delegates having been instructed to vote for the adoption of the wording appearing in their respective platforms, i.e. the nationalisation (collective ownership) of the means of production, distribution, and exchange. This conference also adopted another resolution, viz.:

'That the Australian movement be brought into organised relationship with the international movement; and that, with that object in view, steps be taken to secure Australia's direct representation at the next International Conference.'

Since the date of this Federal conference, the party in Queensland and in Victoria have held their annual conferences, and, submitting to the inevitable, have

substituted the Watson resolution for the 'objectives previously adopted by them. Armed with this change of words, Mr Watson and other members of the party now declare that all the socialistic aims of the party are summed up in the nationalisation of monopolies, and that the party as such does not desire to nationalise non-monopolistic industries. While such a declaration is undoubtedly wise, especially on the eve of a general election, it cannot be accepted as a true or fair statement, because (1) the 'objective' carried by Mr Watson was substituted for the full and fair declaration of the party's aims on the ground that the nationalisation of monopolies was that part of the party's aims which alone was immediately attainable, and that the demand for more had lessened the party's chances of success; (2) the 'objective' itself goes beyond the mere demand for 'the collective ownership of monopolies,' inasmuch as it adds, 'and the extension of the industrial and economic functions of the State and municipality.' For, if the State and municipality are to extend their industrial functions beyond 'the collective ownership of monopolies,' they can only do so by extending collective ownership to non-monopolistic industries.

Moreover, in his statement to the Sydney conference, Mr Watson advocated the adoption of this part of the 'objective' on the ground that it 'sufficiently indicated their attitude towards socialism' and 'made their attitude reasonably clear.' This attitude he described as one 'favouring the collective principle,' which is 'the beacon-light guiding the Labour Movement'; but that they wished 'to proceed step by step in a manner that would secure success.' These statements make it quite clear that 'the collective ownership of monopolies' is regarded by him and by the party as merely a step to the socialisation of all industries.

Mr Watson, who, at the 1905 conference in Sydney, laid such stress upon declaring the socialist character of the party, and even advocated that none but socialists should be admitted to its ranks, has elsewhere laid down his definition of what 'socialism' and 'socialist' mean. In a speech at Ballarat on October 10, 1904, he said:

'Socialism means that a State or municipality, or some representative body of the collective forces of the community,

should assume control of the means of production, distribution, and exchange, and undertake the direction of all industry and the distribution of the wealth which industry produces.'

Having been requested by letter to define socialism, Mr Watson sent a reply (dated March 12, 1906), which was published in the 'Review of Reviews' (Australian edition) of June 1906. It runs as follows:—

'In reply to your letter I may say that, in my view, those people are right who class as socialism all schemes for the advancement of the community. While I think that to be so technically, the word has acquired a significance as particularly applying to collectivism as against individualism. Accepting this view, I should define socialism as aiming at the abolition of the present competitive, and therefore chaotic, industrialism, with the object of substituting the collective ownership of land and capital, and the scientific control of production and exchange and distribution on behalf of the whole people.'

Thus it is admitted that a party composed of socialists aims at more than the nationalisation of monopolies, viz. at that of all industries. It has been shown that the industries which the Labour party desires to nationalise at once are the tobacco, sugar-refining, and shipping industries; and that at the same time it wants the State or Commonwealth to enter into competition with the private banking and life and fire insurance institutions. The three industries threatened with immediate nationalisation have to some extent assumed a monopolistic character in Australia. This character of monopoly is however not inherent in them, as it is in industries dependent upon legal privileges for their existence. The legal privileges responsible for their monopoly character have been conferred upon them subsequent to their establishment. High customs duties on competing goods, so far as the tobacco and sugar industries are concerned, and other legal restrictions against foreign competitors with Australian shipping, are responsible for whatever monopoly has developed in these industries. Yet the Labour party, which is largely responsible for this conversion of competitive into monopolistic industries, now uses their monopolistic character as a pretext for nationalising them, resists all attempts to abolish the monopoly by the removal of the special privileges

conferred upon them, and yet does not propose to nationalise natural monopolies. It is clear, then, that the apparent limitation introduced into the Labour party's programme by the Watson resolution is a pretence; and that the true aim of the party is thoroughly socialistic.

The foregoing sketch of the origin and growth of the Australian Labour party, of its conversion into a Socialist party, and of the measures which it advocates to increase its strength and carry out its objects, will have failed of its purpose if it has not conveyed the idea that the processes described were inevitable. A large body of industrial workers, animated by the conviction that they cannot improve their condition by industrial action, must inevitably attempt to do so by getting hold of legislative power. In the present state of economic knowledge, or rather of economic ignorance, a political party, composed mainly of manual labourers, must, with equal inevitableness, absorb socialistic doctrines and aim at the nationalisation of all industries as the only means by which their industrial aspirations can be fulfilled. The changes through which the Australian Labour party has passed are therefore those through which all Labour parties must pass. In the United Kingdom the attractions of traditional parties may for some time delay the evolution of a powerful Labour party, and the inherent conservatism of the working classes may retard their conversion to socialism; but it would be sanguine to expect that these obstacles will prevent the natural development. Great Britain, therefore, like Australia, will witness the growth of a Labour party of great strength, which will place socialism on its banner. Already she possesses in the Independent Labour party a nucleus around which the masses may gather. The rest is merely a question of time, unless by wise reformative legislation she, more happy than her daughter, is able so to improve the condition and prospects of her working population that satisfaction may take the place of discontent, and attachment to the existing social system the place of hatred. It is only thus that socialistic dreams will be deprived of their seductiveness.

Art. II.—THE INCOME TAX.

1. *Report from the Select Committee on Income Tax; with the Proceedings of the Committee.* Commons Paper No. 365 of 1906.
2. *Reports from His Majesty's Representatives abroad respecting Graduated Income Taxes in Foreign States.* Miscellaneous, No. 2 (1905). [Cd. 2587.]
3. *Taxes and Imposts.* Commons Paper No. 253 of 1906.
4. *Income Tax Assessments.* Commons Paper No. 333 of 1906.
5. *Forty-ninth Report of the Commissioners of His Majesty's Inland Revenue.* Cd. 3110 of 1906.
6. *A History of Taxation and Taxes in England.* By Stephen Dowell. Four vols. London: Longmans, 1884.
7. *Essays on Taxation.* By Edwin R. A. Seligman. London and New York: Macmillan, 1895.

And other works.

THE revenue from taxation is, as Blackstone says in his 'Commentaries,' a portion which each subject contributes of his property in order to secure the remainder. The subject, when properly taxed, 'contributes only some part of his property in order to enjoy the rest.' The person who considers himself 'properly taxed' is perhaps a creature too rare and good for general contemplation; but the taxation of the people for the people should be devised by the people who have to pay it. No man likes the payment of taxes, but all men like to talk about them in usually unrestrained language. And the tax which is most freely condemned is that which is the most just in theory and principle.

When the younger Pitt had cleared off the land tax by making it a redeemable rent-charge and had repealed the triple assessment (which was in effect a tax on incomes), he introduced a general tax calculated on the receipts for one year from property and employments. This was the income tax, which came into operation in Great Britain in January 1799. It was, in effect, a graduated tax, because, while incomes under 60*l.* were exempted, incomes between 60*l.* and 200*l.* were assessed at various rates, and the full rate (10 %) was chargeable only on incomes of 200*l.* and over. Moreover, the incomes

of charitable institutions and (from funds) of friendly societies were exempted; and abatements were allowed to the taxpayers for children's allowances and for life insurance premiums. This tax was repealed after the peace of Amiens; and, when Addington, on the recommencement of war, had to impose fresh taxation, he endeavoured to differentiate between income from the funds and general income. This design, strongly opposed by Pitt, was abandoned; but Addington's income tax, imposed in 1803, differed from Pitt's in that it called for not a general return of income from all sources, but particular returns of income from particular sources. With the Income and Property Tax Act of 1803 we have the beginning of the schedule system, which seemed to prepare the way for a complete differentiation that has never yet been made. But, while Addington's tax did not differentiate, it did graduate.* Incomes below 60*l.* in the aggregate were exempt; incomes between 60*l.* and 120*l.* were allowed an abatement; a reduction was allowed for families of more than two children; the rate was 1*s.* in the pound for incomes of 150*l.* and upwards, but varied from 11*d.* to 3*d.* in the pound for incomes between 150*l.* and 60*l.*

The thin edge of differentiation may be perceived in Lord Henry Petty's income tax of 1806, for in it the limit of exemption was reduced from 60*l.* to 50*l.* in respect of incomes derived from labour for daily or weekly wages. When Peel renewed the tax in 1842, he differentiated to this extent, that he raised the limit of exemption to 150*l.* for all incomes. The tax was not then imposed in Ireland, because of the absence there of machinery for its assessment and collection; but the spirit and stamp duties were raised there instead. In 1853, however, Gladstone extended the income tax to Ireland, reduced the limit of exemption to 100*l.*, and allowed an abatement of the tax for incomes between 150*l.* and 100*l.* Thus, in his first Budget, Gladstone adopted in principle both graduation and differentiation in regard to the limit of exemption. For it must be admitted that the system of abatement which has

* Graduation may be briefly described as variation in assessment according to the size of income; and differentiation as variation according to the character or source of income.

prevailed even to this day is really a method of graduation within certain limits. The question of imposing upon what has been termed 'realised' income a higher rate than that upon what has been termed 'precarious' incomes has frequently been raised; and on this head Gladstone's observations in his speech on introducing the Budget of 1853 are specially interesting. With regard to this question, it should be borne in mind that he suggested that the fundholder cannot in fairness be taxed more highly than others. This is why many practical men have withheld judgment until a clear definition of 'realised and 'precarious' incomes can be given. Gladstone's speech in 1853 dealt also with the holders of terminable annuities.

'If these are to be taxed on a lower scale' (he said), 'so must Government life-annuitants, and, with these, life-interests in the funds and jointures and annuities on lands, and, in short, all life-annuitants and life-renters and possessors of entailed estates. So that the real tendency of such exemptions is to break up and destroy the tax. . . . To venture upon schemes such as had been suggested, which, looking well on paper, involved absurdities and iniquities which would end in the destruction of the tax, would be to enter upon a fatal and seductive path which would lead us into a quagmire and throw the whole finance of the Empire into confusion.' (Dowell, iii, p. 185.)

Is it along a fatal and seductive path that Sir Charles Dilke's Select Committee would lead a confiding Chancellor of the Exchequer?

> 'Whoever hopes a faultless tax to see,
> Hopes what ne'er was, is not, and ne'er shall be,'

as Pope remarks, and as many a Minister of Finance and reformer in economics has found. But what is not faultless may often be expedient.

It may be desirable to recall the four maxims laid down by Adam Smith as embodying the qualities desirable in any national system of taxation, viz.: (1) The subjects of every State ought to contribute to the support of the Government, as nearly as possible in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the State. (2) The tax which each individual is bound to pay ought to be certain and not

arbitrary. (3) Every tax ought to be levied at the time and in the manner in which it is most likely to be convenient for the contributor to pay it. (4) Every tax ought to be so contrived as to take out and to keep out of the pockets of the people as little as possible beyond what it brings into the public treasury of the State.*

The first of these maxims points to equity and equality; the last three point to expediency. But the principle of equality is just that which it is most difficult to carry into effect. Taxation is, of course, payment for services rendered by the State. But the functions of the State are many and diverse; they are certainly not confined to the protection of persons and property. If equal sacrifices ought to be demanded from all citizens can this be done by exacting from all the same percentage of their pecuniary means? If not, and if 10 % is a greater burden on a small than on a large income, then the principle of graduated taxation is established. But, as J. S. Mill pointed out, the portion of truth that the doctrine contains arises principally from the difference between a tax which can be saved from luxuries and one which trenches ever so little upon the necessaries of life.† The most equitable method of adjusting inequalities that suggested itself to Mill was that recommended by Bentham, of 'leaving a certain minimum of income sufficient to provide the necessaries of life untaxed'; the exemption in favour of smaller incomes should not, he thought, be stretched further than this.

But what are the necessaries of life? They vary with class and occupation. An income tax that treats all kinds of income exactly alike—whether on the profits of trade or those derived from interest or rent, or on salaries, or on professional gains—is, says Mill, 'a visible injustice'; but 'it does not arithmetically violate the rule that taxation ought to be in proportion to means.'‡ And in setting forth the conditions necessary for making an income tax consistent with justice, he says, after specifying minimum exemptions or abatements, that all sums saved from income and invested should be exempt, 'or, if this be found impracticable, that life incomes and

* 'Wealth of Nations,' book v, cap. ii.

† 'Political Economy,' book v, ch. ii, § 3. ‡ Ib. book v, ch. ii, § 4.

incomes from businesses and professions should be less heavily taxed than inheritable incomes in a degree as nearly as possible equivalent to the increased need of economy arising from their terminable character, allowance being also made in the case of variable incomes for their precariousness.'* It may thus be argued that Mill was, within limits, in favour both of graduation and differentiation. But he also points out that to tax larger incomes at a higher percentage than the smaller is to lay a tax on industry and economy. 'It is not the fortunes which are earned but those which are unearned that it is for the public good to place under limitation.' †

The cleavage in opinion is nowadays much greater with regard to graduation than to differentiation. Those who advocate a strictly proportional rate argue that progressive rates mean socialism and confiscation. Others contend that progressive taxation is necessary to remove inequalities in fortune. But a more reasonable view is that moderate graduation is quite in accordance with the theory of taxation according to individual ability. If, however, progressive taxation is recognised as the application of a principle, it must never be made a principle of itself; for that would be confiscation.

The idea of progressive taxation is not modern. The Athenians in the time of Solon had a classified property tax. In the archonship of Nausinicus (B.C. 378) the bases of taxation were land, houses, slaves, cattle, furniture, and money; and it is more than probable that the impost had by that time become a progressive income tax.‡ We in this country have accepted the introduction of the progressive principle in the death duties; and the same principle underlies the scheme of abatements in our existing system of income tax.

In considering the principle of differentiation we meet with various difficulties. For example, if a tax on property is objectionable because it virtually constitutes a penalty on savings, then an extra tax on income from investments in property or public securities is also a penalty on savings. In effect, the man of precarious income who demands a differential assessment of income

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* 'Political Economy,' book v, ch. iii, § 5. † Ib. book v, ch. ii, § 3.
‡ Hildebrand's 'Jahrbücher,' viii, 453.

is proposing a barricade against his own thrifty accumulations. But this objection cannot be accepted as conclusive, because it would bar from taxation both property and product. A property tax is inequitable in theory because property does not measure ability to pay; but income indicates, if it does not measure, some ability to pay. Some economists have advocated a property tax as a supplement to the income tax, in order to tax income from property more than income from personal effort. But the same result could be obtained more simply by differentiating the rate of the income tax; moreover, in this country, property does pay supplementary taxes in the form of death duties. But we meet with the further objection that inequality of treatment is involved if people pay different taxes on the same income. What then is meant by differentiation of taxation? It is that a distinction should be drawn between earned and unearned incomes; and such a distinction was approved by J. S. Mill, an economist orthodox of the orthodox. If we admit this distinction, there is nothing inequitable in taxing property income more than labour income. The distinction may be made by charging different rates, or by laying one uniform rate on all incomes with a super-tax on incomes from property. The latter method is open to the charge that it is double taxation. That may be so; but it is not necessarily unjust taxation, because property is realisable and the income from it is permanent, whereas labour is not realisable except in the form of income, which is terminable and therefore precarious. To be strictly just, however, the income from all property should be taxed; and we cannot assure that unless all income is taxed.

The progressive increase of public revenue has become much easier since direct taxation was introduced. It has been called by Prof. Seligman the last step in the historical development of public revenue. 'It was not until after the establishment of the Roman Empire that the regular direct taxation of the Roman citizen began.'* But in modern civilisation we have a qualitative as well as a quantitative division in wealth. There are rich and poor landowners, large and small employers, highly

* 'Essays on Taxation,' p. 8,

paid and poorly paid wage-earners. It is the qualitative distinction which suggests the principle of differentiation in the assessment of direct taxation. As an example of acceptance of this principle we may indicate the Act to impose a Tax on Incomes of the Colony of Victoria, 1895. By this Act incomes below 200*l.* were free; on incomes from personal exertion the rate was 4*d.* per pound up to 1200*l.*, 6*d.* per pound up to 2200*l.*, and 8*d.* per pound over 2200*l.*; on incomes from the produce of property the rates were double those stated.

It is pertinent now to enquire whether and how the principles of graduation and differentiation are adopted in other States which impose income tax. Much may be learned from the experiences of European nations; and it is desirable to examine these. The income taxes described in the Reports of His Majesty's Representatives abroad (Cd. 2587 of 1905) are all State taxes as opposed to taxes levied for local purposes.* The German and Swiss taxes are imposed by States belonging to a confederation; but as these taxes all form national and not local revenue, they are included in the returns to which we refer. In neither of these cases does the Federal Government, which depends mainly on customs and indirect taxation for revenue, at present levy an income tax; while in the United States of America an income tax has been declared unconstitutional. The income taxes described differ widely in general character. Some of them are taxes affecting the whole income of the taxpayer, such as the Prussian income tax, while others are designed either to supplement existing taxes or to fall only on certain sources of income which are not reached by such taxes. The Austrian income tax is a personal tax superimposed on six other direct taxes (on land, buildings, industrial profits, salaries, etc.). The Bavarian tax is designed to leave untouched incomes already sub-

* These latter have been described, in the case of certain foreign countries and the British self-governing colonies, in a parliamentary return (Cd. 2098 of 1904). They include both taxes which exist along with State income taxes, as in Holland and Prussia, and those which, as in Massachusetts and the province of Ontario, are found independently of any State taxation.

ject to other taxes, like the land tax and industry tax. The Italian and Spanish income taxes are taxes affecting personalty only; but in Spain an industry tax is concurrent with the income tax.

What is brought out in the Reports, under the headings of 'Graduation' and 'Differentiation,' may be briefly summarised. Graduation is not held to apply to a tax which is merely proportional to the net assessable income, and is levied at a constant rate, irrespective of the amount of the income. It is taken to imply a variation or progression in the rate itself having some relation to the amount of the income taxed. Between a 'proportional' and a 'progressive' system of taxation there is, however, in practice frequently no material difference. Whether a tax is described as 'proportional' or 'progressive' depends on whether the proportional or the progressive rate is regarded as the normal rate; and this again depends on the point to which progression is carried in any particular instance. Most of the systems described in the Reports would be classed as progressive, although the progression generally stops at some point or other, after which the rate becomes proportional merely. The leading principle, however, is to impose higher rates as the income increases, so as to throw a more than proportional burden upon the wealthier classes.

Graduation in this sense is effected in the systems described by a regular progressive scale, the main forms of which may be classified under three heads:

'(*a*) The taxpayers are arranged in a number of categories according to the amount of income returned by or ascribed to them, and a definite sum of money fixed as the tax in each category, which is not subject to variation from year to year. The number of categories is very large (generally well over one hundred), and the rate of progression very gradual. This system is characteristic of the German group of taxes, including the Austrian; and all the German income taxes . . . (except the Bavarian unearned income tax and the Baden tax) afford examples of it. A variation of this method is to be found in some of the smaller states, e.g. Anhalt and Lippe-Detmold and Hamburg, where the definite money rate fixed for each category is a unit or standard merely, any multiple of which may be levied in any year as revenue requires. But a noticeable point about the continental income taxes as a whole is

that the rates are laid down once for all in the law instituting the tax.

'(*b*) The taxpayers are arranged in categories, and each category is taxed at a certain percentage rate, the rate rising with each category till the limit of progression is reached. Under this system the categories are few in number; and, as within the limits of each category the charge rises proportionally only, and a progressive rise only occurs at a few specified points, the progression appears to be less evenly diffused over the whole range of incomes. The chief examples of this method are found among the Swiss cantons, e.g. Uri, Appenzell (Rhodes Extérieurs), Vaud (with seven categories), Bâle-ville, and Lucerne (with three categories); Denmark (with thirteen categories) is another instance of it. A variation of this system is that existing in some Swiss cantons such as Bâle-ville, where each portion of the income is taxed only at the rate applicable to it, the first 4000 fr. at 1 %, the next 4000 fr. at 2 %, and so on. This has the effect of further diffusing the progression.

'(*c*) Other varieties which may be grouped under one head are those in which a scale of progression is based upon, or combined with, the partial exemption of income from taxation technically known as "abatement." Scandinavia and Holland are the chief examples under this head. In Norway and Holland the system depends on abatement combined with a fixed percentage rate of tax up to a certain limit, portions of income beyond that limit being taxed at a higher rate or rates. This insures stronger progression in the lower grades. In Baden, where the system is similar, the progressive rates apply to the whole of the income and not merely to the portions above the specified limits. In Denmark abatement is combined with percentage progression. An example of the manner in which exemption or abatement is utilised to transform a proportional into a progressive rate is afforded by the system in force in the canton of Neuchatel. The rate of the tax is fixed at 1·20 %; but, as a sum of 600 fr. is allowed to be deducted from every taxable income, the rate varies from say, 0·30 % on an income of 800 fr., to 0·48 % on one of 1000 fr., 1·13 % on an income of 10,000 fr., and so on until, when an income of 400,000 fr. is reached, the full 1·20 % rate is practically charged. Zurich, among others, affords a somewhat similar example of "abatement."' (Cd. 2587, p. vi.)

The exemption of a certain minimum income (the 'minimum of subsistence') is recognised in most fiscal

systems. The limit of exemption for income tax purposes is fixed:

	£	s.	d.	
In Prussia at	45	0	0	per annum.
In Austria at	50	0	0	,,
In Holland at	54	0	0	,,
In Norway at	18	0	0	,,
In Sweden at	24	5	0	,,
In Denmark (according to locality) at	33	0	0	,,
	39	0	0	,,
	44	0	0	,,
In Italy at	16	0	0	,,
In Spain (for private individuals) at	45	0	0	,,
And (for State employés) at	31	0	0	,,

In Switzerland the limit varies from 41*l.* in Thurgau to 48*l.* in Bâle-ville. In the smaller German States the limit is very low; in Saxe-Gotha and Lippe-Detmold 15*l.*, in Schaumburg-Lippe, 17*l.* 10*s.*, in Saxe-Altenburg 3*l.* Exemptions may also be made in favour of State, municipal, commercial or charitable institutions; reigning sovereigns, and members of a royal family; foreign representatives; naval, military, or other servants of the State; and domestic servants. The canton of Fribourg exempts 'agriculturists, painters, engravers, sculptors, midwives'; and eight other cantons provide exemptions in varying degrees for heads of families with children or other dependents to support. Abatement is used in certain income-tax systems either to produce a progressive scale or in combination with it.

Italy effects a partial graduation by means of abatement. By a scale applying to certain incomes under 32*l.* the pressure of the tax is mitigated, and a progressive scale established for very small incomes; but incomes derived from the State and from invested capital are excluded from its operation.* The method of assessment is largely at the source of the income. The system exempts 6,500,000*l.* of net assessed income out of a total of 96,000,000*l.* In Spain there is no abatement system, but there is graduation in the scale applying to the salaries and pensions of State officials, to the pay of officers of the army and navy, and to the salaries of officials of provincial assemblies and corporations.

Abatements are common in income taxes of the

* Report from Italy, Cd. 2587, p. 128.

German type in combination with regular graduated scales. In Prussia a certain reduction of the tax is made on incomes under 150*l.* per annum for each child under fourteen, and on incomes under 475*l.* for continuous illness, debts, or special misfortune, maintenance of poor relations, etc.* Abatements also affect incomes in Austria up to the limit of 4167*l.* 10*s.* per annum; and Württemberg allows abatement on incomes from business under 250*l.* per annum. In Norway there are provisions for abatement according to the number of persons dependent on a taxpayer. In Denmark an abatement is allowed for each child under fifteen, also on account of sickness, family troubles, and military service.

Some of the rates of graduation in force may be briefly mentioned. In Prussia the rate commences at 0·67 % on 45*l.* It rises gradually to 1 % on 60*l.*, 2 % on 150*l.*, 3 % on 500*l.*, and reaches the maximum of 4 % at incomes exceeding 5000*l.* In Saxony the rate commences at 0·25 % on 20*l.* It rises gradually to 1 % on 50*l.*, 2 % on 140*l.*, 3 % on about 260*l.*, 4 % on about 1600*l.*, and reaches the maximum of 5 % at incomes of 5000*l.* and over. In Austria the rate commences at 0·6 % on 52*l.* It rises gradually to 1 % on 100*l.*, 2 % on 300*l.*, 3 % on about 1000*l.*, 4 % on about 4000*l.* The maximum of nearly 5 % is reached only for very large incomes. In Sweden the rate commences at 0·2 % on about 55*l.* It thence increases gradually to 1 % on about 277*l.*, 2 % on about 1417*l.*, 3 % on about 3666, and reaches the maximum of 4 % on an income of about 8083*l.* But there is a 'general supply' tax which levies 1 % on incomes assessed to the income tax. In Denmark the rate commences at 1·3 % on about 39*l.* It then rises in seven stages to 2 % on incomes of from 833*l.* to 1110*l.*, and reaches the maximum of 2½ % in five further stages for incomes of 5500*l.* and over.

In all these States the progression is a gradual one, on an average ranging from about 0·6 % on a labourer's income to a maximum of 4 or 5 % (say 10*d.* or 1*s.* in the £) on incomes of the richest classes. In Hamburg the maximum has in some recent years reached 6 %, while in Baden the maximum is only 3½ %. The progression is most rapid in the early stages; a rate of 1 % or 1½ % is

* Prussian Report, Cd. 2587, p. 2.

usually reached for an income of 100*l.* An income of 200*l.* pays on the average nearly 2 %, say 4½*d.* in the pound; after the 2 % rate is passed the progression becomes slower. In Prussia an income of 500*l.* pays 3 %; and the maximum of 4 % is only reached at incomes exceeding 5000*l.* The rate for the largest income is at the most about twice as high as that on 500*l.*, and usually not more than one-third higher.

In Bavaria the 'unearned income tax' rate starts at 1½ % on 3*l.* 10*s.*, it rises at 5*l.* to 2 %, at 20*l.* to 2½ %, at 35*l.* to 3 %, at 50*l.* to 3½ %, at 150*l.* to 3¾ %, and at 5000*l.* to the maximum of 4 %. The 'earned income tax' rate commences at 0·1 % on 25*l.* It thence rises gradually to 1 % on about 100*l.*, 2 % on about 1600*l.*, 3 % on about 3000*l.*, and reaches the maximum of 4 % at incomes of 10,000*l.* and over. In the graduation of the unearned income taxes Holland adopts the same principle as that for the earned income tax, but imposes a higher rate. The rate in Holland resembles that in Bavaria, except in the case of the highest incomes, where the Bavarian tax becomes nearly 1 % greater.

In Switzerland there are a number of income taxes and a great variety of systems in force in the different cantons; and generally the graduation or progression adopted is more marked than in the countries already referred to. Except in Bâle-ville, an income of 40*l.* (1000 fr.) is liable to tax, but the rate is usually very low. From 40*l.* to about 400*l.* (10,000 fr.) there is generally a rapid progression; afterwards the graduation becomes slower till the maximum is reached. This takes place at various points in the several cantons; but in every case, if it is not reached at 4000*l.* (100,000 fr.), the subsequent progression is slight.

Differentiation is effected in various ways in the several countries, as, for instance, (1) by combination with an income tax of a tax on capital or property, the whole income being first taxed under the income tax and a further additional tax (called in Germany *Ergänzungssteuer*, or supplementary tax) being imposed on certain selected sources of income, land being in many cases exempted as being subject to a land tax. Under this system of differentiation the best examples are found in Prussia, Saxony, and Württemberg, where, however, it is

a tax on the income from property, not on property itself; and in some Swiss cantons, such as Solothurn, Tessin, Bâle-campagne, and Bâle-ville. In the cases of the Swiss cantons the property tax is, like the income tax, on a graduated scale; but the German supplementary taxes on property are not graduated. Or (2) by means of separate taxes, one affecting industrial or earned income alone, and the other affecting property alone, equivalent to a tax on unearned income. Bavaria is the only State in which this latter tax takes the form of a (graduated) tax on income. The most important example is the combined property and income tax of Holland, which is due to an eminent Dutch economist, Dr Pierson, Minister of Finance. Or (3) by the taxation, within the limits of an income tax itself, of income derived from different sources at different rates. The only examples of this method in Europe are those afforded by the income taxes on personalty in Italy and Spain.

The following is an analysis of the effect of differentiation as shown by the rates in force in some of the various States. Prussia, Saxony, Württemberg, and Denmark impose a graduated income tax together with a supplementary tax at a fixed rate. The rate of this tax in Prussia and Saxony is equivalent (at 4 % interest on capital) to 1¼ % on the taxable earned income. In Württemberg it is 2 %. In Denmark it is equivalent to 1½ %. The rate of the supplementary tax being fixed while the income tax is graduated, the extent of the differentiation varies with the amount of the income. Thus in Prussia an earned income of 56*l.* pays 0·67 %; an unearned income pays in all 1·92 %, the latter rate being nearly three times the former. An earned income of 150*l.* pays 2 %; an unearned pays in all 3·25 %, the latter rate being about 1·6 times the former. An earned income of 500*l.* pays 3 %; an unearned pays in all 4·25 %, the latter rate being 1·4 times the former. An earned income of 5000*l.* pays 4 %; an unearned pays in all 5·25 %, the latter rate being only 1·3 times the former.

In Denmark an unearned income of from 166*l.* to 222*l.* is taxed twice as heavily as an earned income of that amount. For lower incomes (down to the limit of exemption) the differentiation is slightly greater; for higher

incomes it becomes less, the rate of an unearned income of 5550*l.* or over being only 1·6 times the rate for a corresponding earned income. In Holland the rate for a pure industrial income is less than that for a pure unearned income of the same amount in a fixed proportion of (approximately) 3 to 5. For mixed incomes, derived partly from labour and partly from property, there is a special arrangement, the earned proportion of it being taxed more heavily than a pure earned income of the same amount unaccompanied by income from property.

In Italy differentiation is effected by classifying incomes in five categories, according to their source. The two highest, consisting of different forms of unearned income, are taxed at 20 % and 15 % respectively; the third, of mixed incomes, at 10 %; the fourth, of income from labour alone, is taxed at 9 %; and the fifth, of salaries, allowances, and pensions paid by the State, provinces or communes, at 7½ %. M. René Stourm * refers to the amount and growth of the tax collected by 'retention,' compared to that collected by 'register' and by 'declarations,' as a proof of the laxity of administration and facilities for evasion prevailing in the last-named class, and suggests that the State has endeavoured, by raising the maximum rate from 8 % in 1866 to 13·20 % in 1870 and to 20 % in 1894, to recoup itself on incomes as to which evasion is impossible for the 'dissimulation' practised in other classes, thus accentuating the difficulty as regards the latter. The Spanish tax is more complicated and less scientifically differentiated. In Spain the scale of taxation on property is as a rule lower than that on personal exertion. Unearned incomes and mixed incomes are taxed at rates varying from 20 % down to ½ %; the earned salaries and pensions of State officials and of generals in the army are taxed at the high rates of 20 % and 18 %; but relief is afforded for smaller incomes of this class by graduation, and the graduation is such that the poorest incomes of the class (30*l.* to 45*l.*) pay only 2 % instead of the full rates just mentioned. Incomes earned from commercial or other civil occupations are taxed at one of two rates—10 % and 5 %. The tax on the 'exercise of industrial, commercial, and professional enterprise,' based

* 'Systèmes généraux d'Impôts,' pp. 160–165.

on the character of the business and the population of the locality in which it is carried on, is analogous to the French 'Loi des Patentes.' It is an 'industry' tax, not an income tax, and produces a revenue equal to about one-third of that produced by the 'income' tax. The Report does not enable us to judge of its operation as a differentiating factor, or to say whether the persons subject to it are taxed at higher or lower rates than those subject to the 'income' tax.

In effect, then, we see that in other countries both graduation and differentiation are employed. Thus the Select Committee has good reason for saying that both are 'practicable.' But it is to be remembered that the continental taxes on income are permanent and non-expansive, whereas our income tax has always been regarded, in theory at any rate, as a war or emergency tax. If it is to become an integral part of our fiscal system we shall have to revise the theory. And, if the income-tax-payer is to bear the burden of war, it is both just and expedient that his contributions in peace-time should be adjusted to his ability to pay.

In the most perfect form of civilised society direct taxation is the ideal method by which each individual should contribute his quota to the maintenance of the State. In effect, taxation is payment for services rendered by the State to each and every individual member of it; and in theory each citizen should contribute according to his means, not according to his appetite for commodities upon which taxes may be imposed. But then the initial difficulty remains of gauging the ability of the contributors. A man's ability to meet a general or particular assessment cannot be measured merely by his income, because the income may in some cases be procurable only by a scale of expenditure which in other cases is unnecessary. A professional man whose income depends largely if not mainly on his social position and reputation is called upon to expend more on what is for him 'decent and comfortable maintenance' than a tradesman earning the same or even a larger income. And a professional man's income disappears when his health fails or death occurs, whereas a tradesman's business can go on even when he is personally laid aside.

Graduation of income tax has had many supporters in parliament; but the Inland Revenue department has consistently held that a graduated tax, even if desirable, is impracticable. The official view is that we must maintain existing arrangements under which profits are taxed at their source; and that there would be much risk in establishing a new system under which each individual would give a full return of his income from all sources and would be directly taxed according to a graduated scale upon the total amount. A corporate tax has been suggested on all trading companies, to be levied on total profits at a small rate, as a payment for the privileges of corporate trading with limited liability. It would give effect to the principle of 'differentiation' in being an extra tax on interest from investments, but it would also be a tax on thrift.

The present incidence of the income tax is defended on the ground that considerations of equity are satisfied by the exemption of income sufficient for a 'decent and comfortable maintenance.' But considerations of equity would be more fully satisfied if no incomes were exempted—at any rate none above, say, 100*l.* a year—because, if all were taxed, the poundage or percentage of income would be reduced to a rate that would be onerous on none; and also because what is necessary for 'decent and comfortable maintenance' differs more with conditions of life and with social and professional environment than with income. It may be admitted that the British method of administering the tax is as little inquisitional as can be; but, on the other hand, it may be contended that our system does afford an opportunity for, if not an incentive to, fraud. Moreover, it is not equitable, in that it does not apply to all classes who earn more than sufficient for 'decent and comfortable maintenance'; nor will it be equitable until it is levied at the source on the salaries or wages of all persons who earn, say 2*l.* per week upwards. There are thousands of operatives in this country who earn 3*l.*, 4*l.*, to 5*l.* per week, hundreds who earn from 6*l.* to 15*l.* per week; and only a small proportion of these are assessed for income tax; yet, if the tax were levied on all and deducted from the wages 'at the source' it would be onerous on none of them.

As to actual examples of graduation, the United States

income-tax law of 1863–71 exempted all incomes under $600; and the limit of exemption was afterwards raised to $1000 and then to $2000. But, while the rate of the tax was 5% for incomes up to $5000, it rose to 7 % for incomes from $5000 to $10,000, and to 10 % for incomes over $10,000. Sir Henry Primrose, chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue, stated to the Select Committee his opinion that the balance of advantage was in favour of graduation. By the system of abatements a scheme of graduation was produced up to the limit of 700*l.* a year. The result of graduation in the colonies was little beyond what was arrived at here from the system of abatement, the object in each case being to relieve the smaller incomes. He estimated that the total number of income-tax-payers in this country was 1,000,000, of whom 750,000 had incomes below 700*l.* He thought the minimum estimate of the number with incomes of 5000*l.* a year and over would be 7500, and the maximum 10,000. Taking the higher figure, he calculated that there were 250 persons who were paying on 40,000*l.* or more a year. Their income he estimated at 20,000,000*l.* Of incomes between 20,000*l.* and 40,000*l.* there were probably 750 averaging 28,000*l.*, their total income being 21,000,000*l.* Of incomes between 10,000*l.* and 20,000*l.* he calculated there were 2500, averaging 14,000*l.* and amounting in the total to 35,000,000*l.* Between 5000*l.* and 10,000*l.* there would be 6500, which on an average of 7000*l.* gave 45,000,000*l.* He estimated that thus there would be a grand total of 121,000,000*l.* for 10,000 people with incomes over 5000*l.* a year. The incomes between 700*l.* and 5000*l.* totalled 307,000,000*l.* Taking the class above 5000*l.*, the produce of an increased graduated tax of 3*d.*, 6*d.*, 9*d.*, and 1*s.* would be 3,250,000*l.* Special machinery would have to be devised under a system of graduation. With regard to differentiation, he considered that the death duties had lessened the arguments in favour of it. It was calculated that the death duties represent 1*s.* on the income. (Report 365, pp. 5–8.) If the graduated rate became so high as to be resented there would be a danger of encouraging investments in foreign enterprises in such a way as not to come within the compass of the income tax. In connexion with this evidence it is desirable to take the latest classified return of the Inland Revenue department.

INCOME TAX RECEIPTS, 1904–5.*

			£	Gross. £ s. d.	Net Receipts. £ s. d.
Schedule (A) .	In respect of the profits from the ownership of lands, tenements, etc. (Deductions of one eighth in respect of lands, and one sixth in respect of houses allowed for repairs. *Vide* Finance Act, 1894.)	1*s.* in the £	157,696,080		
Schedule (B) .	In respect of the profits derived from the occupation of lands, etc.	,, ,,	4,205,124		
				34,000,754 14 1½	31,294,751 9 8½
Schedule (C) .	In respect of the profits derived from interest, annuities, and dividends payable out of any public revenue, etc.	,, ,,	41,357,050		
Schedule (D) .	In respect of the profits derived from professions, trades, employments, etc.	,, ,,	365,234,308		
Schedule (E) .	In respect of salaries, etc., of public officials and officers of corporate bodies.	,, ,,	50,835,535		

Note.—Assessments are those for the year ended 5th April 1905, the latest year for which figures are available.

On one third of the annual value of lands, but the 'profits' of nurseries and market gardens are estimated according to the rules of Schedule (D).

Abatements are allowed as under-stated, viz. :—

160*l.* on incomes not exceeding 400*l.*
150*l.* ,, exceeding 400*l.* and not exceeding 500*l.*
120*l.* ,, ,, 500*l.* ,, ,, 600*l.*
70*l.* ,, ,, 600*l.* ,, ,, 700*l.*

* Commons Paper 253 (1906). 'Taxes and Imposts' return to House of Commons.

As the advocate of a graduated income tax, Mr S. T. Evans, M.P., before Mr Asquith introduced his last Budget, submitted to the House of Commons the proposition that it is just and expedient for provision to be made: (*a*) for graduating the income tax so as to adjust the tax in fair proportions between the smaller and larger incomes now taxable; and (*b*) for differentiating the tax to be borne by earned as distinguished from unearned incomes. At present the exemption of all incomes under 160*l.* initiates the process of graduation; and the abatement of 160*l.* upon all incomes under 400*l.*, of 150*l.* on incomes between 400*l.* and 500*l.*, of 120*l.* between 500*l.* and 600*l.*, and of 70*l.* between 600*l.* and 700*l.*, continues it. This indirect fashion of graduating the impost is illogical and unsatisfactory. Those who protest against any form of graduation may, however, be unaware that Pitt, Peel, and Gladstone adopted it. When Pitt introduced the modern system of income tax in 1799, a graduated impost was, as we have seen, placed upon all incomes of over 60*l.* a year; and four years later, while 5% was levied on incomes over 150*l.*, lower rates were placed upon those under that sum. The tax was dropped after the French war; but, when it was revived by Sir Robert Peel in 1842, the principle of exemption was established by the omission of incomes under 150*l.* Later Mr Gladstone annexed incomes of 100*l.*, but differentiated the smaller from the larger by levying only 5*d.* upon those between 100*l.* and 150*l.* and 7*d.* on those above 150*l.* He adhered to this principle during the Crimean War, when the tax was doubled. Although in 1858 the rate was equalised, graduation was revived next year; and it was not until 1863 that equality was restored, but tempered by exemption. If, therefore, the idea of spreading the pressure over those best able to bear it is carried further in the coming Budget, Mr Asquith will be able to quote precedents.

The conclusions of the last Select Committee are:

'1. Graduation of the income tax by an extension of the existing system of abatements is practicable. But it could not be applied to all incomes, from the highest to the lowest, with satisfactory results. The limits of prudent extension would be reached when a large increase in the rate of tax to be collected at the source was necessitated, and the total amount which was collected in excess of what was ultimately

retained became so large as to cause serious inconvenience to trade and commerce and to individual taxpayers. Those limits would not be exceeded by raising the amount of income on which an abatement would be allowed to 1000*l.* or even more.

'2. Graduation by a super-tax is practicable. If it be desired to levy a much higher rate of tax upon large incomes (say of 5000*l.* and upwards) than has hitherto been charged, a super-tax based on personal declaration would be a practicable method.

'3. Abandonment of the system of "collection at the source," and adoption of the principle of direct personal assessment of the whole of each person's income would be inexpedient.

'4. Differentiation between earned and unearned incomes is practicable, especially if it be limited to earned incomes not exceeding 3000*l.* a year, and effect be given to it by charging a lower rate of tax upon them.

'5. A compulsory personal declaration from each individual of total net income in respect of which tax is payable is expedient and would do much to prevent the evasion and avoidance of income tax which at present prevail' (365, pp. viii and ix).

The income-tax-payers who are, according to this Report, to receive the first consideration, are those with incomes of less than 1000*l.* per annum; and abatements, which are now confined to incomes of less than 700*l.*, are to be extended to incomes of less than 1000*l.* per annum. But consideration is offered to the professional and salaried classes and smaller tradesmen whose incomes from labour do not exceed 3000*l.* a year. Those who complain of the inequalities of the income tax as between incomes from investment and incomes from labour, practically advocate differentiation. The recipients of an earned income may be satisfied with what the Select Committee offer, namely, taxation upon a lower basis than that payable by the recipients of spontaneous income, even though the worker's income be only preferentially treated to the extent of 2000*l.* or 3000*l.* per annum. The recipients of moderate incomes may also welcome the recommendation that abatements be granted on all incomes up to 1000*l.* per annum, and possibly on incomes of even greater amount. The Committee are certainly right as to 'taxation at source.' Were this abolished, a great reduction

of national revenue would ensue; and this reduction would not benefit the nation, because it would be obtained largely by fraudulent returns, and by sins of omission as well as commission. To revert to the method of direct assessment which obtained until 1801 would probably also be to revert to the smaller percentage yield of that period. After the introduction of taxation at source in 1803 the yield per unit in two years nearly doubled. Graduation by super-taxation is no doubt 'practicable'; but the introduction of it would make the income tax far more inquisitorial and so increase the expense of collection as probably to extinguish any pecuniary advantage.

The Labour party has lost no time in pressing upon the Government the demand for a scheme of old-age pensions; and the Prime Minister is in entire sympathy with their object. Mr Asquith, however, refrains from holding out any promise until he sees where the money is to come from. The Government is pledged to effect a reduction in the expenditure for armaments; but the coal tax is abolished, and Liberal policy demands the free breakfast table. National education and the liquidation of national debt will require more money; so all the saving we are likely to make in military outlay is fully bespoken. Labour men and others have contended that the first business of the Liberal Chancellor of the Exchequer, in dealing with the income tax, is not to diminish the amount of revenue derived from it, but to graduate the tax and bring substantial relief to men of small incomes at the cost of their wealthier brethren. If, however, the tax is to be graduated, it should be so under better ethical and economic principles than this demand implies.

In their Report the Select Committee say:

'27. If the death duties be regarded as a tax upon the person who succeeds to the estate, and a calculation be made to show what rate of income tax payable by him during his life upon the interest of his capital would be the equivalent of the lump sum which is taken out of the estate before he inherits it, Sir Henry Primrose considers that, on estates yielding an income of from 40*l.* to 400*l.* a year, the estate duties are equivalent to an income tax of 9*d.* in the £ per annum during the life of the inheritor; on estates yielding an income of 4000*l.* to 6000*l.* a year, of 1*s.* 6*d.* in the £; and on estates yielding an income of 40,000*l.* a year and upwards, of 2*s.* in the £.

'28. These calculations are based on the estate duties alone. But the legacy and succession duties, which together with the estate duties make up what are usually known as the death duties, yield a further 3,500,000*l.* to 4,000,000*l.* a year in addition to the estate duties. As the greater part of the legacy and succession duties falls on the larger estates, the total death duties not only represent a larger annual income tax than that which is the equivalent of the estate duties alone, but they also represent a larger proportionate income tax upon the incomes from the larger estates.

'29. These conclusions clearly show that, if the income tax and the death duties be regarded together as a form of income tax, there is already a very substantial graduation of taxation on incomes derived from large estates, and differentiation between large incomes derived from personal exertion and those derived from inherited property' (865, p. viii).

But the Committee confess that they have not been able to provide a completely logical and satisfactory definition of what constitutes an 'earned' as distinguished from an 'unearned' income. And, because they are unable to submit any scheme of differentiation that is capable of general application, they suggest that differentiation should be limited to incomes not exceeding 3000*l.*, with reductions on earned incomes under that limit, subject to an application by the person seeking relief on making a declaration of his total net income. But this does not solve the problem. Further, the imposition of a super-tax on large incomes would involve direct personal assessment of the whole of each person's income, and render necessary a compulsory personal declaration by every taxpayer of his total net income. To extract such returns from every one would not only be very troublesome and expensive but would bring the tax into the greatest odium. The alternative plan of asking returns only from those whom the Surveyors of Taxes believe to be in the receipt of incomes over 5000*l.* a year would be to place too much power both for oppression and for favouritism in the hands of the permanent officials. A super-tax, which seems to the Committee so easy a way out of their difficulty, is a very dangerous instrument. If the income tax is preserved as a permanent form of revenue, the super-tax would ultimately become the war tax to be paid by the rich, or at all

events by those with incomes exceeding, say, 5000*l*. This would be class taxation, and moreover taxation of a class which is already heavily taxed on capital through the death duties. It is just that the rich should pay according to their means, but let us not pretend that they alone should bear the burden of any extra taxation called for by the military necessities of the nation.

Whether there is a balance of opinion in favour of graduation of the tax or not, need not now be discussed, because the tax is graduated at present under the exemption and abatement system. But graduation by abatement—at any rate, above the level of a living wage—is not a satisfactory form of graduation; and there is little doubt that it allows many to escape payment who are quite able to pay. Instead of raising the limit of abatement, we should be disposed to abandon it altogether, and to tax all incomes from whatever source at one fixed rate from, say 150*l*. up to 1000*l*., with a slightly higher rate for larger incomes, if found desirable for revenue. The object should be so to distribute the imposition as to reduce the percentages to an amount which would not be onerous to recipients of the smaller incomes. But, in order to secure this, the multitude of small incomes that now escape altogether should be impounded. Against the imposition of income tax upon weekly wages there is, of course, the old-standing orthodox argument against the taxation of labour. But that argument is not applicable to cases where the reward of labour reaches the level of the reward of trading or professional occupations. If all who earn less than is deemed necessary for maintenance are to be exempted from taxation, as is just, then all who earn more than the fixed minimum should be taxed, whether their incomes are derived from trades or professions, or from annual salaries or weekly wages. To be just, the income tax should be paid by all classes; and, until that is done, no method either of graduation or differentiation can be perfectly equitable.

BENJAMIN TAYLOR.

Art. III.—NEWMAN AND MANNING.

1. *Life of Cardinal Manning.* By Edmund Sheridan Purcell. Two vols. London: Macmillan, 1895.
2. *Newman.* By William Barry. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1904.
3. *Newman. Essai de Biographie Psychologique.* By Henri Brémond. Paris: Librairie Bloud, 1905.
4. *Newman, Pascal, Loisy, and the Catholic Church.* By W. J. Williams. London: Griffiths, 1906.
5. *La Renaissance Catholique en Angleterre au XIXe Siècle* (Troisième Partie). By Paul Thureau-Dangin. Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1906.
6. *La Pensée Catholique dans l'Angleterre Contemporaine.* Par Ernest Dimnet. Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre, 1906.

TEN years ago Mr Purcell's work, the 'Life of Cardinal Manning,' aroused among many Englishmen considerable curiosity in connexion with the personal characteristics of the two remarkable men—Cardinals Manning and Newman—whose human weaknesses, displayed at a moment of acute dissension, it somewhat rudely unveiled. There was some scandal, as though saints had been stripped of their aureoles. But probably most candid critics recognised that if a man's confidential documents get into the hands of a biographer who wishes to make a sensation and is not sensitive as to the fair fame of his subject, there are few great men who would not be similarly belittled in the eyes of the public; for the public is thus placed in the position of the proverbial *valet de chambre.* Show us Tennyson or Gladstone 'in their shirt-sleeves'; take biographical 'snapshots' of them in their most undignified mental or moral attitudes; photograph their moments of ill-temper (which may be due to indigestion) or of exaggerated resentment (which a night's rest probably reduced to reasonable proportions); or preserve in a phonograph a momentary expression betokening vanity or undue egotism, with no clue to the provocation which called it out; and you have the materials for a false and unworthy picture, even though it be made up of true facts. Be this as it may, the curtain was raised; gossip was let loose; and people wanted to

hear more of both men—of their human failings, but also of their greater qualities.

The demand speedily produced a supply, although the supply could not bring fresh personal revelations, as the tell-tale documents had been printed and the worst had been told. In England as well as in France a considerable literature sprang up, chiefly dealing with Newman, but not passing over Manning. M. de Pressensé wrote an able *brochure* with the object of proving that Manning was the greater man of the two. A daughter of President Faure printed an eloquent tribute to Newman. Many letters of both men and much information as to their careers were contained in the 'Lives' of Wiseman and Ambrose de Lisle. Some very valuable articles, ascribed to the pen of M. Loisy, had already dealt, in the 'Revue du Clergé Français,' with Newman's essay on Development; and its argument entered largely into the theory put forth in 'L'Evangile et l'Église.' More recently Dr William Barry has given the world an excellent popular sketch of Newman's career; and two more French writers have occupied themselves with the same subject—the Abbé Ernest Dimnet and the Abbé Henri Brémond. 'Manning' books also have not come to an end. A new 'Life,' by Cardinal Manning's old pupil, Father Kent, based on hitherto unpublished material which had been ignored by Mr Purcell or was unknown to him, has been recently announced to be in preparation.

Meanwhile, M. Thureau-Dangin, of the French Academy, has been publishing, in three instalments, his 'Renaissance Catholique en Angleterre.' The third part has but recently appeared. It deals with the period between the death of Cardinal Wiseman in 1865 and the death of Cardinal Manning in 1892, and is a work of real importance. M. Thureau writes with the accuracy of information which marked his earlier volumes; and his book will be of great value to the English reader as well as to his compatriots. He summarises the incidents of an eventful time in a volume of comparatively brief compass. Circumstances, the significance of which is often lost in the bulky and diffuse volumes of Purcell's 'Life of Manning,' are here brought into due relief and proportion. Moreover, the author writes in a spirit of true respect and appreciation for both of the Cardinals who

are the heroes of his drama. He utilises the material brought together by Mr Purcell in giving a far truer picture of Manning than his biographer's frequently ill-natured innuendoes led some of his readers to form.

M. Thureau-Dangin has done wisely in keeping his treatment on broad historical lines, in which a Frenchman whose information is accurate may be as good a guide and narrator as an Englishman. The same cannot be said of M. Brémond's 'Biographie Psychologique' of John Henry Newman. M. Brémond has essayed a work for which his knowledge of the English character and even of the English language is hardly sufficient. He attempts the difficult task of analysing just the subtlest traits of a very subtle personality from writings which cannot be adequately dealt with for such a purpose without a perfect knowledge of Newman's mother-tongue in its finest shades of meaning. Such a task needs, moreover, the imaginative sympathy as well as the insight of a Boswell; and some aspects of Newman's mind and character are especially difficult for a Frenchman to realise in imagination. M. Brémond is, however, deterred by no misgivings as to his own capabilities, and perseveres at great length, although so much of the real Newman is invisible to him. Newman's thoughts on the philosophy of history and of religion are apparently a sealed book to his critic. From his chapter on Newman as a historian he omits all reference to his writings on the history of dogma in the first three centuries, in which he stands in the very front rank as an authority. The book contains incidentally some clever pieces of character-drawing, seldom free, however, from unintentional caricature; but, taken as a whole, in its persevering and somewhat perverse ingenuity, it resembles another book on Newman (which few Englishmen have read, but which M. Brémond takes very seriously), written by Newman's avowed theological opponent, Dr Edwin Abbott.

We should recommend as an antidote to M. Brémond's work the very remarkable study of Newman contained in Mr Williams' recent book on 'Newman, Pascal, Loisy, and the Catholic Church'—the best appreciation of Newman's more serious work which we have yet seen. The writer is a genuine thinker, and gives us the outcome of the laborious thought and reading of twenty years. His

book deserves fuller treatment than we can here accord to it.

We propose in this article to deal mainly with the ground covered by the recently published volume of M. Thureau-Dangin. The events he narrates are in the memory of many of us; and it may be worth while to put down some of the reflections and recollections aroused by the perusal of the thirty years' record.

Those for whom the great representatives of the Church of Rome have special fascination in the scene of the world's drama often wish that they had lived in the days of Bossuet and Fénelon. We think that to have lived in the days of Newman and Manning is, from this point of view, equally interesting. In the mere appeal to the senses, as well as in the deeper qualities of character and intellectual force, it would be hard for a dramatist to create two more striking figures. In the merely external drama of life the figure of Manning as Cardinal was perhaps the most impressive ecclesiastical figure known to his generation, almost perfect in its own kind. The stately presence, the handsome, refined, and ascetic features, the piercing eye, the unfailing personal dignity, the happy ease in his intercourse with his fellows—these were his most superficial gifts. Then again, the power of ready speech, and the extraordinary facility of extempore exposition, the stately and eloquent, though not impassioned or poetical, delivery of sermon or oration, in their kind also approached perfection. And withal there was apparent in his speech and demeanour a mystic sense of representing God's Church on earth, the look as of one who saw a vision, which added something of the aspect of prophet or seer—just that something required to complete the ideal presence of the great churchman.

A public man must necessarily think of effect on the public mind; and one who lives before the general gaze incurs something of the same running fire of criticism which a schoolmaster receives at the hands of his boys. Manning was the recipient of his full share of such scrutiny; and captious critics used to recall, as applying to some of his impressive addresses, Carlyle's saying on his own lectures—that they were a 'mixture of prophesying and play-acting.' But it was the greatest tribute to

Manning's personality and character that, even with such criticisms in his hearers' minds, and even allowing for a grain of truth in them, the impressive effect of his addresses was nevertheless irresistible at the moment. The deep earnestness on behalf of a cause held by him to be sacred, the felt spirituality of the man, who was known to lead an ideal priestly life, the superb, if superficial, intellectual gifts, and equally superb use he made of them, allied with the manner and appearance of the 'sacerdos magnus,' seldom failed to convey the sense of greatness of a certain kind; and even oracular utterances in conversation, which Mr Purcell tries to make us smile at in the retrospect, produced their effect at the time in virtue of the personality of the speaker.

Roman Catholicism in England owes much to Manning. It received from him all that can be gained from a gifted spokesman, a high character, in many ways singularly unworldly, an ascetic life, an indomitable will exercised in the interests of his Church, an unrivalled power of attaining the objects on which he had fixed his mind for the advance of the Roman Catholic cause in England. He worked untiringly and successfully for the Roman Catholic schools; he won from the Government important concessions towards the free exercise of their religion by Catholics in workhouses, in industrial schools, in the army and navy. For seven and twenty years English Catholics had in him, as their official spokesman, one of the most commanding figures in the country. Their cause was pleaded with dignity, eloquence, and a power of persuasion fully equal to the prestige of the speaker. His intense belief in and devotion to his Church, and his readiness to champion its claims even where they were unpalatable to his fellow-countrymen, ultimately won the respect of the bulk of Englishmen, and greatly diminished the national prejudice against his co-religionists. Moreover, this remarkable figure in public life was also endowed with an unusual gift of priestly sympathy as a director of souls, and as an occasional counsellor. His example and his precept, on the priestly vocation, embodied one of the most attractive and distinctive ideals of Roman Catholicism. He had caught here something of the spirit of St Francis de Sales and of St Charles Borromeo, under whose patronage

he founded his congregation of 'Oblate Fathers.' Let those of the present generation who would realise for themselves this quality in him find its reflection in some of the pages of his work on the 'Eternal Priesthood.'

Yet the historian who attempts to estimate his policy, as well as his virtues and powers, will ask why one who did so much did not do more. The hopes prevalent among Roman Catholics in 1845 and 1850—hopes of a vast increase in the influence of their Church in this country—have certainly not been realised. The historian will note the significant utterances of Manning's later life as to the reasons why the Roman Church had not gained more influence in England; and he will examine how far the actions of this remarkable man himself in the days of his prime tended to diminish or to increase the causes of failure which he himself ultimately recognised. The time is come when such an investigation may be made with all respect for a character as to whose earnest devotedness there can be no question. And we desire to do it with the utmost sympathy for his aims, and waiving, so far as possible, the consideration of their intrinsic desirableness from our own point of view.

Let us then, for a moment, consider some features in his larger policy as archbishop. Let us consider his attempts to solve those problems which needed not merely strenuous will and skill in attaining predetermined ends, but true perception, from his standpoint as the leader of Roman Catholics in England, as to the needs of the hour, in order to determine the ends themselves. No crusader ever uttered his 'God wills it' with greater conviction than did Manning during the years of his prime in his successive projects for the Roman Church in England. His first object was the creation of an effective body of priests. The clergy ought, he urged, to be Roman in spirit; insular and English sympathies were to be crushed; the type exhibited in the Italian or French seminaries was to be reproduced in England, with no infusion of the literary, cultured ideal of Anglican Oxford. Each bishop was to have his future priests around him; and by means of this direct episcopal influence the new and ideal clergy was to be formed. This was, he held, in accordance with the mind of the Council of Trent. It was part of the divine plan for the Catholic Church. Not

only Anglican ideals, but the Cisalpine tendencies of the hereditary Catholics were suspect. St Edmund's College, in Hertfordshire—the lineal descendant of old Douay College, founded by Cardinal Allen in the sixteenth century—was supposed still to embody this semi-Gallican, or at least non-Roman, tendency. The divinity students were therefore, in 1869, suddenly removed from the college by a *coup d'état* to which all laws of worldly prudence seemed opposed. A new ecclesiastical seminary was forthwith founded at Hammersmith. All this was carried through by the masterful will of the archbishop in opposition to the views of the most experienced priests. It mattered not. It was part of what was regarded in those days, by a section of the Oxford converts and their disciples, as the inspiring crusade of the time—the rooting-out of the old-fashioned English Catholic traditions, then regarded as far too deferential to the prejudices of the surrounding Protestant world, and the formation of a new spirit, Roman, ascetic, unworldly, uncompromising, which should pay no heed to the opinion of a civilisation gradually ceasing to be Christian.

If earnestness and a high ideal could dispense with knowledge of human nature and the prudent forecast of probabilities, and the accurate estimate of existing tendencies, all would have been well. In point of fact we are left to chronicle the acknowledged failure of much that was achieved. Many consider that the old Douay type of priest, at that time surviving and long respected in Ireland, still to be found at Ushaw (the co-heir, with St Edmund's, of Douay College), might well have been developed in the direction which Manning desired, while retaining at the same time that English character which made it practicable for our countrymen. The type was the outcome, largely, of experience, and had shown that it could wear. The asceticism and Catholic zeal of a Challoner or a Milner could vie with that of any of the foreign models held up by Manning for imitation; yet Milner and Challoner were products of the old system. Such developments seemed to many to promise more of success and stability than the transplantation of foreign habits. Be this as it may, the experiment was not tried. The old ideal was displaced; and it can hardly be said that the new was realised at Hammersmith.

The divinity students are now again at St Edmund's; and the memory of the Hammersmith scheme is, with most of those who care for such matters, that of a serious injury done to the interests of ecclesiastical education. Many who feel this do not withdraw their respect for the ideal which inspired the promoters of the new movement. Still statesmanship, even ecclesiastical, must be judged by results; and so judged, the effort stands in great measure condemned.

So much for the formation and education of the clergy. What of the laity? Cardinal Wiseman, Manning's predecessor, had dreamt fondly of the time when the growth of a liberal spirit in Oxford and Cambridge should open to Roman Catholics the old universities. The time came; but Manning, whose influence with Wiseman had become paramount, had by that time adopted here also a policy of the pursuit of absolute ideals irrespective of their practicability. For the laity, as for the clergy, he dreaded 'low views,' and the national or English type, and the spirit of 'worldliness.' The cry against 'mixed' education had been raised by Gregory XVI, and invoked for the destruction of the Queen's Colleges in Ireland. But it was capable of being applied in very different degrees, according to local circumstances. In England, where Catholics were a handful and had no university, it had been anticipated by Cardinal Wiseman that their attendance at Oxford and Cambridge would, with due precautions, be tolerated. He had written frequently in the 'Dublin Review' inveighing against the hardship of the exclusion of Catholics from the universities; and most people supposed that, when the spirit of the Emancipation Act had extended to the removal of the ban, Catholics would gladly enter them as they had entered the House of Commons. Manning decided otherwise.

The principle that 'mixed' education was evil was taken up by Manning and applied in an entirely uncompromising form. Here again he acted with the zeal and whole-heartedness of one who was carrying out a divine mission. To listen to reasons on the other side was to lend an ear to the tempter. With the same indomitable will and power of carrying through a scheme against all opposition which he had shown in founding the seminary at Hammersmith, he obtained from the Roman authori-

ties strong rescripts forbidding English Catholics to finish their education at Oxford or Cambridge. When the absence of higher education for these young men was complained of, he founded the 'Catholic University' at Kensington. Here also his action appeared to many to set at naught the laws of prudence. He placed over the new institution a man wholly unacquainted with university traditions, Mgr Capel. The two real powers among English Catholics in matters educational and intellectual were Dr Newman, at the Oratory, and the English Jesuits. Manning declined the co-operation of the Jesuits, and made no attempt to secure that of Newman. The scheme was practically still-born. A large staff of eminent professors, including F. A. Paley, St George Mivart, Barff the chemist, and others equally able, lectured to a handful of undergraduates—their numbers never much exceeded twenty. After a few years the University really ceased to exist, though, like a true Englishman, the Cardinal would not see that he was beaten; and we believe that the Catholic Directory, years later, gave the name 'Catholic University College' to the learned Dr Robert Clarke (one of the eminent group of savants who formed the original Biblical Commission in Rome) and about three pupils, who traced the same lineal descent from the Catholic University of England that the Rector of the non-existent Catholic University of Ireland, the late Dr Molloy, traced from the institution founded by Newman.

These are two salient instances of Manning's larger policy; and they illustrate his character in a remarkable way. A dominant influence in his life, which has not been duly emphasised, was a power of conviction that certain lines of policy were entrusted to him by Providence to carry out against all human wills, and as part of a great battle for the Church against the world, which he pictured in almost apocalyptic colours. Not a poet in the ordinary sense, he had a strong vein of mystical imagination in this connexion. Some genuinely beautiful chance thought as to the due relation of the 'pastor and his flock,' or the fitting attitude of a 'priest according to the order of Melchizedek' would determine his policy; and he would be absolutely inflexible in carrying it out. His very strength in execution was a consequence of the

precarious nature of the original motive—precarious, that is to say, if clear, divine guidance were not really vouchsafed. It was just because he regarded his scheme as God's will, and as outside the sphere in which human reason or prudence should be consulted, that he would not attend to symptoms of defeat or auguries of failure. Nay, defeat in the good cause was next best to victory. He had maxims which corresponded to this habit of unflinching action. To look back in an enterprise and hesitate as to its wisdom was, he said, to act like Lot's wife. The 'pillar of salt' was a warning for all time. And he would defend what appeared to be the blindest obstinacy by quoting, 'He that putteth his hand to the plough,' etc. Martyrdom for the good cause was to be welcomed. 'Stand and be shot' was the motto he used to hold up to his priests.

This attitude was in fact based on the very strong, and again mystical, sense to which we have already alluded, of a battle raging between the Church and the modern world. The wrong which most Roman Catholics held to be inflicted on the Papacy in the Piedmontese attack on the Papal States, and the forlorn condition of his beloved Pius IX, made this congenial picture intensely vivid in his mind. The general view that there was a conflict raging between the medieval and modern ideals was, of course, largely true; but in Manning it assumed a peculiarly mystical character, and it was allowed to dominate his policy in a very literal and absolute manner. Nothing could be more generous and whole-hearted than Archbishop Manning's attitude, apart from all question of its wisdom. From 1865 to 1876 he almost courted unpopularity. The 'Cordati Catholici' were a 'little band.' The world's hand was against them. They must be ready to fight against overwhelming odds and die as soldiers. British Catholics were to be trained as a body of Janissaries devoted to Rome, free from the 'low' traditions of England and Oxford. This element of almost unbridled mysticism has been, as we have said, astonishingly little dwelt upon by those who have dealt with this remarkable man's career. Yet it lies, we believe, at the very root of Manning's character. Few of his letters bring it home to a reader, in a short compass, better than one published by Mr Purcell, and written

to the late Mrs W. G. Ward, in 1865, from his 'Retreat,' under the direction of the Passionist Fathers, at Highgate, immediately after his appointment as archbishop.

'I have in these last three weeks felt as if our Lord had called me by name. Everything else has passed out of my mind. The firm belief I have long had that the Holy Father is the most supernatural person I have ever seen has given me this feeling more deeply still. I feel as if I had been brought, contrary to all human wills, by the Divine Will into an immediate relation to our Divine Lord. The effect on me is one of awe, not fear, but a conscious nearness to God and to the supernatural agencies and sufferings of His Church.

'I have long had a fixed belief that a persecution is impending over the Church. When, I cannot say, whether in our time or not. But I believe it might come any day. I pray God that I may be found in my lot at that day.

'I believe I can say that what has come upon me has not raised my pulse one beat; that it has given me no joy or personal gratification. I have lived long for work and little else, and I look upon this as so much work. It has brought me some sadness, for I must lose for ever much of the happiness of a pastor's life, and nearly all my peace and rest. If anything has consoled me, it is the feeling that, if the Vicar of our Lord trusts me, our Lord does not distrust me. And, if He has not lifted me up for my greater reprobation, He has chosen me to do Him some service in the few years of my time, whether by life or by death. I feel great joy in the hope that our Lord does not distrust me; and, after all this gall and vinegar I have had to drink, this thought is unutterably sweet.'

We may trace a striking resemblance both in gifts and in limitations between Henry Edward Manning and another remarkable figure who long occupied a large space in the public eye—his friend, William Ewart Gladstone. With both men it was will-power and that side of statesmanship which consists in ability to persuade others, and to carry through a definite policy against all opposition, which were so conspicuous. Both were therefore magnificent and dominating figures in their own day, when the influence of a striking personality could throw a glamour over even impracticable or unwise schemes, and before time, the parent of truth, had made the unwisdom unmistakable. Both have left as a legacy

the memory of great figures and great forces. Neither has contributed much to the highest wisdom of the world or its well-being. Both indeed lacked the very highest intellectual qualities, though in each case the infinite skill with which they used the powers they had, and again, the presence of the more superficial and practically useful mental gifts in a state of the highest activity and efficiency, might almost disguise this want. That acute observer, Walter Bagehot, when asked if Gladstone's was a first-rate intellect, hesitated and then said, 'No, but an admirable second-rate intellect in a first-rate state of effervescence.' The word 'effervescence' is less applicable to Manning; but substantially the verdict on him must be the same. On the other hand, a man is accounted great as an effective power who fills a large space in the world's eye, and who dominates the minds and wills of his fellows; who has the perseverance and ability to carry out large and difficult designs; and, so judged, greatness can be denied neither to Manning nor to Gladstone, and was not attained by Bagehot himself, whose merely intellectual powers were certainly far higher.

The resemblance between Manning and Gladstone extends in some degree to the disproportion between the immediate tenacity of conviction and the strength of its grounds. The wiry, persistent effort which enabled each to carry through a project did not necessarily correspond to real depth of belief. It represented will-power rather than intellectual grasp. And the same consequence is visible in both—an ultimate instability of view, the more startling because of the tenacity with which the abandoned view had once been held. Gladstone began life as a Tory and ended as almost a Radical. From being a strong Unionist he became a Home-Ruler. So unexpected and surprising were his mental revolutions that Aubrey de Vere wittily compared them to the knight's move at chess. So Manning, the typical representative of 'morbid moderation,' as Archdeacon of Chichester, astonished Odo Russell, who remembered his past, when he appeared in Rome in 1870 as the typical *intransigeant* of the hour. And the days which saw Gladstone become a Home-Ruler saw Manning make a further marked change in his views on the Temporal Power and on the education of the clergy—the very points on which his

earlier attitude had seemed to be almost that of an inspired prophet.

Nor was this mystical element wanting in Gladstone. The strong religious tendency, which nearly led him to adopt the Church as a profession, remained through life, and included the characteristic of which we speak. Every one remembers the saying of a well-known politician: 'I don't mind Mr Gladstone playing with three aces up his sleeve, but I object to his trying to persuade me that Almighty God put them there.' Another story illustrative of this peculiarity was current in 1886. Gladstone was said to have written a letter to the late Lord Tennyson, at the end of which he referred to his new Home-Rule policy. Tennyson, a strong Unionist, had found some lines in 'Hesiod' to the effect that 'a man can very easily pull down a political constitution by tampering with it, but that, if any one thinks he can do what must be the work of many generations, namely, build up a new constitution, that man shall fail unless he is inhabited by the spirit of a god.' A friend to whom Tennyson showed these lines, remarked, 'I hope they will make Gladstone think.' 'Think?' Tennyson replied; 'yes, they will make him think he is inhabited by the spirit of a god.' Gladstone's answer fulfilled this prophecy. He spoke of having, in consequence of Tennyson's letter, 'cross-examined himself with a deep sense of his responsibilities,' and concluded by saying that at his time of life he should never have attempted anything so difficult and far-reaching unless he had had a clear conviction that it was his divinely appointed work to do so.

The perseverance of Mr Gladstone, at the cost of breaking up his party and losing his oldest friends, showed on a larger canvas the same qualities as Manning's disastrous education schemes. The Gladstonian party was formed, but Home Rule was not achieved. So, too, Hammersmith and Kensington were accomplished facts; but the effective education of Roman Catholic clergy and laity was certainly not advanced.

Just the same gifts were visible in Manning's action on behalf of the definition of papal infallibility in 1870, of which M. Thureau-Dangin gives a very interesting account. The present writer had several conversations with Manning (in 1891) about his action at the Council.

He regarded it as the greatest achievement of his life. It was fascinating to see the animation with which the old Cardinal recalled his former battles. 'Come again. It does me good to talk of it. It makes me live in the past,' he said. He related how he and the Bishop of Ratisbon, sitting on the steps of the papal throne on the feast of St Peter and Paul in 1866, made a vow that they would work for the definition of papal infallibility. He regarded the doctrine as a great weapon for the soldier of Christ in those evil days. Its acceptance was also to be the touchstone whereby the whole-hearted Catholics were to be known from the half-hearted. The historical side of the doctrine to be defined did not seem to enter his mind. He meant to 'fight the battle of Peter against his enemies,' and to vindicate the claims of the Holy Father, smiting the world with 'high doctrine.' The definition would throw a halo round the figure of the Vicar of Christ. Here was the mystical idea, the motive power; and in its execution he perhaps showed greater capacity than ever before. Though a foreigner and not a perfect Italian scholar—inferior in this respect to Cardinal Wiseman—he dominated the whole assembly, and was by common consent the greatest power in the Council. Ubiquitous and untiring, his enemies called him 'Il diavolo del concilio.'

The mystic bent in later years concentrated itself on the people and the poor, especially the poor of Ireland. There was a distinctly mystical element in his democratic sympathies, and it was characteristic of him to say that Moses first made him a democrat.

He had courted unpopularity in the eyes of the English world for the first fifteen years of his archiepiscopate by acting on fixed principles uncongenial to Englishmen. But in his last years a measure of popularity came; and it was not unwelcome. His views on the Temporal Power and on the type of clergy needed for the success of the Roman Church in England, expressed in the famous 'Hindrances,' indicate so wide a change in some of his opinions that the critic has in a sense the Cardinal's own sanction for strictures on his earlier policy. But it is observable that, while giving the judgment of more mature experience, he seems never to have reflected that it was his own policy which was largely,

perhaps mainly, responsible for the failures and faults which he deplores. He had denounced the type of mind Newman wished to form among Roman Catholics as a repetition of the cultivated Oxford type; yet it is expressly the qualities of the Oxford clergyman which he desiderates in the 'Hindrances.' Here are his words in a letter to Monsignor Talbot, written in 1866, the second year of his reign as archbishop:

'I see much danger of an English Catholicism, of which Newman is the highest type. It is the old Anglican, patristic, literary, Oxford tone transplanted into the Church. It takes the line of deprecating exaggerations, foreign devotions, Ultramontanism, anti-national sympathies. In one word, it is worldly Catholicism.' (Purcell's 'Life,' ii, 328.)

Against this 'danger' he worked for many years with all his untiring energy. Yet it is the absence among the English Roman Catholic clergy of these very qualities which the Anglican clergy possess—of the Oxford literary culture—the very absence in them of patriotism and the presence of anti-national sympathies, which he denounced in 1890 as the first of the 'hindrances' to the spread of Catholicism in England. Here are his remarkable words:

'In 1848 I was in Rome, and read Gioberti's "Primato degli Italiani." In describing England and its religion, he says that the Anglican clergy are "un clero colto e civile." As to culture, they certainly have a literary and scientific culture, more general and more advanced than the body of our priests; sacred science and theology hardly exist among them. Here and there only, such men as Lightfoot and Westcott are to be found. Nevertheless, they are literary: history, constitutional law, and experience in politics, they have very generally. Moreover, they have an interest in public affairs, in the politics and welfare of the country. They are therefore *civiles*. They share and promote the Civil life of the people. It is here that we are wanting, and mischievously wanting.

'The long persecution of the Catholic Church by the laws of England has alienated the hearts of Catholics from the public and political life of England. Till fifty years ago they were legally *ex-lex*. The law is changed, but not the habit of mind formed by it. "Ecclesia patria nostra." Catholics have not only been alienated from public life, but have been tempted to think that patriotism is hardly reconcilable with Catholic fidelity. . . . So long as this habit of mind lasts, we

shall never have a Civil priesthood; and, so long as our priesthood is not Civil, it will be confined to the Sacristy, as in France, not by hostile public opinion, but by our own incapacity to mix in the Civil life of the country.' (Purcell, ii, 774.)

A commanding presence while he was with us, Manning has left us a great example of priestly virtue and ascetic life, of untiring devotion to his Church, of tender sympathy with the poor. But of lasting wisdom, the most he has bequeathed is to be found in his later words, which are at variance with the thoughts and acts of three-quarters of his reign. On the Oxford question, however, he remained in theory firm, though even W. G. Ward wavered after the failure of the Kensington University. It was left to Cardinal Vaughan, all unwillingly, to yield to the wishes of the laity and to undo his predecessor's work by permitting Roman Catholics to frequent the national universities.

That John Henry Newman was conspicuous in his early days for many of the external gifts which help to make a personality impressive as a public figure, we know from the testimony of his Oxford contemporaries. The demeanour which suggested to Principal Shairp a Chrysostom or an Athanasius come to life again; the musical voice with its delicate intonations in preaching or reading prayers; the suppressed emotion, the dramatic instinct which made his sermons, though read from a book, masterpieces in an eloquence quite peculiar to himself—all these made a deep impression on the Oxford of the 'thirties. But, in the years with which M. Thureau-Dangin deals in his latest book, Newman was no longer in the same sense a public character. The contrast between him and Manning is for this reason the more complete. He lived a life of retirement at the Oratory in Birmingham, seen and heard only by a few intimate friends. If Manning was essentially the success of the moment in the Roman Catholic Church, ever before the public eye, ever carrying through the schemes he initiated—and yet left comparatively little that was valuable as a permanent contribution either to thought or to the well-being of the community, in Newman the parts were reversed. He was emphatically the recluse, the apparent failure of the

moment, the man of the future. It is not too much to say that his life was from the first a succession of apparent failures, each of which won him his opportunity of conferring on Christian thought a contribution, the value of which is now recognised by ever-increasing numbers, whether they accept his conclusions or not. And that value is not only speculative—the value of thought as thought—but concerns the abiding practical relations between the Christian churches and modern civilisation.

The characteristics of his career, of which we speak, marked especially the years after 1845. He used to speak jestingly at Oxford—though there was deep pathos mixed with the jest—of his 'floors.' He failed as a tutor at Oriel to impress the undergraduates. There is every reason to think that Lord Malmesbury's picture, in his 'Memoirs,' of Newman's ineffectiveness in dealing with the average undergraduate, gives a true impression. The plan which he and Hurrell Froude conceived for exercising quasi-apostolic functions in their tutorship was opposed by Hawkins, the Provost; and Newman was ultimately compelled to resign. The 'Tracts for the Times,' which he inaugurated and edited in 1834, incurred episcopal censure in 1841 and had to be discontinued. As a Roman Catholic, almost his first important work was as Rector of the Catholic University of Ireland. Newman designed this foundation as the university for all English-speaking Catholics. He wholly failed to make it so. For nearly four years after his nomination he was unable to bring the university into being at all. Few even of the Irish bishops could be induced to take any interest in it, except as a party measure against the Queen's Colleges. At its best it was not a success; and it ultimately ceased to exist, its medical schools alone surviving as a memorial of the attempt.

Newman next endeavoured to guide the policy of the 'Rambler'—that very able periodical known afterwards, in its enlarged form, as the 'Home and Foreign Review'—which, in the hands of the late Lord Acton and Mr Richard Simpson, impressed Matthew Arnold as displaying more 'knowledge and play of mind' than any other Review of the time. Newman failed, however, to keep the 'Rambler' on lines acceptable to the Roman

Catholic bishops. He then tried to edit it himself, but had to resign after his second number. He was commissioned to undertake a translation of the Scriptures, which was to supersede the old Douay version, but had to abandon the attempt. Twice, in 1864 and 1867, did he plan an oratory at Oxford; twice was his design thwarted by the ecclesiastical authorities when apparently on the verge of completion. The years from 1851 to 1867 were one long record of failure in every practical scheme he undertook, with the exception of the Oratory school, which did not call forth his special powers, and was chiefly under the able direction of Father Ambrose St John.

Yet it is hardly an exaggeration to say that each of his failures of the hour led to a work by which posterity has profited. Had he been absorbed by his Oriel tutorship we should never have had the work on 'The Arians of the Fourth Century,' with its really remarkable historical generalisations on the genesis and *rationale* of creeds and dogmas; and it is doubtful if the Oxford movement, as history knows it, would ever have come into existence. For only one man was capable of blending the philosophy of tradition, conceived on Coleridgian lines and expressed or implied in Newman's 'Tracts' and 'Sermons,' with a practical movement which appealed to Pusey, to Palmer, and to the rank and file of High-Churchmen of the new school. The subsequent breakdown of the 'Tracts,' again—another practical failure—gave him a stimulus for one of his works which was for all time—the 'Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine,' in which, fifteen years before the 'Origin of Species' appeared, the idea of evolution was so clearly foreshadowed. To the long-drawn-out failure of the Dublin Rectorship we owe alike the 'Idea of a University' and the third volume of 'Historical Sketches,' both full of interest for the years that were to come. The connexion here again was causal. To his work for the 'Rambler,' and his consequent experience of the difficulties of combining real open-minded thought with taking a line acceptable to ecclesiastical authority in a time of tension we owe that remarkable chapter of the 'Apologia'—'The Position of my Mind since 1845,' the title of which so little conveys its interest and value. The scheme for the translation of the Scriptures led him to prepare an 'intro-

duction' which traced the development of the religious idea in the history of Israel—a fitting prelude to the essay on Development. Should this exist in any form suitable for publication, we can hardly doubt that its value will be very considerable.

If the failure of the Oxford scheme had no direct effect in any publication for which his admirers are grateful, it at least gave Newman the leisure but for which the 'Grammar of Assent' might never have been written. Moreover, the lines of policy attempted by him without success in action, partially indicated in writing, are just those which the wisest thinkers among Roman Catholics —notably in France and in America—regard as offering permanent hope for the practical success of their Church in the future. The substitution of the fine and true psychology of the 'Grammar of Assent' for the old scholastic philosophy of religious belief is, we believe, gradually being effected among the more cultured Roman Catholics. The ideal of a university in which all sciences, including theology, should be represented, so as to effect the provisional synthesis which would keep Christian theology abreast of modern knowledge and preserve for education its religious character, remains as an ideal for the thoughtful Catholic, whether the university in which it may be attempted is Roman Catholic, like Louvain, or more or less neutral, like Oxford. It stands over against the impracticable attempt to preserve the medieval dream of theology as the *magistra scientiarum* which was to control the conclusions of history and even of physics. And lastly, the idea of development, exhibited in the work which marked his failure as an Anglican leader, while giving an *apologia* for the past, gives also the hope for the future; for it proposes to reconcile the proud *semper eadem* of Rome with a power of adaptation to new circumstances in thought and life. And on this the advanced thinkers in the Church of Rome build their hopes for the age to come.

Indeed the whole succession of Newman's failures in the cause of Catholic education and thought for his contemporaries had a large share in inspiring a brief but most important essay of his later years, which is the sketch of a treatise on the philosophy of an ecclesiastical polity. We refer to the 'introduction,' written in 1877,

to a new edition of the 'Prophetical Office,' republished under the title of 'Via Media.' His aim in his work at Dublin, in editing the 'Rambler,' and in his Oxford scheme, had been to combine real and thorough treatment of the questions absorbing the thinking world with loyalty to the existing ecclesiastical authority and to the main outlines of Catholic tradition. Newman believed the living organism of the Catholic Church in communion with Rome to be in its idea the great antidote to that attitude of negation in religion now known as agnosticism. In order that it should in reality prove to be so, two things were required—the recognition of authority as keeping the organism one, and a body of theological thought constantly energising, and as well adapted to the present time as the work of Aquinas had been to the thought of the thirteenth century. Newman found this last requisite unattainable. The freedom which was necessary for thoroughness and candour was at that time practically impossible for a Roman Catholic. In a certain sense the story of his Anglican life was repeated. In 1841 he claimed liberty to hold Catholic views as an Anglican; the retort was the condemnation of Tract 90 by the heads of houses at Oxford and by the bishops. In 1855 he claimed, in a remarkable lecture, freedom of research as a Catholic; and he soon learnt that the dominant theology would not practically tolerate it. Speaking of history, he wrote in oft-quoted words, 'One would not be thought a good Catholic unless one doctored all one's facts.' We have lived to see the days when Leo XIII directly encouraged among Roman Catholic scholars the utmost candour in historical research; and the official approval, during his pontificate, of Pastor's history of the Popes showed a different temper from that deprecated in Newman's words given above.

It may fairly be argued that the change was largely due to the influence of Newman's own writings. Such changes in policy in high places are from time to time wrought by the gradual influence on thought of a powerful personality. They express at the moment the different views of individual rulers and their advisers. Newman analysed, with acute perception, the forces at work in the Roman Church which are calculated to bring about adaptations to the requirements of the time, and thereby helped his

followers to possess their souls in patience in days when his thoughts and opinions were viewed with suspicion by the authorities. He likewise traced those forces which made such opposition and suspicion at times inevitable. Passages from the works of St Thomas Aquinas were for upwards of half a century under the ban of ecclesiastical censure; in the end his opinions could claim an authority in the Church second to no other. Newman points out the conflicting interests in the polity of the Church which explain both phases; and his argument, which shows him as the Burke of the ecclesiastical polity, applies to other Churches besides the Roman. Christianity is of course, he says, in the first place a creed. As such it appeals to the intellect. Theology attempts the task of analysing its implications and reconciling it with thought and learning, and the principle of theology is truth. But Christianity has been also throughout a worship appealing to the devotional nature; and the Church became, moreover, a polity. The principle of devotion is edification. A polity needs rulers; and expediency rather than truth is the immediate guiding principle of rule. What is expedient at one time may not be so at another; and different rulers will judge differently of expediency.

All these three aspects are ever present in any Church which claims to be the guardian of Christianity; and the interests of one may at times encroach on those of another. At a time of civil disorder, when places of education are broken up, the intellectual element may suffer from the absence of institutions devoted to its cultivation. Thus Newman constantly lamented the dissolution of the Sorbonne as a blow to Roman Catholic theology. Again, free discussion, the prerequisite of ascertaining scientific truth, may lead to undesirable contention at a crisis when union of forces is specially desirable; and then the interests of expediency militate against those of truth. Theology in the large sense languishes; devotion and rule are active. The very presence of danger keeps faith and devotion alive; and, if anarchy threatens or prevails, the rulers become more absolute and active. The intellectual domain is thereupon invaded and at times disfigured by those whose principle is expediency. At other times the intellectual element

may become too active and unruly, as it did early in the thirteenth century; and the principles of authority and tradition may be too weak to withstand the rationalism which results from such excess. Hence the widespread infidelity in the medieval University of Paris. Again, rationalism may seriously imperil the devotional element, which necessarily thrives best in an atmosphere of faith; or the exclusive presence of devotion, however pure and intense, if it sets at naught the principles of common-sense or the conditions necessary to stable rule, may be disastrous for the Church. Thus, even St Francis of Assisi needed the wise counsels of official authority to make his great enterprise practicable. Thus again, when the cardinals, sick of worldliness in high places, brought from his mountain-cell to the papal chair the ascetic hermit who took the name of Celestine V, the total absence in the new Pope of the qualities of a ruler led to hopeless confusion and disaster. The *gran rifiuto* was a necessity; and the embodiment of masterful rule—not without its attendant defects—occupied the throne of Peter in the person of Boniface VIII.

Thus did the English Cardinal find a philosophy in the history of the Church which brought patience and endurance in the special trials of his Roman Catholic life; and thus did he reconcile himself to a time when, during the pontificate of Pius IX, his own gifts found little scope in the Church, without ever suffering the 'blessed vision of peace,' of which he speaks in the wonderful epilogue to his work on Development, and to which the 'kindly light' had led him, to grow dim in his eyes. The 'sixties of the last century were, he wrote, 'a peculiar time, when only extreme views were accounted orthodox.' He constantly regretted that the French Revolution had destroyed the old theological schools, and that they had not been effectively replaced. Active thought abreast of the times was in abeyance among Roman Catholics, who lived on the theology of a former age. While original theological speculation had decayed, the Revolution of 1848, and the subsequent Roman crisis, led to a strong opposition in Rome to all 'liberalism'; and to distinguish accurately the freedom of thought which is essential to truth from that which meant insubordination and rationalism was perhaps beyond the

capacity of rulers who had no adequate body of intellectual counsellors.

The triple distinction in the ecclesiastical polity of which we speak—between the interests of truth, of devotion, and of stable rule—was formulated by Newman in 1877; but, in fact, his whole life as a Roman Catholic was based on its practical recognition. His Anglican life from 1828 onwards had been the story of his growing belief that he had found the reconciliation of the conflicting claims of the intellect and the spirit in the historical Christian Church, which had faithfully preserved the apostolic *ethos*. It was his sense of the claims of the spiritual nature, stimulated by sorrow, as he tells us in the 'Apologia,' that led him, under the guidance of the Fathers, from an incipient liberalism and intellectualism to join forces with Pusey and the High Anglicans. The early years of his Roman Catholic life saw the peace and happiness which came from his belief that he had found in his new Church, with its long descent, that spirituality which he looked for. But from the time when, as Rector of the Catholic University, he had to turn his attention to the intellectual position of Roman Catholics, at the very moment when the scientific movement was threatening to destroy in all religious communions so many old theological landmarks, his difficulties began.

Newman's qualities and his antecedents and his new position marked him out as in many ways just the intellectual leader whom the times demanded. Yet he soon found that his hands were tied. It was a truism to the student of Church history—so he urged in the 'Apologia'—that 'individuals and not the Holy See' take the lead in an intellectual movement within the Church. The great men who have formed Roman Catholic theology did not frame it as official ecclesiastical rulers, but gained their influence in virtue of intellectual genius, learning, and sanctity. St Clement of Alexandria and St Augustine, Albertus Magnus and St Thomas Aquinas were instances in point at different periods in Church history. Some who had most strongly influenced theology were, on certain points, accounted unorthodox, as were Origen and Tertullian. Theology ever stood in need of the great thinkers, for it was the product of thought and not of inspiration. If the Roman Church was *semper eadem*, it

was not, he held, to be expected that this rule of the past should be reversed in the present or the future. Therefore Newman felt that he had himself a work to do in which he might follow the greatest examples in the Roman communion of the past. Like Albertus Magnus and St Thomas Aquinas, he was the teacher of Catholic youth in a university. This was the very position in which precedent—and he was very sensitive to precedent and tradition—most clearly sanctioned the work of reconciling the truths of revelation and Christian tradition with the learning and thought of the day. Yet he ever insisted on obedience to authority as the mark distinguishing fruitful intellectual effort for the Church from the free-thought which leads to heresy. In this matter he had fallen on evil times. Cardinal Cullen in Ireland, quite as much as Archbishop Manning in England, upheld a policy of absoluteness and *intransigeance* in the intellectual domain. The one represented the conservatism of Gregory XVI, the other the reaction of Pius IX from his early liberalism. A certain jealousy and fear of the rôle of the intellectual leader had indeed existed ever since free-thought at the Reformation threatened the unity of the Church; and the Revolution, in all its phases, had renewed and increased this fear.

Thus the troubles of the Church, and the dread in high places of the excesses of intellectual freedom, engendered a conservative theological standard inexorably hostile to the frankness and candour and thoroughness in historical and critical research which Newman's work required. He had to content himself with indicating its lines with the greatest tact and reserve—a tact without which censure in some form would have been inevitable. The lecture in which he most strongly urged the necessity of absolute freedom in scientific investigation was submitted to theological censorship, and he found that he could not deliver it without offence. It was however published by him subsequently. He often referred wistfully to the freedom of thought allowed in medieval universities. Still, though the theological standard of the moment hampered him in work for which he was, above all men, fitted, though an intellectual opportunity was for ever lost, he never swerved from his rule of obedience, and even admitted the partial justification of a temporary

conservatism which was repressive, in the excesses of modern free-thought.

There is no doubt that, in this and in his succeeding efforts, confident in his own power of dealing with the vital questions of the hour, he regarded the more timid policy much as a doctor would regard the shrinking from an operation which would cure, though at the cost of anxiety and pain, an otherwise incurable illness. Hence his early sympathy with Lord Acton and the 'Rambler,' which, in spite of what he regarded as defects of tone, did make the attempt to grapple with the science and thought of a new era. Hence his readiness to go to Oxford and do there some of the work which he had wished to do in Dublin. But, with unyielding conviction, he held that the right to decide on the opportuneness of his policy lay with the ecclesiastical authorities. Loyal obedience was due to them, even though their decision might be utterly opposed to the line he judged wisest.

Just as he had instantly stopped the 'Tracts for the Times' on a hint from the Bishop of Oxford, so he resigned the editorship of the 'Rambler' when he found that his frank treatment of history was displeasing to the Roman Catholic episcopate. He twice dropped the Oxford scheme without a struggle; and, when the Munich Brief and the Encyclical of 1864 marked out a line of Christian apologetic which he did not regard as adequate, he plainly said in the 'Apologia' that his hands were tied so far as controversy was concerned. 'I interpret recent acts of authority,' he wrote, 'as tying the hands of such a controversialist as I should be.' His respect for the interests of truth would not allow him to undertake apologetic on the lines indicated by the authorities, which he regarded as inadequate in point of candour and of thoroughness. His respect for the rights of authority would not allow him to write on his own lines, which would be at variance with the spirit of the documents in question. In place of the ideal he had formed when he parted company with liberalism—the ideal (which in 1845 he believed to be largely realised in the Roman Church) of an authority which would check reason only when it is on the point of rationalism—he had to face the reality of a dominant body of thought which, fashioned by acute intellects long ago, in conditions of knowledge

long past, had, from the circumstances (as he considered) of a troublous time, been allowed to obtain an absolute authority far in excess of its due.

The contrast between Newman and Manning is all the more interesting because they to some extent represent two distinct types of Roman Catholicism which we now see struggling for mastery. Each man was fascinated by a type in conformity with his own earlier life. The rector of Lavington and the archdeacon was drawn to the Church of St Francis of Sales and St Charles Borromeo —of the pastor of souls, and the guide of consciences, and of the saintly official ruler. The study of such historical characters brought out in Manning a special affinity for the post-Reformation Church, of which they were representatives; that is, for the Church in action, and in controversy with those who had rebelled from her authority. There was no consideration of deeper intellectual problems, no wide and penetrating thought among churchmen in the period immediately succeeding the Reformation. The success of the Counter-Reformation was due to the gifts in which the Jesuits specially excelled—ascetic life, ready and persuasive speech, controversial rather than philosophical ability. The whole seminary system then introduced was on these lines. The old medieval disputations, once symbols of almost unbridled freedom of speech and speculation, were reorganised and marshalled to defend fixed propositions affirmed by the Catholic, denied by the Protestant. Authority and devotion enjoyed paramount influence; intellect was but the servant whose business it was to defend their claims. Manning, with his high ascetic ideals, his enthusiasm for the priestly caste, his ready but not deep intellect, found in this atmosphere an entirely congenial home.

To Newman it was before all things the Church of the Fathers which typified the genius of the Catholic Church. The days when Christian thought was building up theology as the expression of Christ's faith best suited to educated men in view of the controversies of the hour, persuasive to the intellect of Alexandria or of Athens, were the days congenial to the man who had lived his life among thinkers and scholars in Oxford. On the patristic era of

Church history, he tells us, his imagination loved to dwell as 'in a paradise of delight.' Theology absorbed primarily, not in refuting 'heretical rebels,' but in intellectually interpreting and applying the genius of Christianity, satisfying the deeper thought of its own champions rather than merely scoring immediate successes in argument, was his ideal. The controversial zeal of an Athanasius, indeed, was not distasteful to him. It had its place in the scheme. If it was militant, it was so in defence of a few great principles and truths. But neither officialism nor organised special pleading on behalf of a number of predetermined intellectual positions, to be preserved because they were in possession—the fatal weakness of the later Roman Church—was to his taste.

Newman found it hard to walk in the cumbrous theological armour of the school-theology which had been erected by a very curious sequence of events. The dialectical mania of the thirteenth century had led the Schoolmen, at Paris and elsewhere, to formulate answers to every conceivable question posed by the roving intellect of the day. These *responsa* had been used in the lecture-room to quiet enquirers, much as a child must be satisfied with a definite reply, and requires it in matters on which no really provable answer is available; and such answers gradually acquired the authority of prescription. In the sixteenth century came the natural reaction against the resulting over-elaborate and over-definite structure of the school-theology, belonging really to the clever childhood of modern western civilisation. Readers of Sir Thomas More's earlier works will come to the conclusion, from his words on the subject, that, in the ordinary course of events, scholasticism was destined to be thrown over at that time by the more cultivated Catholics. Be this as it may, the Reformation brought a panic which made any such movement of intellectual reform impossible; and the insistence on authority as against private judgment led to a new and more vigorous enforcement of the conclusions of the scholastic theologians, so useful, in such a crisis, from their very definiteness and completeness. Thus a system which was the product of an age of unbridled rationalism was invested with almost divine authority.

The avowed ground of the authority of the scholastic

conclusions was that they were deductions from revelation. The vulnerable point in the system—the question whether they were true and demonstrable deductions at all—was set aside as sceptical; and the system prevailed. Careful readers of Newman's lectures at Dublin will note that he at once put his finger on the weak point of this method of enforcing and interpreting theology. His respect for the existing Roman system as a whole prevented him from undertaking any direct campaign against it; but, as we have seen, he aimed at circumventing it by widening the intellects of his co-religionists and enlarging their appreciation of the world of scientifically-known fact.

If we are right in maintaining that it was the genius of the militant post-Reformation Roman Catholicism which Manning represented, we have at once an explanation, over and above his own special qualities and defects, which partly accounts for his successes and his failures. What zeal and ability in an emergency will do, he did, carrying out what he regarded as the orders of a God-given authority. This was the keynote of the work done in the post-Reformation Church, when military obedience was as essential to the Catholic divine as energy and capacity in its exercise. Granted that the Council of Trent required Manning to found his seminary, none of his contemporaries could have shown more energy in carrying through an unpromising scheme. Granted that there ought to be an English Catholic University under his own absolute control, no one was better fitted to set it on foot. Granted that the definition of 1870 was pre-eminently desirable because Pius IX desired it, no other churchman of the day would have carried it through so successfully. In each case the voice of authority, as he interpreted its decisions, was to him the voice of God, and directed and inspired his great capacities in their unswerving and untiring efforts. But the task of framing the initial judgment as to the wisest practicable policy—the root of lasting and constructive work—is, with a system subject to military discipline, in the hands of very few indeed; and Manning was not fitted by his qualities, remarkable as they were, to be one of those few.

We have said that Manning and Newman represented two types of Catholicism—that of the Counter-Reforma-

tion and that of the patristic era respectively. It may be asked, how far is the type represented by Newman identical with the liberal Catholicism which is now arousing considerable attention in such writers as Abbé Loisy, Abbé Houtin, and Father Tyrrell? In one point, and in one point only, the resemblance is very marked, namely, that both types urge strongly the necessity of a frank consideration of the drift of the positive sciences, and deprecate undue dogmatism in theology. But the temper evinced in Newman's opposition to the liberalism of modern society, his strong sense of the value of intellectual conservatism as a protection to the stability of the ecclesiastical polity, and his distrust of reason as ever prone in matters religious to exceed its powers—all marked features in his intellectual character—have no parallel in the modern liberal Roman Catholics. Newman's temper is far more akin to that of More and Erasmus, who rejected scholastic subtlety and dogmatism, but were nevertheless filled with enthusiasm for ancient ways and venerable traditions. Still, the story of his connexion with Lord Acton and the 'Rambler' shows his deep sympathy with the thoroughness of thought and research which is one main characteristic of the liberal Catholic movement. Put 'L'Évangile et l'Église' into a more tentative and interrogative shape, divest 'Autour d'un Petit Livre' of its occasional flippancy and its irritating personalities, and you would have books with which Newman would largely have sympathised. But he ever had a statesman's sense of the wide interval which separates discussion from any definite step forward, not merely in the official decisions of the Church, but in the finally accepted and avowed convictions of the theological schools and even of individuals.

Our knowledge of things divine is so largely symbolical, and therefore outside the sphere in which deductions can be drawn with certainty, that over-great confidence, in theological reasoning especially, was, in Newman's opinion, misplaced. Thus the very ground of his opposition to scholastic dogmatism was also an argument against the sanguineness of theological liberalism. All these considerations weighed in keeping him in the Church of England long after his reason pointed the way clearly to the Church of Rome. Still more did they weigh against

the final acceptance of any serious modification of traditional theology in the Roman Church. There was a compartment in his mind in which the liberal Catholic would have found a very congenial atmosphere; but the whole man, in action and in practical belief, remained a Father of the Church. Reverence, conservatism, and the love of wisdom were his characteristics. He would have found his kinship in our own day with the learned Benedictine, who stores up the ancient theology as a treasure of thought, not as an oppressive array of dogmatic maxims, whose heart is in the past, while he keeps abreast of modern criticism, far more than with the typical liberal Catholic, who says strong things against the theologians and against the ecclesiastical rulers, and is sanguine of creating a new theology radiant with the hues of twentieth century progress.

The present opposition between liberalism and *intransigeance* is indeed an opposition between temporary excesses on either side at a time of transition. So far as the underlying permanent antithesis is between elements ultimately reconcilable with Roman Catholicism, it must resolve itself into that between the types which we have styled Jesuit and Patristic respectively. The former is the Catholicism of authority and discipline. It is proper to a Church in the state of defensive warfare, which keeps the intellect under military discipline. The latter form of Catholicism marks the Church when she is promoting peaceful civilisation, giving to individual initiative free scope, and recognising original learning and thought as important factors in her well-being. These two types are largely those symbolised by the two English Cardinals. Manning, in spite of his opposition to the Jesuits, belongs unmistakably to that type of Catholicism of which they are the most distinguished representatives, and Newman rather to the type preserved in the Benedictine order, owning as fellow-creatures such writers as Mabillon and the congregation of St Maur; though he added an element of active and free speculation more akin to his beloved Augustine, or to the medieval Schoolmen, than to the calmer labours of the monkish historians.

Art. IV.—THE GERMAN ELECTIONS.

SINCE the March days of 1848, when Frederick William IV appeared at one of the windows of the royal palace in response to the clamour of revolution, and stood bare-headed to salute, as they were borne past him, the shrouded bodies of his Berlin citizens slain in the street-fighting by his soldiers, the Prussian capital has witnessed no stranger scene than that which took place on the same spot on the evening of February 5, 1907. Again the sovereign showed himself at a window of the palace, in response, however, not to the threats of an angry people, but to the insistent hurrahing of a vociferously loyal crowd bent on congratulating the Kaiser on the final results of the general election. With his consort beside him, William II stood forth as the Great Elector in the most modern sense of the term, and in an impassioned oration, borrowing the reckless language of his Chancellor, urged his people 'to ride down whatever stands in our way.' A substantial majority of the electors who had gone to the polls throughout the German Empire had, it is true, pronounced against the policy with which he publicly identified himself, and in his own capital Social Democracy had again carried five constituencies out of six with majorities more crushing than ever. Nevertheless fortune, on the whole, had smiled upon his venture; and in the exuberance of a victory which, however precarious and perhaps unexpected, was at least sufficient unto the day, the overlord of sixty million Germans did not hesitate to denounce more than half his people as beaten foemen whom 'we are much minded to beat again.'

In the cold light of returning day the bay leaves must have lost something of their freshness in the eyes even of the chief actor in that dramatic midnight scene. For the detached observer, whose business it is merely to study the figures of the German elections and to analyse the conditions under which they took place, the result certainly assumes a much more sober complexion. On December 13, 1906, the Government, having been defeated on the estimates for military expenditure in South West Africa, dissolved the Reichstag and appealed to the country. The majority, numbering 177 deputies, consisted exclusively

of the Roman Catholic Centre party and its Polish, Alsatian, and minor allies and auxiliaries, and of the Social Democrats. The minority, numbering 168, was made up of members belonging to all the other parliamentary parties—Conservatives and Agrarians, National Liberals and Anti-Semites, and the three Radical groups. The supporters of the Government, moreover, mustered on that occasion relatively in greater strength than its opponents, for 27 members of the Centre were absent, and in a full house the majority against the Government would presumably have been about 30, i.e. 213 to 183. On the basis of the polling at the general election of 1903 the parties that voted against the Government represented some 5,500,000 electors, while the supporters of the Government represented less than 4,000,000.

As the result of his appeal to the electorate, Prince Bülow has practically reversed the position in the Reichstag, without, however, having by any means reversed it in the country. He has obtained in the new Reichstag a majority of 37, made up of the following parties, whose strength in the last Diet is given in brackets for purposes of comparison:

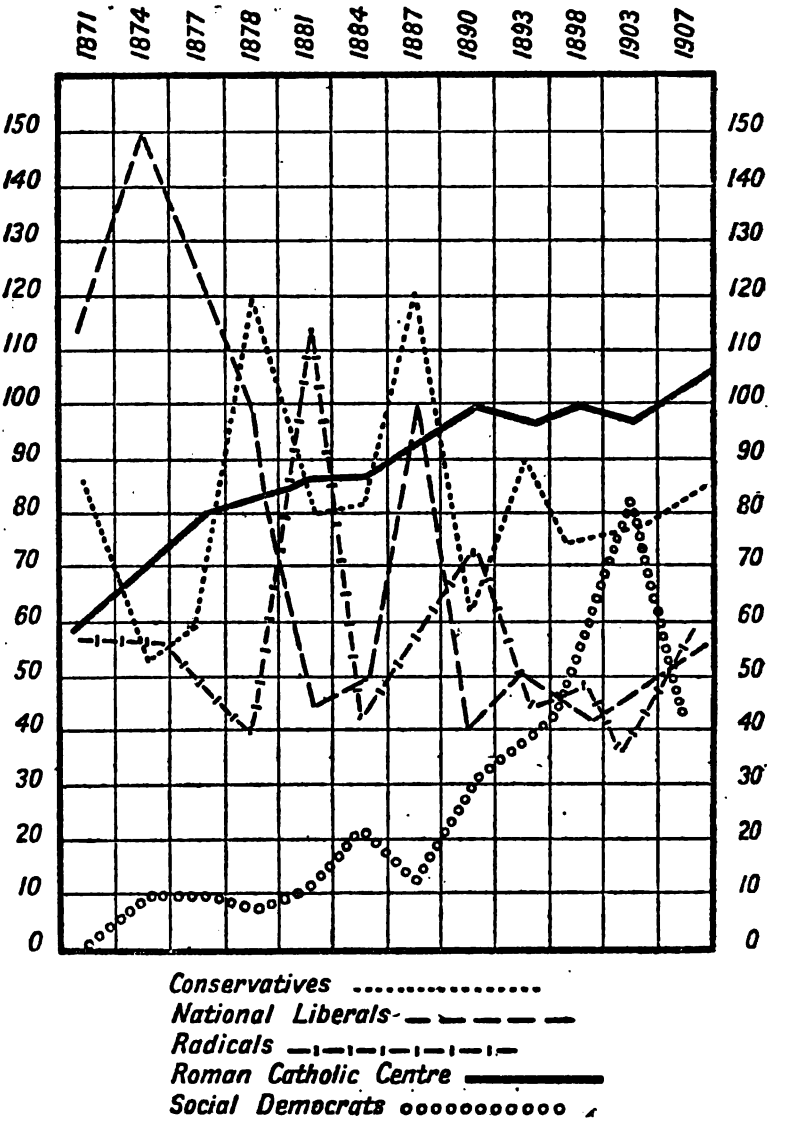
Conservatives	59	(52)
Free Conservatives, or Imperial party	22	(22)
Anti-Semites, and allied 'economic' or agrarian groups	31	(21)
National Liberals	56	(51)
Radical People's party	28	(20)
Radical Union	14	(10)
South German People's party	7	(6)
Independents	4	(2)
	221	(184)

The following figures show how the majority in the the late Reichstag has been converted into a minority in the new House:

Roman Catholic Centre	105	(104)
Poles	20	(16)
Alsatians, Lorrainers, Guelphs, etc.	8	(14)
Social Democrats	43	(79)
	176	(213)

The accompanying diagram shows the fluctuations of party strength in the Reichstag since the creation of the

FLUCTUATION OF CHIEF POLITICAL GROUPS AT GENERAL ELECTIONS SINCE 1871.



The figures at top of columns indicate the year of each general election. Those at the side indicate the number of members of the different parties in each Reichstag out of a total membership of 397.

German Empire. It brings out prominently both the rise of socialism until the elections of 1907, and the remarkable stability of the Centre party during the last twenty-five years, in contrast to the large oscillations of the pendulum in the case of other parties.

The representation of the German people in the Reichstag is determined by the electoral law of May 31, 1869, which applied at first only to the German states forming the North German Federation, and was extended after the creation of the German Empire to the South German states in 1871 and to the *Reichsland* of Alsace-Lorraine in 1873. That law was based upon universal male adult suffrage, and the distribution of seats amongst the different states was determined by their population, every 100,000 and every fraction of 100,000 in excess of 50,000 being entitled to return one representative, with the proviso that even the smallest state, however much its population might fall short of 100,000, should have one representative of its own. On the basis of the then population, the number of deputies to the Reichstag was brought up in 1873, when the annexed provinces were admitted to the franchise, to a total of 397, at which it has remained ever since.

According to the law of 1869 provision was to be made by future legislation for increasing the number of deputies in proportion to the increase of population; but this constitutional pledge has never been redeemed. The population of the German Empire has risen from forty millions to over sixty millions at the census of 1905. The Reichstag nevertheless still numbers only 397 deputies instead of approximately 600 representatives, whom, according to the constitution, the country should now be entitled to return. The Radical parties, and especially the Social Democrats, have repeatedly clamoured for redistribution, which would obviously work to their advantage, as the chief increase of population has taken place in the cities and great industrial centres where most of their supporters are gathered together. Berlin, for instance, which now has a population of over two millions, would return twenty members instead of six; and, as the Social Democrats now hold five out of the six Berlin seats, and the Radicals have with difficulty retained the smallest and least populous district, almost the whole increase in

the representation of the capital would probably accrue to the Socialists. For this very reason, however, the other political parties are more or less openly opposed to redistribution; and in official circles it is taboo.

In theory the Federal Governments and the bureaucracy are bound to abstain from all attempts to influence parliamentary elections. In practice a certain amount of official pressure has always been exercised in favour of parties who stand well with the powers that be and against their opponents. Ministers, however, not being responsible to Parliament, and their tenure of office not being conditioned upon the support of a parliamentary majority, have hitherto been regarded as being above party, and therefore debarred from descending into the electoral arena. Bismarck, it is true, never hesitated to denounce his political adversaries as *Reichsfeinde*, i.e. as enemies of the Empire, much as the present Emperor has often reviled the Socialists as *vaterlandslose Gesellen*, i.e. as fellows without a fatherland. But the old Chancellor drew the line at open interference in parliamentary elections. He admitted that he had been sometimes sorely tempted to interfere, but he had always, he added, refrained from doing so on grounds of prudential policy. Only a few years ago, Prince Bülow himself spoke in the same sense, and even more categorically. Count Posadowsky, the Secretary of State for the Interior, was accused of having accepted a pecuniary contribution from the League of German Industrialists towards a propaganda in favour of a Bill before Parliament to prevent picketing in labour disputes. Prince Bülow severely reproved all such practices; but at the last general election, discarding precedents and unmindful of his own precepts, he not only threw himself, as Chancellor, headlong into the fray, but helped to finance the electoral campaign.

Yet with all the advantages which the Governmental *bloc* derived from the inequalities of the old electoral constituencies, with all the pressure exerted, as never before, by the whole bureaucratic machinery, with the personal influence of the Chancellor thrown, as never before, into the scales, the result has been to secure, it is true, a heterogeneous majority in the new Reichstag, but a majority which, in the country at large, represents only a minority of the electorate. We know from our own

experience, notably at the last general election, that the parliamentary strength of parties does not by any means always correspond closely with their total polls throughout the country. But we have not adopted in the United Kingdom the principle of uniform constituencies, urban and rural, upon the sole basis of population, which, in theory at least, obtains in Germany, and did originally obtain there in practice. That, in these circumstances, the Government's majority in the new Reichstag should represent in the aggregate nearly one million less votes than were cast in favour of the opposition parties, is a stubborn fact which no amount of shouting can disguise.

The more closely it is examined, the greater indeed appears to be its significance. The elections were fought against two parties in the State, the Roman Catholic Centre, with its Polish and other nationalist allies, and the Social Democrats. The former has emerged practically unscathed from the fray, a few Guelph seats in the old kingdom of Hanover representing its only losses, for which it has found compensation in an almost equal number of Polish gains, whilst it has added just half a million votes to its total poll, which has risen from two and a quarter to two and three quarter millions. As for the so-called 'rout of the Socialists,' they have lost, it is true, nearly half the seats they held in the last Reichstag; but can a party be described as routed or even permanently checked which still represents the largest vote cast in favour of any single party and shows an actual increase of a quarter of a million on the aggregate, namely, from three millions to three millions and a quarter? Nothing surely can bring home more strongly to the German masses the injustice of an obsolete distribution of electoral districts, which defies both the letter and spirit of the constitution, than the fact that whereas 3,251,009 voters have only succeeded in returning 43 Social Democrats, 1,499,501 votes have sufficed to secure 83 seats for the two Conservative groups, and National Liberals and Radicals together have returned 105 deputies on a total poll (1,570,836 and 1,211,304 respectively) inferior by nearly half a million to the single Socialist poll. The only favourable feature from the Government's point of view which a careful analysis of the polls can reveal is that the polling was heavier on this occasion than at any

previous general election, 82 per cent. of the registered electors having recorded their votes in 1907, as against 75 per cent in 1903; and that, on the whole, its supporters received a larger accession of strength than its opponents from the increased poll.

The future alone can show how far the optimism of German official circles will be justified. Prince Bülow has for the present achieved his purpose; and, having got the majority which he required, he is not the man to feel much compunction as to the methods by which he obtained it, or as to whether it really represents the feeling of the country. The all-important question for Germany and for the rest of the world is to what ends he will use his success. That question can best be answered by trying to disentangle from the confused party controversies of the electoral campaign the real issue upon which the Government itself fought it. The actual vote by which it was defeated on December 13 turned on too insignificant a point to account in itself for the dissolution of the Reichstag. The Government wanted supplementary supplies to the amount of 29,229,000 marks (1,461,000*l.*) for military expenditure in South-west Africa, and was prepared to promise a reduction of the expeditionary force to 8000 men by March 31. The Centre party, who, as usual, held the balance, were willing to grant 20,288,000 marks (1,014,000*l.*) on condition that the Government should pledge itself to reduce the force in South-west Africa to 2500 men. The difference was hardly in itself vital; and, except for a certain solemnity of tone, Prince Bülow gave no indication before the division took place that a rejection of the Government's demands would involve a dissolution. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that the colonial policy of the Government had already received some severe checks earlier in the year, as, for instance, by the rejection of the proposal for the creation of a separate Colonial Office, and that it had just been subjected to very violent and damaging criticism in a series of debates on the colonial scandals. If Prince Bülow was not actually riding for a fall, he showed very clearly that he was fully prepared for it, when, immediately after the division had been taken, he pulled out of his pocket the Imperial decree dissolving the

Reichstag, and in a few carefully worded sentences stated, with the utmost clearness and precision, the issue upon which he intended to fight the elections, namely, '*our military honour, our prestige, and our position in the world.*'

In vain did the Centre party lay stress upon the constitutional functions of the Reichstag and the necessity of vindicating its power of the purse, which is the only effective weapon it possesses for controlling the policy of the Government. In vain did the Radical groups insist that the Chancellor's breach with the clerical Centre was the supreme *fait nouveau* in the political situation, and that its logical corollary must be the inauguration of a new era for German Liberalism. The semi-official press ignored the arguments of the Centre, and only responded to the advances of the Radicals with as much amiability as it could afford to show without exasperating the jealousy of Conservatives and Agrarians. Prince Bülow was much too wary to allow the issue to be shifted for the convenience of either friends or foes. He had put it clearly and succinctly before the Reichstag, and he emphasised it shortly afterwards in a lengthy manifesto, of which, however, the substance was perhaps the least remarkable part. The issuing of such a manifesto in the midst of an electoral campaign was a highly significant departure from all precedent; but what was far more significant was the selection of the channel through which it was addressed to the German electorate. It was not addressed to any notable politician, to any well-known party leader, to any eminent man of light and leading, but to Lieutenant-General von Liebert, whose only claim to be the recipient of the Chancellor's confidences was that, besides being president of a somewhat obscure 'Imperial Association for combating Social Democracy,' he was an active member of council of the Pan-German League, the Navy League, and the Colonial Society, the three great organisations for the promotion of Germany's *Weltpolitik*.

There is no shadow of doubt about the robustness of General von Liebert's opinions. For him 'the twentieth century belongs to the Germans,' for Germany possesses the 'brute force' (*brutale Gewalt*), which, in his view, is worth all the diplomacies. He has summed up his political

creed in a few terse words: 'If anybody asks me whether we are to disarm, then I reply, for God's sake keep up the army, and go on building ships, ships, ships.' By addressing himself to so stalwart a representative of German chauvinism Prince Bülow gave the parole for the raging and tearing propaganda in favour of militant Imperialism, which was to be amongst the masses as distinctive a feature of the electoral campaign as amongst the 'intellectuals' was the persuasive propaganda of sweet economic reasonableness conducted with the same purpose by the Chancellor's able coadjutor, Herr Dernburg, the new director of the Colonial department. Herr Dernburg's appointment to that office last summer was in itself an event, for never before had a mere banker, unconnected with the bureaucracy, of Jewish extraction, and professing in many directions quite advanced opinions, been pitchforked into one of the most responsible offices of the State.

In the stormy debates which preceded the dissolution, the brand-new 'Excellency,' and 'Real Privy Councillor' more than held his own; and during the electoral campaign his strong personality asserted itself with almost Bismarckian force. Herr Dernburg's speeches during the recent struggle seem indeed to have been very closely modelled on Mr Chamberlain's; and, though he had the disadvantage of being compelled to make heavy drafts upon the imagination of his audiences in order to kindle their enthusiasm for a Greater Germany beyond the seas—which is still a dream of the future rather than a present fact—he had, on the other hand, this advantage over his English exemplar that his economic arguments were not repugnant to German economic traditions or practice. His favourite thesis was that German colonial policy means nothing more nor less than the question of the future of German labour, the question of bread for many millions of industrial workers, the question of an adequate outlet for German capital in trade, industry, and navigation. He was quite willing on occasions to flavour his lectures with a little chauvinistic spice, as when he quoted Moser to the effect that, if the old Germanic Empire had stood by the Hansa cities, not Clive but a Hamburger would have ruled on the Ganges; but on the whole he preferred to dwell with German

'objectivity' on the material rather than the sentimental aspects of colonial expansion.

It was left to the Navy League to thump the big drum. How effectively it was thumped we know now from the very inconvenient revelations made by one of the South German organs of the Centre, which obtained possession of correspondence between General Keim and Prince Salm, the president of the Navy League. No less than 15,000,000 leaflets were distributed by its agency during the electoral campaign, which it conducted in close consultation with Prince Bülow; and, whilst Herr Dernburg pleaded for the sinking of party and sectarian differences, General Keim boasted of the *furor protestanticus* which the Navy League had aroused amongst the 'Philistines' against the Roman Catholic Centre, and concocted, with the Chancellor's approval, virulent pamphlets against one of the most prominent leaders of that party under the amiable title of 'Herr Erzberger's lies.' The German Navy League is not, like its British prototype, an independent association, frowned upon rather than encouraged by an Admiralty impatient of being lectured both in and out of season. It basks in the sunshine of official and Imperial favour; it is patronised by princes and ministers; even in the schools it carries on an active propaganda under the benevolent eye of the Ministry of Public Instruction; and in all ranks of society membership is counted unto civic righteousness. It already numbers over a million members, and it has unquestionably supplied a large part of the steam-pressure required to carry the Government's Navy Bills through the Reichstag. Its unwritten motto might well be, 'Censeo delendam esse Britanniam'; and it embodies all the chauvinistic forms of German Imperialism, which the authorities find it convenient to encourage at home and to disavow abroad. With the Pan-German League, which paints the map of Europe German from the mouth of the Scheldt to the Adriatic, and from the Gulf of Finland to the lower reaches of the Danube, and the Colonial Society, which is equally busy plotting out in the future a Greater Germany beyond the seas, it represents a social and political force in the domain of foreign policy at least equal to that which the Primrose League, in its palmiest

days, represented in this country in the domain of home politics. Prince Bülow has not hitherto proved himself a great statesman, but he is singularly astute and resourceful. In forcing a dissolution, for the first time in German history, on a distinctly colonial issue, and in keeping the claims of German 'world-policy' persistently before the country throughout the electoral campaign, he certainly hit upon the greatest common denominator for all the fractions out of which he could alone hope to create a majority in the new Reichstag.

The Conservatives, who form an essentially Prussian party, recruited indeed for the most part from the oldest provinces of the kingdom of Prussia, are apt to look on colonial expansion with much the same suspicion with which they formerly viewed the merging of Prussia into the new German Empire. For not only may colonial expansion conflict some day with their agrarian interests, but it is mixed up with financial and industrial influences utterly repugnant to their own caste prejudices. On the other hand, they are too closely bound up with the bureaucracy to have any real will of their own; and their traditions of unswerving loyalty to the throne can always be trusted to overcome their misgivings when once they are told, on such high authority as the Imperial Chancellor's, that the military honour of Germany is at stake. The National Liberals long ago surrendered at Bismarck's bidding the liberalism which they once hoped to reconcile with the robust nationalism of a united Germany. It has survived only in their traditional hatred of clericalism, which was perhaps intensified by the inglorious ending of the *Culturkampf*. A quarrel between the Government and the Roman Catholic Centre would therefore probably in itself have sufficed to stimulate their zeal. How much more so when the quarrel occurred in connexion with that colonial policy of which they have always been the most enthusiastic champions! For, sadly shrunken as are their ranks, the National Liberals have their chief strongholds in the industrial districts of Middle Germany; and their leaders are mostly connected with the world of commerce and finance, which owe so large a measure of their prosperity to the enormous expansion of German trade and navigation under the new orientation of German *Weltpolitik*. Similar con-

siderations helped, if perhaps in a lesser degree, to bring the three Radical groups into line with the Government, which they fondly hoped would be ultimately compelled to seek the support of the Left, if the reactionary alliance between the Conservatives and the Centre was once broken up. Just as, in the earlier days of the present reign, one of those groups voted for Count von Caprivi's Army Bills in 1893 rather than run the risk of driving the Emperor back into the arms of the reactionary parties, so on this occasion all three Radical groups threw in their lot with Prince Bülow, lest their opposition should drive him to a fresh compact with the Centre.

The colonial issue did not, however, serve merely to promote an incongruous alliance between political parties otherwise fundamentally antagonistic to each other. It undoubtedly brought into the field a large number of new voters who had hitherto held aloof from party politics, and it appealed especially to the rising generation which is gradually attaining to the franchise. That generation has been brought up in the atmosphere of rampant chauvinism which has developed in Germany with such startling rapidity since William II embarked on his grandiose schemes of world-policy. The intervention of Germany in the Far East after the war between China and Japan in 1895, and, a few months later, her demonstrative assertion of interest in South African affairs after the Jameson raid, may be said to have marked the beginning of that great evolution which led in turn to the seizure of Kiaochau by the 'mailed fist' in 1897, to the sensational despatch of the German expeditionary force to China in 1900, to the prolonged outbreak of unmeasured Anglophobia throughout Germany during the Boer war, to the calculated benevolence towards Russia of German neutrality during the struggle in Manchuria, and finally, to the Moroccan adventure and the conflict with France and England at Algeciras.

We are apt in this country to measure the success of German *Weltpolitik* by the many diplomatic rebuffs and disappointments which it has hitherto incurred. But the Germans have, in common with us, and perhaps in a greater degree than we ourselves at present possess it, the virtue of perseverance and tenacity. Failure has

so far merely stimulated them to fresh efforts. Moreover, it has not been all failure. In the field of diplomacy, no doubt, the Emperor cannot boast any very brilliant achievements. But on the other side of the balance-sheet he can point to the enormous expansion of German trade and industry, to the creation of a powerful navy and a yet more powerful mercantile marine, to the growing power of German finance, to vast railway enterprises in distant lands where, but a generation ago, Germany's name had scarcely been heard of, to the conquest of Germany's right to a 'place in the sun,' wherever the international struggle for existence may yet be waged. With the steady transformation of modern Germany into a great industrial and commercial State, whose population, moreover, grows by leaps and bounds, the demand for new markets, for fresh outlets for the trained and highly-equipped energies of the German people, rejuvenated by national unity, is bound to increase; and a large and influential section of the people is convinced that the demand can only be satisfied, as it was satisfied under similar conditions during the last three centuries in England, by a colonial Empire and such sea-power as, according to the preamble of the Navy Bill, none shall challenge with impunity. It was to that public opinion that Prince Bülow appealed at the recent elections even more than to the political parties whose traditions are still rooted in an older and narrower order of things; and it is to that public opinion that he owes the relative success of his electoral venture.

This conclusion is largely borne out by a comparison between the different fortunes of the two opposition parties in the struggle. The Centre has never displayed any real hostility to Germany's world-policy. On the contrary, it is with the help and support of the Centre that that policy has been carried on for years past. The quarrel which arose last autumn over certain incidental aspects of colonial policy was originally nothing more than a *querelle de famille*. Even after the final rupture the Chancellor was careful not to direct his chief attack against the Centre. He left it to General Keim and other subordinate agents to arouse the *furor protestanticus* against the Blacks; and his cue was to speak rather in sorrow than in anger of the strange aberration which

had driven them into an unholy alliance with the Reds. It was upon the Social Democrats that he poured out the full vials of his wrath, and from his point of view rightly; for they were the only party that was, and always had been, irreconcilably opposed to German world-policy in all its aspects. How far its opposition to that policy may account for the severe check which it encountered at the elections there is as yet no sufficient evidence to show. Many other circumstances contributed to it. There have of late years been serious and growing dissensions in the ranks of German Social Democracy. The struggle between the old revolutionary and the younger evolutionary school has grown steadily more acute. It represents a very interesting and instructive chapter in the history of socialism, to which want of space, however, forbids more than a passing reference. The revolt of the 'revisionists' against the doctrinaire rigidity of Marxism has been only superficially arrested by the stern discipline which the control of the party machinery still enables the veteran leaders to enforce. Some of the rebels have been content for the moment to be out-voted at the party congresses, but others have seceded; and disaffection is rife amongst the rank and file, who are beginning to doubt the wisdom of a policy of mere negation which yields no practical results. The Social Democrats in the last Reichstag were numerically the second strongest party in the House, yet their opposition proved as barren as in any former Parliament. The unparalleled industrial prosperity of Germany during the last few years may also have acted as a solvent. In a country where there are practically no unemployed, and emigration has almost ceased, the conditions are not favourable to a party which thrives above all upon distress and discontent; and it is significant that during the electoral campaign little was heard of the *Fleischnoth* which had only recently bulked so large in the columns of the Socialist press. Amongst the intelligent proletariat there were apparently not a few to whom the economic arguments in favour of colonial expansion appealed very forcibly. To them it chiefly meant more markets abroad and therefore more work at home. It is doubtful whether even militarism is as repugnant to the Social Democratic masses as their leaders would have us believe.

Still, when all is said, the 'rout of the Socialists' at the polls was more apparent than real. In 1903 the luck was with them, and on that occasion it redressed to some extent in their favour the heavy odds against which they have to fight under the present electoral system. In 1907 the luck has been against them, and has aggravated those odds. In Saxony, for instance, they carried in 1903 every seat but one—twenty-two out of twenty-three. That was unquestionably an abnormal triumph, due largely to the fact that the elections followed closely upon a sensational scandal at the Saxon Court, which Socialism exploited to the utmost. This year they only carried eight seats in Saxony, a net loss of fourteen seats in one State, and that State, be it noted, one of the chief industrial regions in the country. Elsewhere they have lost a number of seats by the same narrow majorities by which they won them in 1903. If we take the German Empire as a whole, the Socialist tide has not, indeed, ceased to rise, but it has risen less rapidly and with less uniformity. So Prince Bülow can legitimately boast that, if the Centre, which was driven as it were only incidentally into opposition to a forward colonial policy, emerges unbroken from the struggle, the Social Democrats, who are the only fundamentally and permanently irreconcilable party, have suffered such a number of partial defeats and such heavy casualties that, though not by any means driven off the field, their fighting strength is for the moment severely crippled, if not wholly shattered.

What use will Prince Bülow make of his success? The elections have awakened great expectations and also many apprehensions. The Chancellor coquetted just enough with the Liberal groups to alarm the Conservatives; and the assurances required to comfort the Conservatives went just far enough to keep the Radicals at any rate watchful and suspicious. On questions of tariff and taxation, and on questions of domestic and especially of educational legislation, as well as in all those matters of internal administration in which the influence of the Government makes itself so widely and directly felt in a bureaucratic country like Germany, Prince Bülow cannot well move any distance either to the right or to the left without endangering the delicate equipoise of a parliamentary *bloc*, comprising Agrarians

and Industrialists, Anti-Semites and Semitic Radicals, evangelical Conservatives and free-thinking Liberals, not to speak of the more purely political lines of cleavage between the parties which make up the 'Hottentot mosaic.'

To keep his majority in good humour in the new Reichstag the Chancellor has already had to widen the breach between himself and the Centre, though in the Prussian Diet he is still absolutely dependent on the Centre, and the difficulty of running two Parliaments simultaneously on different lines of policy is one that must severely tax even Prince Bülow's legerdemain. Any irreparable and permanent breach between the Imperial Government and the Roman Catholic Centre would, moreover, have grave consequences, not only for the parliamentary situation, but for the Empire itself; for the Centre more than any other party stands not only for a creed, but for ancient and profound differences of national temperament. There is no more dangerous line of cleavage between parties than a geographical line. Take an electoral map of Germany, and you will see that the Centre practically dominates western and southern Germany; i.e. draw a line running south-east from the Dutch border on the North Sea to the point where Bavaria and Saxony meet on the Austrian frontier, and to the west of that line the Centre forms a great though not unbroken mass, whilst to the east of it throughout Middle Germany and Prussia proper, it vanishes entirely to reappear only in the Prussian provinces of Poland and Silesia, on the borderland of Russia and Austria. It is no small matter for the Chancellor of a Federal Empire to have aroused the active hostility of a party which represents not only a powerful religious minority in the whole Empire, but all the old political particularism and anti-Prussian sentiment, scotched but by no means yet killed, of the South German States, as well as the militant separatism of unassimilated nationalities like the Poles and the people of Alsace-Lorraine.

If Prince Bülow is to hold his *bloc* together against the Centre as well as against the Social Democrats, the one common platform upon which he can hope to keep it united is that on which he fought the elections, namely, world-policy—the policy of ascendency in Europe

and of colonial expansion beyond the seas, which must be dependent upon increasing sea-power. Yet the present juncture is scarcely favourable for the development of an aggressive world-policy. International diplomacy, rendered more than ever suspicious by the tortuous and threatening methods which were adopted at Algeciras, will be on the watch. The Anglo-Russian understanding which, it may be hoped, is on the eve of conclusion, will tend, like the Anglo-French *entente*, to restore more and more the balance of power in Europe. The British fleet still commands the ocean highways; and, in principle at least, the Liberal Government in this country is just as much pledged as its predecessors to maintain our naval supremacy. Until, at any rate, the Peace Conference is over, General Keim will have to wait for 'the sensible Navy Bill' which was to be the reward of the German Navy League's services during the elections. So far as can be judged from Prince Bülow's recent utterances, Germany's cue for the present is to disarm the suspicions which her foreign policy has of late years aroused. But how long can these counsels of prudence prevail against the aggressive temper which has been deliberately fostered for years past and worked up to a white heat during the electoral campaign—a temper which, moreover, is not merely the outcome of sentimental chauvinism, but of a reasoned belief in the material exigencies of Germany's national development? How long can a Chancellor, who is little more than the adroit servant of an imperious master, restrain—even if he has the will to do so—the impulsiveness of a sovereign who has publicly declared that 'the future of Germany is on the sea,' and for whom the chief moral of the recent elections is that the German people must 'ride down whatever stands in our way'? That is the grave question into which the story of those elections resolves itself for foreign observers; and it is one which should be nowhere more seriously pondered than in this country.

Art. V.—FREDERIC WILLIAM MAITLAND.

1. *Pleas of the Crown for the County of Gloucester, etc.* Edited by F. W. Maitland. London: Macmillan, 1884.
2. *Bracton's Note-book.* Three vols. By the same. London: Clay, 1887.
3. *Domesday Book and Beyond.* By the same. Cambridge: University Press, 1897.
4. *Roman Canon Law in the Church of England.* By the same. London: Methuen, 1898.
5. *Township and Borough.* By the same. Cambridge: University Press, 1898.
6. *Political Theories of the Middle Age.* By Otto Gierke. Translated, with an introduction, by F. W. Maitland. Cambridge: University Press, 1900.
7. *English Law and the Renaissance.* By the same. Cambridge: University Press, 1901.
8. *Selden Society Publications: Select Pleas of the Crown,* 1888; *Select Pleas in Manorial, etc., Courts,* 1889; *The Court Baron,* 1891; *The Mirror of Justices,* 1895; *Bracton and Azo,* 1895; *Year-books of Edward II,* 1903–5. Edited by F. W. Maitland. (Three vols published.)
9. *History of English Law before the time of Edward I.* By Sir F. Pollock and F. W. Maitland. Two vols. Cambridge: University Press, 1895. (Second edition 1898.)

And other works.

When a man departs this life they say of him in the Gaelic that he is in the way of truth. The saying, it would seem, is double-edged, leaving faith, hope, or charity to surmise, as the case may admit, whether the enlightenment will be welcome or the reverse. At any rate we may read it as including a pious opinion that, according as in this world the soul has held fast to the best way of truth it could find, so it shall have the more profit of the truth to be opened beyond. 'Beati qui verum quærunt' is a blessing in which all lovers of learning may join, whatever be their creeds and schools. If ever a scholar earned that blessing by diligently seeking for truth and generously imparting the fruits of his search to others, it was Frederic William Maitland, sometime Downing Professor of the Laws of England at Cambridge,

whom we lost in the darkness of December, struck down by an early blast of winter in the very moment of seeking refuge, as he had done for seven winters before, in a more equable climate.

We have many students capable of good work in research when they know what to look for, and some capable of discovering the right lines of enquiry for themselves. We have a fair number whose range of knowledge, intellectual training, and sense of proportion enable them to draw general conclusions of some value from their materials when obtained. We have a considerable number who can give an intelligible exposition of their own or other men's results, and some who can do this in a manner attractive to students of their subject if not to a larger public. But very few have at any time combined all these powers in any high degree. Maitland combined them in the highest. A patient and indefatigable explorer, an exact scholar, a deep thinker, and the most brilliant expounder of his time, he seemed always to be doing the one thing he could do best; and it is impossible to decide in what aspect his genius was most distinguished.

If I speak with some confidence about Maitland's work, it is because I watched it from the first, was intimately acquainted with it for more than twenty years, have been in part associated with it, and know by my own experience what the puzzles and pitfalls of such work are. His example has already been fruitful; and he leaves younger workers who may be called his pupils with substantial truth, if not in the strict academic sense. The best of all such, however, was Mary Bateson of Cambridge, who was carried off by sudden illness a few weeks before her master. Almost the last words he wrote for publication were a tribute to her memory. To consider why Maitland did not leave any formed school in the proper sense would be to consider the great 'useful knowledge' illusion which infested the world in the days of our fathers' youth, and some of its disastrous consequences. It would involve an exposure of the perversity which led our university reformers—well-meaning, highly respectable, and even learned persons—to multiply examinations at the expense of knowledge, and practically, though not wilfully, to discourage original work in every

possible way. So it is that when a teacher like Maitland comes once in two or three generations, we have nothing better to do with him than to set him serving the tables of Triposes and grinding in the mills of boards and syndicates. If he wants to increase knowledge and to be a pioneer in new fields, he may do it in his odd time; and, if younger people want to learn from him things which do not pay in examinations, their college tutors will rebuke their improvidence.

I am not now to write Maitland's biography or to attempt a presentation of his personal character and qualities beyond what is useful for understanding the work he achieved. In course of time it may be done by or with the consent of those who have the right to decide; but the time is not yet, nor is this the place. The dates necessary or convenient for the present purpose are best given in the words of Maitland's own application for the Downing professorship, written in June 1888.

'I am thirty-eight years old; I was a Foundation Scholar of Trinity College and took the bachelor's degree in 1873, having been placed at the head of the Moral Sciences Tripos [1872: he was also an International Law Scholar on Whewell's foundation].* In 1876 I was called to the Bar by the Society of Lincoln's Inn, and from that time until 1884 I sought practice as a conveyancer. In 1884 the Readership of English Law was founded, and I was appointed to the office; that office I still hold.'

At Eton he had not made any distinguished mark, for classical scholarship did not attract him, and history was not then a recognised study at public schools. He was one of those boys who do not fit into any accustomed groove of either learning or games, though at Cambridge he was known as a good walker and runner, and I can bear witness to his later vigour in walks across country; but, if he made few school friends, he had no enemies.

Not only did Maitland show no marked sign of ability at school, but he was some time at Cambridge before he discovered an intellectual vocation; and his first preference was not for history or law, but for philosophy. Henry Sidgwick, founder and fosterer of many good

* It may be useful to note that a like name appearing in the Law Tripos of 1873 is another man's.

things at Cambridge, gave the first impulse. Maitland was his pupil; and their intercourse led, in the words of the informant on whom I rely for this time, to prompt mutual discovery. The resulting affection for philosophy did not become a passion; but it was not superficial or fruitless. So late as 1883, when Maitland was already preparing the work that first proved his mastery of historical method, he was contributing to 'Mind' articles of solid analytical criticism on Herbert Spencer's theory of society; and at one time he lectured on the English philosophers 'to small but enthusiastic audiences' in London. The criticism on Spencer is restrained in style, almost to austerity; probably it was toned down by the respect of a young critic. He allowed himself epigram only on collateral points; for example, on Coleridge's proof that the right to property was 'abstractedly deducible from the free agency of man': 'We may doubt whether a kind of property, the *esse* of which is *abstrahi*, can be of much value to its owner.' I have not been able to trace any specially philosophic writing of later date. But it is certain that no man without philosophic training could have taken as it were in his stride, as Maitland afterwards did, the scholastic ideas and the intricate developments of canon law, still less have grasped the essential points and demonstrated the historical and practical importance of the controversies on the nature of corporate societies, blissfully ignored or despised by most English lawyers, which have exercised great wits on the Continent for many generations. Metaphysic is justified of her children, even in England.

But we must return to Cambridge days. While Maitland was learning to be a philosopher he gradually became known as a brilliant speaker and talker, with what our ancestors called a pretty wit, and also an individual and singularly effective power of using any humorous aspect of his subject. He was among the leaders of the movement for opening, or rather reopening, the Cambridge Union on Sunday. (There had been battles royal on the same matter some years before, 'quorum pars parva fui,' with no final result.) Maitland's party discovered that the old resolution for Sunday closing—a resolution in fact imposed on the Union by higher academic authority—had not been carried by the

two-thirds majority required for altering a rule. True, it had been confirmed over and over again by express and implied recognition. But what of that? Direct attack did not look promising, and a surprise was worth trying. Solemn debate in a full house ensued; the vote seemed doubtful. Then Maitland intervened. Putting aside as irrelevant all the general arguments that had been used, he simply asked by what authority the Union had been closed, and, having elicited the facts, spoke words like these, vouched for in substance by a contemporary who was present as an officer of the Union:

'The question is really one of simple arithmetic. All the colours put upon it by the zeal of our opponents are irrelevant. The question is whether 77 is or is not twice as many as 58.* Now do please suppose that you were in for your Little-go, and that the question were asked, and that you answered, "Yes, 77 is as much as twice 58." Do you think that the examiner would give you an A? Do you think he would give you a B? or a C? Would he not rather express his simple judgment in one concentrated D?'

The unarithmetical prohibition was swept away in the torrent of laughter which had been rising as the speaker put his questions with the air of candid gravity remembered by all his friends. A later day came when Sidgwick's wisdom, allied with Maitland's eloquence, failed to carry a more serious vote; but nobody heard again of a special women's university to supply the demand for women's degrees after Maitland had labelled it as the Bletchley Junction Academy. Another time some one maintained in a private discussion that the householding of future civilisation was to be cœnobitic. Maitland was not attracted by the common dining-hall and the collective kitchen. 'The best thing I ever heard about heaven,' he said, 'is that there are many mansions there; and I hope we shall have one apiece.'

Maitland was of the Cambridge society commonly called the Apostles, 'best beloved of all the brotherhood by those who knew him best,' as a fully qualified witness has already said. When he was a resident member there

* The numbers referred to were those of that old vote by which the resolution in favour of closing had been passed; the exact figures and proportion are not warranted and are immaterial

was very little published information about that society; now there is much, some of it accurate.* I have nothing to add in that behalf; but I must recall in gratitude that, as it had done in the case of my seniors, Maine and Fitzjames Stephen, this bond made friendship with Maitland quicker and easier. I did not see much of him till he settled in London for professional work; then it did not take long to discover that this young barrister of Lincoln's Inn was a great deal more than a sound lawyer with scholarly tastes, and would not be content to be simply a learned conveyancer using humane letters as his recreation.

In 1879 the 'Westminster Review,' at that time still the accredited organ of speculative Liberalism, had an unsigned article on the reform of English real property law. Some old-fashioned Radicals must have rubbed their eyes over it. The writer did not weigh the heir-at-law in the orthodox Benthamite scales of utility and find him wanting; he showed him among his fossil companions, the people of Salic and Burgundian dark ages, as a historical anomaly. The first book on the list at the head of the article was Brunner's 'Das anglo-normannische Erbfolgesystem.' This reforming English lawyer, who could not only seek out and master German monographs on Anglo-Norman law, but distil their essence into joyful epigrams, was bewrayed by his speech as well as his learning. There was not more than one such person. I cannot remember whether I knew anything about this essay of Maitland's before publication; at any rate there was no need to have the authorship confirmed by him, and it would have been useless for him to deny it. What I do well remember is the impression made on me by the brilliance of the writing and the extraordinary range of learning shown by so young a man—he was of three years' standing at the bar. A few lines on the survival of primogeniture and marital right in the common law will serve as a sample:

'Really, when we think of the many destructive forces which at one time—of course long ago—threatened to deprive the male sex of its just prerogative, it seems little more than an

* Our latest instructor believes that the society lasted till 1840. His belief is correct so far as it goes, and his caution abundant.

accident, little less than a miracle, that our law of inheritance came safely through those revolutionary Dark Ages. There was the Church arrayed on the side of women; and of the meddlesome canon law all diligent readers of Blackstone know what to think. There was the civil law, including those improper Novels which even English judges are suspected of having perused in private.'

By this time Maitland and I were fast friends and allies. He was a man with a genius for history, who turned its light upon law because law, being his profession, came naturally into the field. I was a lawyer who had found it impossible to understand English law without much more of historical criticism than was current, or indeed would have been thought decent, in the received text-books. On the whole we were pursuing the same objects with complete agreement as to method, and for about twenty-five years—the rest of his life—we continued to exchange our ideas with the utmost freedom even when we were not actually working together. At first we seemed likely enough to cry in the wilderness all or most of our days. In 1881 Mr Oliver Wendell Holmes, junior, now Justice Holmes of the Supreme Court of the United States, published 'The Common Law,' a work of independent speculation and historical research which at this day is classical; two years later the library committee of Lincoln's Inn, after inspection—for it must be presumed that, as a copy of the book was put before them, some one did look at it—refused to buy it. Such a blunder, one may trust, is no longer possible; if any man more than others brought about a happier state in the Inns of Court, it was Maitland. There must after all be something, it appeared, in a line of study which produced work so brilliant and novel as to attract even unlearned readers, and so thoroughly sound as not only to be untouched by criticism, but on occasion to convince learned persons who were predisposed against the results.

Lawyers do not need to be told that no mere antiquary's learning could have borne such fruit. Maitland was a well-trained modern lawyer, and indeed he expounded our modern system of 'Justice and Police' in a handbook of that title published in the 'English Citizen' series in 1885. The chapters dealing with the superior courts are of permanent value, though later legislation

has put some other portions out of date. In this book the common notice-board asserting that trespassers will be prosecuted was denounced as, 'if strictly construed, a wooden falsehood'; but the justice of the common law does not punish a naked lie, and the mendacious form has not become less common. Towards the end of the book is a wholesome corrective for a vulgar error which has done mischief, and still does it. 'Law presumes that the prisoner is innocent until he is found guilty, but it were well to wager four to one that the jury will be satisfied of his guilt.'

Doubtless Maitland could have written excellent modern law-books. We cannot regret that he did not, for he spent his energy where there was the greatest need of it. Three years later he did write a kind of informal supplement to 'Justice and Police.' It was an article entitled 'The Shallows and Silences of Real Life,' contributed to J. K. Stephen's short-lived weekly 'Reflector.' County councils had been born, and Maitland made a funeral oration for government by justices of the peace. 'Shallow, as they call him, is at worst an anomaly, and Silence is obviously an anachronism in this eloquent nineteenth century. . . . Of course, we can all, when occasion serves, make merry over justices' justice; but if we look at the history of this justice as a whole we see that it has been marvellously, paradoxically successful.' The paper seems, on the face of it, lightly thrown off to please a friend; yet we catch in it something of the true historian's secret, the mind that, in looking backward, never forgets to look forward.

Maitland's proper and unique work as a legal historian begins with his edition of the Crown side of a Gloucestershire eyre roll of 1221. Why Gloucestershire? Because it was his own country; partly, too, we may think, because the west country was in a special manner the bailiwick of Henry of Bratton (such was his real name, as the late Mr Horwood had found and Maitland confirmed) and of his masters. It would be foolish to deny that Maitland learnt much between the time when he edited these Pleas of the Crown and the time when he was editing the Year Books of Edward II. He was of the scholars who are always learning. But when one reflects that really no document of this kind had been

adequately edited—I think we might say at all, except so far as some of the early so-called 'Year Books' dealt with by Mr Horwood resemble it, which is not much—and when one looks back at the mature method and sure touch of Maitland's introduction, it is astonishing.

Only three years passed before these 'Pleas of the Crown' were followed by 'Bracton's Note-book.' This, like its forerunner, was a purely individual enterprise. It would be hard to find elsewhere such results achieved by one scholar in what spare time he could make and at his own cost; it will perhaps be hard for posterity to believe that in England, near the end of Queen Victoria's reign, a document of capital historical importance had to be edited thus or not at all. We may now barely recall the facts that this British Museum MS. certainly contains a large portion of the materials relied on in Bracton's treatise (the first endeavour at a systematic treatise on English law), was almost certainly compiled by Bracton, or under his direction, and is full of annotations probably due to no other hand; that Prof. Vinogradoff of Moscow, whom we have now happily annexed, pointed out the character and probable origin of the MS. in 1884; and that Maitland worked out in detail the argument which justifies his title, besides the labour of transcription (almost all done by his own hand), revision for the press, and addition of full indexes and concise but most apt and useful notes. Here, too, Maitland was not content with the part of a cloistered student. History and law, for him, were concerned with real people in real places. Henry of Bratton he might not see, but Henry of Bratton's country he could. The records sent him to the ordnance map, and the ordnance map to the very ground, or to an excellent memory of journeyings already accomplished on it. It would be pleasant (if considerations of space allowed it) to quote at length a page of his introduction, which should be dear to all men of Devon, on the beatitude of walking round the dwelling-places of Bracton and his suitors. 'Many questions are solved by walking. *Beati omnes qui ambulant.*'

In this introduction Maitland struck, for the first time, a note of indignant regret, which he was to strike yet once and again—lastly in this Review barely three years ago. He could never acquiesce in the indifference of

England, the richest nation in the world, to her own historical treasures.

'We have been embarrassed by our riches, our untold riches. The nation put its hand to the work and turned back faint-hearted. Foreigners print their records; we, it must be supposed, have too many records to be worth printing; so there they lie, these invaluable materials for the history of the English people, unread, unknown, almost untouched save by the makers of pedigrees.'

And he warns us that one day, if Bracton is not properly edited by an Englishman, it will be done by a foreigner. Scholars may read between the lines, here and there, what Maitland thought of the so-called edition for which the Record Office and the late Sir Travers Twiss were answerable; he refrained in charity from quite saying it in public. A year later Maitland returns, in his inaugural lecture at Cambridge, to the 'danger lest the history of English law should be better known and better taught in other countries than in England.' Annexation has begun. He alludes to Dr Liebermann's edition of the Anglo-Saxon laws, then already spoken of,

'Foreigners know that the history of our law has a peculiar interest . . . a great part of the best work that has been done has not been done by Englishmen. Of what has been done in America we will say nothing, for in this context we cannot treat the Americans as foreigners; our law is their law; at times we can even be cosmopolitan enough to regret an arrangement of the universe which has placed our records in one hemisphere and those who would make the best use of them in another. And all foreigners are welcome, Frenchmen and Germans and Russians; there is room enough and to spare; still we are the children of the kingdom, and I do not see why we should cast ourselves out. But we are such a humble nation, we are. It is easy to persuade us that the early history of Roman law is interesting. To know all about the Roman formulary system, that is juristic science; to know anything about our own formulary system, which we only abolished the other day, that would be barbarian pedantry. But foreigners do not take this view.'

Why the average English lawyer's mind, till quite lately, was profoundly unhistorical, and the average English historian was no less innocent of law—these are questions

Maitland did not fail to consider; but we cannot now follow him in them, save to note that, as he said in this Review, 'where schools of law do not flourish, the history of law will not be adequately studied.'

Meanwhile the Selden Society was founded in 1887, 'to encourage the study and advance the knowledge of the history of English law.' Maitland was one of the founders; and from the beginning he was in fact the moving spirit of the society's work, as later he was its director in form. Thus it came about that Maitland gave us a series of introductions and editions comparable to no other work of scholarship in England than Bishop Stubbs' introductions to the chronicles, and unique in the amount of highly technical work on which they are based. These introductions are brilliant contributions to our historical literature—for they *are* literature, and not only monuments of learning; I believe Maitland could have made literature of Colenso's Arithmetic. Shall we dwell on the 'Select Pleas in Manorial Courts,' where he robbed the word 'feudal' of its mysterious terrors by showing that the essence of feudalism is not tenure alone, nor jurisdiction alone, but jurisdiction inseparably attached to tenure? or on the delightful rusticity of the 'Court Baron,' a book of precedents written in French, probably the working language of the Court in the fourteenth century, if not later, and translated by Maitland himself with minute care? or on the scherzo in the suite, that wilfully and justifiably comic exposure of the fantastic enigma called the 'Mirror of Justices'? Maitland loved music and knew a good deal about it. I think he would have accepted my designation. At last the feather-headed clerk from foreign parts who wrote that book (for I can hardly think him an Englishman —surely not an Englishman who knew anything of practice) had not scribbled in vain. But the favourite among scholars, perhaps, should be 'Bracton and Azo,' in which Maitland settled the true relations of the treatise we know as Bracton to Roman law and Italian learning, and incidentally showed how Bracton will have to be edited one day. It was a matter that needed putting straight, for no less a man than Sir Henry Maine had spoken of it unadvisedly or followed bad advice.

Last came the 'Year Books of Edward II,' on which

Maitland was at work to the end of his life, and of which three volumes are published. Other men had edited unpublished MSS. of 'Year Books' before, and done it very well. This was a really more laborious task—that of restoring a very ill-printed text with the aid of MS. authorities. Most editors would have thought it enough to do the work and preface it with a few pages of general information and notices of interesting cases in the book, perhaps to guard themselves with an 'it is said' when they suspected the evidence for current stories of being too thin. Not so Maitland. He not only demolished but pulverised the legend put about by Coke and Bacon*—agreeing for once to deceive the public—that the Year Books were official and authorised reports; and he investigated the Anglo-French dialect of the early fourteenth century so thoroughly that M. Paul Meyer recommends his introduction to all students of medieval French. Moreover, he rescued from oblivion a notable professional character, that of Chief Justice Bereford, a strong judge who could be merry on the bench, and whose jests are indeed not always reproducible in polite English. It must be added that even those publications of the Selden Society which do not bear Maitland's name owe much to his guidance and counsel. To the same class of work belongs the volume of 'Memoranda de Parliamento' (A.D. 1305), published in the Rolls series in 1893.

It is not easy for me to say much of the 'History of English Law before the time of Edward I' which Maitland and I published together. The order of the names on the title-page is, according to usage, that of seniority at the bar; but a note to the preface has already recorded that Maitland's share was far the greater. I may now add that when we began to talk over the plan it was he who saw clearly that the time was ripe to attempt a general reconstruction of the common law as Edward I found it, and that this was worth doing, though some parts would have to be left more in the rough than others. As Maitland was at Cambridge and I was in London, I never saw him actually at work, and

* Plowden is commonly vouched as its author, but I now gravely doubt whether Plowden was thinking of the Year Books at all.

whenever we compared notes I was surprised at the speed he made, with no such aid from pupils as a German or American professor would have, and very little clerical assistance of any kind; and this notwithstanding that hardly ever could a page be written without much reference and verification. What we thought most of was to make our book a sure foundation for the next generation to build on, and already it is fulfilling this purpose. Younger men, too, will have to consider whether the law of the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries needs to be handled on the same scale. It cannot be done very soon in any case, for Maitland's three volumes of Year Books, and the several volumes which Mr Pike has edited from time to time for the Record Office, are only the beginning of setting the materials in order. There need be no haste, for the outline of the story from Edward I downwards is pretty well known, and no very gross mistakes have remained current in recent times. I must quote a few sentences of Maitland's, the last in our book, as an example of his graver style, and as explaining how far the writer's motives went beyond the mere antiquary's curiosity.

'We have stood at the parting of the ways of the two most vigorous systems of law that the modern world has seen, the French and the English. . . . Which country made the wiser choice, no Frenchman and no Englishman can impartially say: no one should be judge in his own cause. But of this there can be no doubt, that it was for the good of the whole world that one race stood apart from its neighbours, turned away its eyes at an early time from the fascinating pages of the 'Corpus Iuris,' and, more Roman than the Romanists, made the grand experiment of a new formulary system. Nor can we part with this age without thinking once more of the permanence of its work. Those few men who were gathered at Westminster round Pateshull and Raleigh and Bracton were penning writs that would run in the name of kingless commonwealths on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean; they were making right and wrong for us and for our children.'

The researches undertaken by Maitland for the purposes of our joint work led to offshoots which in the next few years became books. If any Romanist reader is led to think of the successive gemmations of Ihering's 'Geist des römischen Rechts,' he may note that in

Maitland's case the outgrowth was not of large desultory works overshadowing and hampering the original undertaking and never getting finished themselves, but of clean-cut monographs, following in orderly course as 'good suit' to their leader. One such monograph came out between the first and second editions of the History; two bear the same date as the second. There had been a Domesday commemoration in 1886, learned readers may remember, where more and less ingenious and much conflicting contributions jostled one another. Down to that time Domesday Book, accessible in print and indexed only since the end of the eighteenth century, had been a mysterious fortress not only untaken, but unassailable by any known rules of art. It was Mr J. H. Round who discovered the right point of attack and opened an effective battery. Maitland came later to reinforce him. When the breach was practicable and the assault was delivered, it would be hard to say which of the two storming parties was in advance. It is certain that no third leader was with Round and Maitland, and that Maitland thoroughly reduced the remaining defences and completed the occupation. Mr Round's 'Feudal England' (1895) and Maitland's 'Domesday Book and Beyond' (1897) will long be the capital authorities for every student who wishes to labour in the field of Anglo-Norman tenure and economics (where there are still plenty of details to be worked out) with a mind clear of fables.

A year later there followed a volume of essays on a very different subject, the position of canon law in England before the Reformation. Here it may be said, with more certainty than we can now attach to the original occasion of Dante's line, that Maitland 'sillogizzò invidiosi veri.' For he attacked a theory which was accepted, not only by one section of Anglican opinion, but by our leaders in historical science—the theory that the Church under Roman obedience in England was still a national and in some measure autonomous Church, and obeyed the specific orders of the Roman See so far only as they were received within Anglican jurisdiction; in other words, that England was an ecclesiastical *pays de droit coutumier*. This was a patriotic, a comfortable and, above all, an anti-Romanist doctrine—we must not say Protestant, because that epithet has of late years acquired other controversial

connotations which are not to the present purpose. Maitland had no prejudice one way or the other, but having been led perforce into the books of canon law by the historical question of the 'Nolumus,' and such branches of learning, he read Lyndwood for himself. What he found is best indicated by the words he puts into Lyndwood's mouth as the probable answer to any one who had asked whether 'the canon law of Rome was binding on Lyndwood and his English colleagues.

'I do not quite understand what you mean by "the canon law of Rome." If you mean thereby any rules which relate only to the diocese of which the pope is bishop, or to the province of which the pope is metropolitan, then it is obvious enough that we in England have not to administer the canon law of Rome. But even if this be your meaning, you must be careful to avoid a mistake. I, whatever else I may be, am the official of a papal legate; the archiepiscopal court, over which I preside, is the court of a papal legate. . . . The "mos et stylus Curiæ Romanæ" are my models. . . . However, I very much fear that this is not your meaning, that what you call the canon law of Rome is what I call the *ius commune* of the church, and that you are hinting that I am not bound by the statutes that the popes have decreed for all the faithful. If that be so, I must tell you that your hint is not only erroneous but heretical. That you will withdraw it I hope and believe, for otherwise, though we are sincerely sorry when we are driven to extremities, the archbishop may feel it his painful duty to relinquish you to the lay arm, and you know what follows relinquishment.'

Tracing out the supposed authorities for the particularist Anglican theory, Maitland found that complaints against the Pope were rife enough even among the clergy, but they were complaints of a lawful discretion being improvidently exercised, not of merely lawless usurpation; that some canons were never put in execution, because the Pope did not think it politic to confirm them; and that some papal acts and decrees were openly repudiated, and perhaps some ecclesiastics were not altogether sorry to see it, but the repudiation was the work of temporal power overriding the claims of spiritual jurisdiction. We can do no justice to the argument here, but it is known to have convinced Bishop Stubbs. In 1900 and later Maitland pursued the same line of study in 'Elizabethan

Gleanings,' to be found, at present, only in the 'English Historical Review.' He discovered that the 'et cetera' first introduced by Queen Elizabeth into the royal style was a device to save her from deciding offhand whether she was or not supreme Head of the Church in England. The acute piecing together of indications could hardly be bettered by a master of detective fiction, with the advantage of having constructed the problem himself.

In the 'History of English Law,' again, there were sections on corporations and on boroughs. These sections were recast in the second edition; and the study which led to this also led Maitland to produce the Ford lectures on 'Township and Borough,' given at Oxford in 1897 and published in the following year, and two years later to bring the 'realistic' theory of corporate personality to the notice of English scholars in the short and brilliant introduction to 'Political Theories of the Middle Age,' a portion of Dr Gierke's great work. This was translated by the introducer himself; and, lavish of labour as Maitland always was, we may not grudge it in this case, for Dr Gierke deserves to be translated as well as judged by his peers. Once more we must send the reader to the book itself if he would know why Maitland was so much interested in what seems at first sight a verbal or metaphysical subtlety. He will find that the question goes deep into the foundations of the law, and has a bearing on the higher politics, especially the politics of a composite empire, which is increasing in importance and may break out into surprises at any moment.

In one word, which for brevity's sake I must make dogmatic, the Lords of the Judicial Committee must sooner or later recognise that Dominion and Commonwealth, Provinces and States, being living members of one empire and perfectly real persons in political fact, have to be so treated in law. For one really does not like to contemplate the alternative of dissecting the King's imaginary 'body politic,' with or without the decent vagueness thrown about it by its abstract name of 'the Crown,' into as many corpuscles politic or crownlets as there are autonomous legislatures under the British flag. It is true that the Bishop of Durham, when he was lord of his temporal regalities, did not stick at issuing prohibitions, as lord, to the Bishop of Durham who held a spiritual

court. But can the King have a 'crown' of Australia and a 'crown' of New South Wales? And if not, what other way will their lordships find? I venture to predict that these and other like writings of Maitland's—which, to the merely English lawyer, may still seem things of unpractical curiosity—will, before many years are out, be cited in the argument of weighty constitutional questions at the antipodes. There was a further essay on 'Trust and Corporation,' written for publication in German, and for the use of German-speaking lawyers, of which the English original has been privately printed; some good judges consider it even better than the introduction to Gierke.

The Rede lecture, delivered at Cambridge in 1901, on 'English Law and the Renaissance,' stands by itself as an academic exercise of the best kind. Incidentally doing honour to Sir Robert Rede, the founder of the lecture, a judge administering the common law in the early sixteenth century, and Sir Thomas Smith, a distinguished Cambridge humanist and civilian of the next generation, Maitland considered the reasons why Roman law did not obtain official 'reception' in England in the course of the Reformation movement. A few years before, the question would not have been understood, for we had for the most part assumed that the law of the Continent was always Roman, and that in the thirteenth century a definite Romanising movement had been started in England and failed; both of which assumptions are incorrect. A light and now thoroughly practised hand used the remarkable collection of authority which may be seen in the notes (a model of scholarly recreation) to adorn a charming exposition; the epithet is advised, for it did charm an audience only in part humanist and only in very small part legal.

There was an unreported ending. Maitland had said that what most saved the national law of England was, in his judgment, the existence of a strong national law school. He uttered a surmise—and this stands in print—of what the Inns of Court might do if they were bold enough to resume their ancient functions with serious purpose; and then he began, as it seemed, the real conclusion, an exhortation of the like sort to the Universities.

That conclusion never came, for after the first sentence Maitland interrupted himself in a tone of apologetic surprise: 'But, Mr Vice-Chancellor, I perceive that there are strangers present.' Not too many speakers can carry off such a piece of ironical byplay in any surroundings; and this in the Senate House! It was perfectly successful, and more significant than any formal peroration.

Besides his original work, Maitland wrote a great number of critical notices in the 'English Historical Review,' the 'Law Quarterly Review,' and elsewhere, and seldom without adding something good of his own. He spared no pains in helping fellow-labourers, and always tried to think the best of their performance. Whenever he thought it sound in the main, his criticism was in the tone of friendly and equal discussion, as if he were talking across the work-table, and saying to the author, 'Don't you think so and so?' As good a specimen as any is one of the latest, a review of Prof. Tout and Miss Johnstone's 'State Trials of the Reign of Edward I' (E.H.R. xxi, 783). He praises the editor's diligence with his peculiar felicity.

'Out of the thicket may fly a bird worth powder and shot. Under the stone may lurk a toad with a jewel in its head.... Here' (in the rolls of Edward I at the Record Office) 'was a stone to be turned, a thicket to be beaten. Regarded as thickets, legal records, with their technical phrases, their *etceteras*, their unfinished words, are dense and thorny. Regarded as stones, they are apt to break up, as we lift them, into little fragments, and the dust thereof gets into our eyes and obscures the view.'

Then, after warmly commending the results, he gives nearly a score of emendations in the transcript, made possible by his intimate knowledge of this class of records, and perhaps fortified by personal inspection of these very rolls. Nowhere in Maitland's writings is there any note of patronising or insolent superiority such as may be found in some continental authors, happily not all, nor the best. Formulas like 'putide Shavius,' 'entschieden falsch wird von Distelkopf angenommen,' 'völlig verfehlt ist hier die Schornsteinfeger'sche Erklärung,' were wholly strange to his pen. Only gross incompetence or bad faith could make him a stern censor. Once or twice an unscrupulous champion of forgone conclusions came

across Maitland's path, and was sorry for it if he had wit enough to see the full measure of his discomfiture.

It would be idle to enumerate or dwell upon the tokens of appreciation offered to Maitland by learned bodies at home and abroad. Fitting as they were, and honourable to receiver and giver alike, they tell us nothing more here; they may be useful to certify the world that it has lost a great scholar. But there has been posthumous honour too, not of a common kind. An invitation to lecture at Harvard in the summer was almost on its way. Maitland would have prized it, for he knew the Harvard teachers and esteemed the work of their school. The real monument to Maitland would be a school of the common law in England, worthy to stand beside that of Harvard. We have no such school. I have said it many times in public, and deliberately say it again to our shame, with more knowledge, in some ways, than I ever had before. Then the University of Oxford sent to Cambridge a special message of condolence; herself about to lose, all too soon, a son of her own who was an equally strenuous friend of sound learning. And, to speak of what is within my particular knowledge, colleagues from America, France, Germany, and Italy have sent their words of tribute for publication, about the same time with these pages, in the 'Law Quarterly Review.' Maitland was a true citizen of the universal world of letters, all the more so because he was a true Englishman and west-countryman. He knew and loved the Vulgate as a good medieval scholar should. There we may fitly look for such words as may sum up his praise; and if, peradventure, we apply some of the words in a sense of our own more special than the author's, that also has ample warrant of medieval usage. 'Qui autem docti fuerint fulgebunt quasi splendor firmamenti, et qui ad iustitiam erudiunt multos quasi stellæ in perpetuas æternitates.'

FREDERICK POLLOCK.

Art. VI.—THE MAIN FUNCTION OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

1. *The House of Lords (Reform) Bill.* Brought in by Lord Newton. Parliamentary Papers, Lords (4). 1907.
2. *A Strong Second Chamber.* By Prof. E. S. Beesly. London: Reeves, 1907.
3. *The Governance of England.* By Sidney Low. London: Fisher Unwin, 1904.

WHAT is in modern England the main constitutional function of the House of Lords? To this enquiry few Englishmen have hitherto directed much attention, yet on the proper reply to it depends our judgment of every proposal for ending the existence, for diminishing the powers, or for changing the constitution of the Upper House. To supply the right answer, and to indicate the conclusions it suggests, is the aim of this article.

The main, then, though not the most obvious, of the functions which the House of Lords can, and, when it sees fit, does perform, is the securing that in matters of legislation the permanent will of the electorate shall not be overridden by the passions of a party which has obtained a temporary majority in the House of Commons. This end the Upper House can attain by rejecting any Bill sent up to it by the House of Commons which the Peers believe would not be supported by the electors, when appealed to at a general election. The strength, in short, of the House of Lords consists in the right and the power to compel an appeal to the electorate and thus to safeguard the sovereignty of the nation.

This statement may excite surprise. Englishmen are little given to analyse the Constitution; they are—and reformers would do well to note the fact—pretty well satisfied, as far as the Constitution goes, with things as they stand. Our democratic polity has this one merit, that the ordinary Englishman is, under it, governed in accordance with his own often very commonplace wishes. Our ancient Constitution, moreover, is hard to understand; it is, being the production of history, full of fictions, and an elector of average intelligence feels it at once difficult and unnecessary to distinguish fiction from fact. He knows that the House of Lords is, in

theory, a branch of the Legislature of co-ordinate authority with the House of Commons. He knows also that, in fact, the Upper House has much less power than the so called Lower House. But what are the real powers of the Second Chamber, and still more what is the main end for which it exists, are matters about which he does not care to trouble his head. Yet the constitutional doctrine we have laid down, though it is not often stated in broad terms, is assuredly sound.

'The House of Lords' (writes Bagehot) 'must yield whenever the opinion of the Commons is also the opinion of the nation, and when it is clear that the nation has made up its mind. Whether or not the nation has made up its mind is a question to be decided by all the circumstances of the case, and in the common way by which all practical questions are decided. There are some people who lay down a sort of mechanical test; they say the House of Lords should be at liberty to reject a measure passed by the Commons once or more, and then, if the Commons send it up again and again, infer that the nation is determined. But no important practical question in real life can be uniformly settled by a fixed and formal rule in this way. This rule would prove that the Lords might have rejected the Reform Act of 1832. Whenever the nation was both excited and determined, such a rule would be an acute and dangerous political poison. It would teach the House of Lords that it might shut its eyes to all the facts of real life, and decide simply by an abstract formula. . . . Undoubtedly there is a general truth in the rule. Whether a Bill has come up once only, or whether it has come up several times, is one important fact in judging whether the nation is determined to have that measure enacted; it is an indication, but it is only one of the indications. There are others equally decisive. The unanimous voice of the people may be so strong, and may be conveyed through so many organs, that it may be assumed to be lasting. . . . I should venture so far as to lay down for an approximate rule, that the House of Lords ought, on a first-class subject, to be slow—very slow—in rejecting a Bill passed even once by a large majority of the House of Commons. I would not, of course, lay this down as an unvarying rule; as I have said, I have for practical purposes no belief in unvarying rules. Majorities may be either genuine or fictitious, and if they are not genuine, if they do not embody the opinion of the representative as well as the opinion of the constituency, no one would wish to have any attention paid

to them. But if the opinion of the nation be strong and be universal, if it be really believed by members of Parliament as well as by those who send them to Parliament, in my judgment the Lords should yield at once, and should not resist it.' 'Essays on Parliamentary Reform' (ed. 1883), pp. 202, 203.

Thus Bagehot in 1875; and Bagehot, be it noted, was the one man of genius who, since the time of Burke, has devoted all the power of a subtle intellect to describing our Constitution, not as it is painted in books, but as he saw it living and working before his eyes.

Ten years later a disciple of Bagehot wrote:

'The general rule that the House of Lords must, in matters of legislation, ultimately give way to the House of Commons is one of the best-established maxims of modern constitutional ethics. But if any inquirer asks how the point at which the Peers are to give way is to be determined, no answer which even approximates to the truth can be given, except the very vague reply that the Upper House must give way whenever it is clearly proved that the will of the House of Commons represents the deliberate will of the nation. The nature of the proof differs under different circumstances.' *

Each of these expositions of constitutional usage was written long before the reform of the Upper House had come within the sphere of practical politics. The writer of each insists indeed upon the fact, which no one disputes, that on questions of legislation the House of Lords constantly yields in form to the expressed will of the House of Commons. But both writers assume that the Upper Chamber, when it formally yields to the House of Commons, in reality bows to the supreme power which, under our democratic constitution, can be nothing but the sovereignty of the people. Hence it immediately follows that the House of Lords always may, and sometimes should, resist the will of the House of Commons until the fact is clearly established that the Lower House expresses the actual and settled will of the nation. This is the principle on which the Peers have, for the last fifty or sixty years at least, consistently acted. Rarely, indeed, have they rejected any measure approved of by the Commons of which a candid historian could assert that

* Dicey, 'Law of the Constitution' (6th ed.), p. 402.

it had received the indubitable support of the nation. Of the House of Lords it has been well said by Mr Sidney Low, in his recent book, 'The Governance of England' (p. 223), that the House 'cannot upset the verdict; but it may take care that the issue is properly placed before the Court. It can ask for suspense of judgment till the national tribunal has weighed and examined the arguments.' This right of the Peers to enforce an appeal to the nation is commemorated by one remarkable and recent event. The rejection of Mr Gladstone's last Home Rule Bill saved the Constitution from destruction. The general election of 1895 proved that the Lords, in maintaining the union with Ireland, had obeyed, whilst the elected House of Commons had defied, the will of the country.

To this exposition of constitutional theory and practice are sometimes raised several objections.

The right or duty of the Lords to reject Bills passed by the House of Commons is represented as the claim of a body which, consisting of hereditary legislators, has received no mandate from the electors to thwart the wishes of the country; and the exercise of this right is rhetorically treated as treason against the majesty of the people. But no such claim is made by or on behalf of the Peers. They claim not to resist the will of the people, but simply to decide whether, on a critical occasion, the roar of a multitude, even when re-echoed by the majority of the House of Commons, is the voice of the nation, and, for the purpose of this decision, to appeal to the nation itself. It is simply idle to treat as an insult to the people an appeal which acknowledges the people's supreme authority.

As soon, however, as the House of Peers yields to the ascertained will of the country demagogues turn round and attack the House from another side. Their lordships, who were yesterday described as Tory reactionists who opposed the will of the country, are now reviled as cowards for passing a law which does not commend itself to their own judgment. This tone has a fine sound, but assuredly covers a lot of cant. Both Houses of Parliament are, in reality, agents of the nation; they must, under a democracy, finally legislate in accordance with the will of the people. A legislator in either House

of Parliament who flatters the people is a sycophant; a legislator who deceives the people is a liar; and Parliament would be a far nobler assembly than it is if every man, either Peer or Commoner, who belonged to either branch of the Legislature, never failed to speak his mind boldly and freely to the people. But the business of an agent when he has acted honestly by his employer is, as a rule, to obey his employer's orders. There is nothing dishonest, nothing discreditable, in the submission of either House to the ascertained will of the country.

This is the teaching of sound sense and sound morality. If it were not followed, the Constitution could not continue in working order for six months. To neglect this rule of common-sense would be madness. Folly can never be identified with duty. When the Peers have, in deference to the demand of the country, passed Bills of which they did not approve, statesmanlike recognition of the authority of the nation has never been deemed cowardice either by historians or moralists. Tories who, with Wellington at their head, withdrew their opposition to the Reform Act, peers who in 1846 acquiesced in the repeal of the Corn Laws, zealous churchmen who in 1869, under the guidance of Lord Cairns, arranged the terms for disestablishing the Church of Ireland, whilst themselves detesting the whole policy of disestablishment, have never been deemed fools or knaves or poltroons. The time for resistance had gone by; they did their duty; they bowed as loyal citizens to the lawful behests of the people of England.

Behind every other criticism of the doctrine maintained in this article lies a sentiment or a conviction which is, it may be suspected, shared at heart by every M.P. of every party. It is best summed up in Disraeli's youthful paradox, 'The House of Commons is absolute: it is the State.' This idolatry of the House of Commons, while it flatters the individual vanity of every member of the House, appeals to the corporate pride which ought to be cherished by every legislative assembly. But men who have once imbibed this absolute faith in the House of Commons to which they belong soon come to believe that opposition to the will of the House is exactly the same thing as opposition to the will of the nation, and that it is practically impossible that a freely and fairly elected

representative body should ever on particular topics misrepresent the wishes of the constituents by whom it has been chosen. If, however, the House of Commons is always the one authentic representative of the people, it follows inevitably that for the House of Lords to attempt to safeguard the sovereignty of the nation is an impertinent folly. The matter worth consideration is what is the true answer to a notion which exerts a far greater influence than any definitely avowed line of reasoning?

The reply is, in substance, this: the House of Commons never, according to constitutional theory, has been the authentic representative of the nation. It has never been the State; it has never been the sovereign power. From a legal point of view the sovereign power in England is not the House of Commons but Parliament, that is, the King and the two Houses acting together. Grant that parliamentary sovereignty is to a certain extent a legal fiction, grant further that the House of Commons possesses greater power than either the Crown or the House of Lords. Still, political fictions are as dangerous as legal; and, if we are to reject all fictions, we must recognise plain facts and acknowledge that the House of Commons itself can in this year 1907, at least, be treated as the State only by a very bold political fiction. Things have changed greatly since Disraeli uttered his paradox. Political sovereignty now belongs, in truth, rather to the electors than to the House of Commons, rather to the people than to Parliament. The very fact that a majority of the House of Commons can control not only legislation, but also every act of the Government makes it all the more necessary that, as regards the passing of laws, at any rate, there should be some appeal from the party which is supreme in the House of Commons to the nation itself.

Nowhere is such an appeal so necessary as in England. Here we have not, as they have in the United States, an all but unchangeable Constitution, the articles of which are safeguarded by the authority of the Supreme Court. We have no President who derives powers, more extensive than those possessed by an English king, directly from the people and, strong in them, can, if need be, withstand the Houses of Congress. We have not, as they have in

France, the means of submitting some fundamental change in the Constitution to the joint decision of the two legislative chambers sitting together as a National Assembly. Above all, we have not in England anything like the Swiss Referendum which makes impossible any change in an elaborate constitution until it has been submitted to the whole body of citizens for their approval or rejection. In England an appeal to the electors is a necessity; and, under the Constitution as it stands, this appeal can be enforced by the House of Lords and by the House of Lords alone.

Oddly enough, Liberals who assail the House of Lords rely, and rightly rely, on an argument which, in so far as it is sound, concedes the principle laid down in this article. The Peers, they say, and not without some truth, have become identified, not with the conservatism of the country, but with the Conservative party; hence, when Tories are in office, i.e. are supported by a majority of the House of Commons, the Upper House affords little protection against revolutionary legislation condemned by the judgment or the conscience of the people. Grant, for the sake of argument only, that this is so. What does this train of reasoning mean except that the House of Commons often fails to understand the wishes of the country, and that the true weakness of the Peers is that they do not often enough compel an appeal from the recklessness of a faction to the deliberate judgment of the electors? The Radical who complains that the Upper Chamber should have rejected the Education Act or the Licensing Act of the late Government may be right or may be wrong, but in any case he admits that a vote of the House of Commons may be a very different thing from the will of the people of England. We are all then, it seems, at bottom at one; we are agreed that the House of Lords may need reform, but there is no man mad enough to desire the uncontrolled despotism of the House of Commons.

The conviction that the main function of the House of Lords is to protect the sovereignty of the nation supplies us with a touchstone by which to test various proposals for dealing with the Upper House, and by which to determine how such proposals ought to be received by plain men of public spirit, and especially by patriotic

Unionists. Let us apply this test to the ideas of modern Radicalism. The attitude towards our Second Chamber adopted by Radicals who still claimed to be philosophic, was some years ago neatly summed up in the phrase, 'end it or mend it.' This epigrammatic formula has recently undergone a noteworthy transformation. It hardly suits the position of leaders who have exchanged philosophy which was never popular for the out-and-out partisanship which may possibly, at any rate, attract the crowd. The old war-cry has been transformed into 'end it, bend it, or mend it.' The proposals presented to the nation aim at the destruction, the enfeeblement, or the reconstitution of the Upper House.

To 'end' or abolish the House of Lords is an impossibility. On this point little need be said. To demonstrate a proposition which no one disputes is a waste of labour. None of the Ministry—no, not even the Attorney-General when he blusters in the absence of reporters—are revolutionists. They are not the men, and they know it, to repeat the feats of the Long Parliament. Had they the power to do so, they have not the wish. They no more intend to shut up the House of Lords than to cut off the head of Edward VII; and, had they the energy as well as the fanaticism of Puritans or Jacobins, they know that they are in this matter powerless because they lack the support of popular passion. No one hates a lord, or the House of Lords. A middle-class Englishman loves a lord only too well. The wage-earners look with more favour upon a wealthy duke than upon a wealthy manufacturer. No member of the Upper House need fear the menaces of the Cabinet. Within a few years our present Premier may have sought for and deservedly obtained a peerage; the Attorney-General, in the midst of a House of Commons which he does not seem quite to understand, sighs, one may suspect, like all his predecessors, for a seat on the woolsack.

To 'bend' the House of Lords, that is, in the euphonious phraseology of the day, to adjust the relation between the two Houses so that the Upper may never disagree with the Lower House, is a policy which commends itself to politicians who dare not and cannot openly destroy the House of Peers, but desire to diminish its authority so as, in fact, to subject it to the House of

Commons. The change looks like an easy one which might conceivably be carried out by an Act containing not more than one section, which should enact in substance that a Bill passed by the Commons but rejected by the House of Lords should, on being again passed by the Lower House, become law without requiring the assent of the Peers. This proposal, which may be embodied in a score of different forms, and be limited by an infinite number of different conditions, undoubtedly finds favour with Radicals who, having at this moment a majority in the Lower House, are apparently under the delusion, in the face of very recent experience, that this majority will last for ever, or else wish with singular unscrupulosity to make hay while the sun shines and immediately carry out every measure to which they are attached. A critic, however, must remark that this adjustment of the relation between the two Houses is an ambiguous expression and covers two proposals which are essentially different.

It may mean that by some device, with the details of which we need not trouble ourselves, a Bill passed by one House of Commons and then rejected by the Lords shall, if passed again in the *next* Parliament by *another* House of Commons, become law whether approved of by the House of Lords or not. The proposal thus to adjust the relation of the two Houses is assuredly open to obvious and very grave objections. It substitutes for a constitutional understanding or custom which even now exists, one of those rigid general rules which Bagehot, and every man of common-sense with him, abhors. It does not remove any one of the real defects in the actual constitution of the House of Lords; it neither lessens the number of the peers, nor does it exclude from the House either men of notoriously bad character, e.g. peers convicted of felony, or the large body of their lordships who practically take little part in the work of the House. The object which the proposed enactment might possibly attain is, as we shall show later, more easily and far more prudently obtained by a slight alteration in the custom rather than in the law of the Constitution. Yet, for all this, the suggested legal change does respect the sovereignty of the nation, for it involves the result that the Upper House can still send back any law of which it doubts the expediency to the

arbitrament of the people at a general election. But, for this very reason, a proposal at once pedantic and unnecessary will not enlist the support of innovators determined to make the House of Commons at all cost supreme.

The proposal to adjust the relations of the two Houses may have a different and a very sinister signification. It may mean that under some enactment (whether complicated or simple) a Bill passed by the House of Commons and rejected by the Lords shall, if passed again by the *same* House of Commons, *ipso facto* become law. This proposal, while ostensibly the same, differs fundamentally from that referred to above. The one respects, the other defies, the legitimate sovereignty of the nation. The difference is vital. What is for the moment of equal, if not of greater, importance is the fact that the one member of the present Ministry who has made his opinion public approves of the policy which aims at the absolute supremacy, not of the nation, but of the House of Commons. To ascertain that this is so, no one need take any more trouble than to buy the second number of a new and, so far, little known paper, 'The Nation.'

It is our deliberate intention to recommend a periodical of no great literary or other merit to the careful perusal of our readers. 'The Nation' is well worth its price, sixpence. It is the confidante of influential members of the Ministry. These gentlemen, including the Prime Minister, have thrown themselves into the spirit of the day; they do not, like their predecessors, explain their policy in Parliament—where, by the way, they would be liable to contradiction and interrogation; they do not, as did Peel and Disraeli, announce their views to large assemblies on which the eye of the whole country is fixed; they do not even write dignified letters addressed, say to some duke high in office, and meant to appear at once in all the papers and to command the notice of the whole nation. They whisper their opinions to an unknown organ which represents, we presume, the ideas, whatever they are, of these eminent politicians. In the first number of the 'Nation' is to be read a dissertation by the Prime Minister on the Hague Conference and the limitation of armaments. In the second number (March 9, 1907) appears 'A Smooth Way with the Peers,' by the Colonial Under-Secretary. It sketches

out in the rough his plan for adjusting the relations between the two Houses of Parliament. It is in one sense original; it is certainly simple. To do it justice we will state the essential part of it in Mr Winston Churchill's own words. His plan is:

'That Privy Councillors, as well as Peers, should be capable of exercising the full legislative privileges of the Second Chamber, if and when summoned thereto by the Crown; that the Crown should summon not less than 150, and not more than 250 of such persons to serve in any Parliament, for the term of that Parliament; that the writs of summons should issue from the Crown upon advice of Ministers; that it should be open to any Peer or Privy Councillor to decline the writ of summons; that only those Peers and Privy Councillors summoned and accepting for each Parliament should be eligible to sit or vote in such Parliament; that all Peers or Privy Councillors not summoned, or summoned and declining for any Parliament, should meanwhile be free to exercise the full privileges of ordinary citizens; that (in order to provide for changes of Ministry during the life of a single House of Commons) either House of Parliament might be separately dissolved; and that, in order to secure continued access to the House of Lords by the prominent spokesmen of any party in the State, all Peers or Privy Councillors who have held Ministerial office should receive writs of summons by accepted usage.'

This plan means, in plain terms, that each Ministry shall in turn create a packed House of Lords which may carry out the behests of the majority of a House of Commons. The motives which recommend it to its author are stated with cynical frankness.

'Since' (he writes) 'the political supremacy of the House of Commons must be the vital characteristic of any Liberal scheme, we must reject with regret, but with decision, all proposals for enabling the House of Lords to force every Liberal measure to the test of a Referendum. Such a provision would be contrary to the whole spirit of the British Constitution since the earliest dawn of parliaments. It would utterly destroy the representative character of members of the House of Commons, and the responsibility of Ministers of the Crown. It would make the smooth and orderly progress of Liberal Government impossible, and, while opening the flood-gates of violence and revolution, would choke for ever

the channels of reform. Still more abruptly may we dismiss all those ingenious plans for "reforming" the House of Lords into a Second Chamber of the superior imperial brand, and creating an august senate of unrepresentative persons, to curb the insolence of the House of Commons and to put the working-man in his proper place. Many deep waters must be traversed, and many steep mountains must be climbed, before we come to that.'

Here we have the policy and the motive thereof. It is a deliberate scheme for transferring to a party, not the power of the House of Lords, but the whole authority of the nation. It is worse, tenfold worse, than the *bona fide* and open abolition of the Upper House. In the case of an institution like the House of Lords, as in the case of an individual, death is far preferable to complete and permanent paralysis. As regards the nation, the honest rule of a single House, dangerous though it might be and certain as it is that such rule would soon become as hateful as that of the famous or infamous Rump, would be much better than the rule of a parliamentary majority in the Lower House, aggravated by the co-operation of a sham and packed Upper House. The acceptance of such a scheme is an impossibility.

There is much in Mr Beesly's 'Strong Second Chamber' with which we absolutely disagree, but it is an honest and manly exposition of the opinions of a writer who is certainly no friend whatever of the House of Lords. Yet he condemns by anticipation every scheme, such as that which has been thrown out by Mr Winston Churchill.

'Of all the schemes proposed' (writes Mr Beesly, p. 14), 'the most insensate, the most dangerous, the most hateful, are those which would retain the present House of Lords while curtailing its powers by statute. Rather than give the slightest countenance to any of them I, for one, would support the House of Lords as it is.'

With every one of these words one may agree; they assuredly give expression to the convictions of all patriots. Our party system may be a necessity, but people are getting not a little sick of it. To curtail, not to extend, its operation is the desire of many honest men whose names are utterly unknown to the political world. We may assure members of the House of Commons that the

last cause for which the country is enthusiastic is the unlimited supremacy of any party which may from time to time obtain a majority in the elected House. Mr Winston Churchill's suggestions, it will be said, are hardly worth examination. They do not derive weight from the character or the career of their author. He is a politician who has too early forgotten the dictum that a weathercock must not set up as a signpost. But his words derive weight, not from their own worth, but from their indicating the way in which the wind blows in the Cabinet. Is it conceivable that Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman has, like so many other persons, never looked at the second number of the 'Nation,' and never read the lucubrations of his Colonial Under-Secretary? However this be, prudent men will have nothing to do with plans, however ingenious or cynical, for bending the House of Lords.

Can we then 'mend' or reform the constitution of the House? This is the one question worth attention. Nor is the answer far to seek. Reform of a rational kind is perfectly possible. The efforts of the Government to turn it into a party cry have not yet succeeded. The people are not excited. Lord Newton's Bill, which it would be absurd to discuss at the close of an article by way either of apology or censure, contains good suggestions, and forms, at any rate, a good basis for discussion. The same may be said of other schemes which have been and will be proposed. Mr Goldwin Smith's suggestion that you might have recourse to the Privy Council for a body of men who might with advantage be made peers for life; Mr Beesly's suggestion that a Second Chamber must, in the present condition of public opinion, derive its strength from some kind of popular election; and other *bona fide* suggestions for amending the constitution of the Upper House, all deserve impartial attention. They none of them impede the discharge by the House of its one main and essential function; they none of them hand over the destinies not only of the United Kingdom, but of the British Empire, to the absolute control of the party from time to time dominant in the House of Commons—a House, be it noted, which, as regards countries outside the United Kingdom, is in no sense a representative body, and indeed is less representative of the colonies than is the Crown or than

either the House of Lords or the Privy Council might become.

If the House of Lords can, when the nation wills, be reformed, what should be the attitude taken up by the Unionist leaders of the House? Before answering this question it is necessary to call attention to a point of primary importance which is often overlooked. Mere partisans or party managers, whether they call themselves Conservatives or Liberals, are certain to dislike, though for different reasons, any change in the constitution of the House which really changes its character or adds to its strength. Conservative wire-pullers, and those who are led by them, are well satisfied with the present state of things. They have no wish to forgo the immediate though dearly bought advantages derived from the too close connexion between the Conservative party—a different thing from Conservatism—and the Second Chamber. Liberal wire-pullers, on the other hand, and those who follow them—we may perhaps in this case say the whole body of Radical members—know that a reformed Upper Chamber would be a strong Upper Chamber; they have no inclination to reform an institution which they ardently desire either to destroy or enfeeble. Add to this that the personal interest of Liberal members of Parliament falls in with their general dislike of the House of Lords.

Any serious alteration in the constitution of that House will, in one way or another, curtail the number of peers entitled to seats therein; but Peers who do not sit in their own House will undoubtedly, as is now the case with Irish peers, claim the right to be candidates for seats in the House of Commons. Such a demand cannot be refused, for it is simply the assertion that the electors have a right to choose, as their representatives in the House of Commons, the men whom they think best to represent them. Liberal members—perhaps we may say all members—of Parliament know that Peers who do not sit in the Upper House may be the most serious rivals. The taste of the electors is not exactly what serious Radicals desire. Who knows that they may not prefer a Liberal duke, or even an earl, to a Liberal cotton-spinner or soap-boiler, nay, even—strange though this perversion of feeling may appear—

to a learned professor, or, what is nearly the same thing, to a professorial statesman or prig. Unionist leaders, therefore, who propose to look only to the interest of the country, will probably find that, when called upon to examine propositions for the genuine reform of the House, they receive very languid support from ordinary members of Parliament, by whatever party name they are labelled. The right attitude, however, for our Unionist leaders is clear. Their one object should be to accept such changes in the constitution of the Upper House as may add to its strength, and, above all, preserve the supremacy of the nation.

For the attainment of this object they may take certain steps. They may, in the first place, lay down in so many words the principles which in their judgment ought to guide, and which, we may add, do in fact guide, the conduct of the Lords in regard to legislation supported by the votes of the House of Commons. These principles, which might well be enunciated by Lord Lansdowne and the Duke of Devonshire, are clear enough. The House of Lords must always, as long as it continues to exist, claim the right to criticise, with absolute freedom, any Bill sent to it for approval, however large the majority of the House of Commons by which the Bill is supported, or however vehement the general demand for its enactment. The House of Lords, again, will never forgo—and this is the essential matter—the right to send back to the people for reconsideration at a general election any measure, however strongly supported by the Lower House, which their lordships condemn, and as to which they doubt whether it answers to the permanent wish of the nation. The House of Lords, on the other hand, must admit, and in fact does admit, that the votes of the House of Commons must be *prima facie* presumed to correspond with the wishes of the people, though the weight of this presumption will differ widely according to various circumstances. The House, lastly, when once a measure has been reconsidered by the electors at a general election, should in general consider it a duty—though here again account must be taken of circumstances—to pass a Bill, even an important Bill, which may not commend itself to its judgment.

These principles contain nothing that is novel; they

are constantly acted upon; they give the only valid explanation—it is difficult to say that they afford the justification—of the acceptance by the House of Lords of the Trades Disputes Act, 1906. That that Act is anomalous, that it is opposed to the rule of law and to the absolute equality of all citizens before the law, is to many persons, and certainly to the present writer, as clear as day. That the defects of this extraordinary measure were patent to the majority of the House of Lords is certain; yet the Bill was passed by the House and without the least material amendment. The one justification was the conviction of the House that the Trades Disputes Bill represented the deliberate will of the electors. Whether this view of the facts was sound, or whether it would not have been expedient to submit so objectionable a measure to the direct verdict of the electors, are questions which do not here require discussion. All that we insist upon is that the conduct of the Lords showed that they held it their duty to give effect to what they deemed to be the deliberate will of the country. Their action at any rate conformed to the principles by which modern England is in general governed.

But what advantage, it will be asked, is to be found in explicitly proclaiming rules of conduct which are in fact habitually followed? The advantage is threefold. New force is given to a custom necessary for the working of our constitution. The silly delusion out of which demagogues, and even demagogues in high office, reap no small advantage—that whenever the Peers reject Bills carried by the House of Commons there arises a case of The Peers *v.* The People—is dispelled. The moral position, lastly, of the Upper House is made clear. The Lords, when they reject a Bill sent up to them by the House of Commons, and when they ultimately accept the same Bill when approved of by the country, equally respect, and may, without reproach, ultimately bow to, the sovereignty of the nation.

To any plan, in the second place, which, under whatever form or plea, nullifies or restricts the right of the Lords to insist, when they see fit, on an appeal to the electors, Unionists can and should offer the most strenuous opposition. Here there is no possibility of compromise. They are fighting, not for the privileges of the Peers, but

for the rights of the people. In this matter it makes no difference whether these rights are invaded by some arrangement which may have an air of moderation, and come under the plausible formula of a readjustment of the relations between the House of Commons and the other Chamber, or are attacked by some revolutionary scheme for packing and degrading the House of Lords, such as suits the taste and the recklessness of the Colonial Under-Secretary. The Unionist leaders should not allow themselves to be 'led'—if we may adopt the words of the Prime Minister—'into a labyrinth of constitutional fallacies, pedantries, or niceties,' and must let it be well known that no temptation or pressure will induce them to surrender the right of appeal to the people of England.

To all *bona fide* proposals, in the last place, for improving the constitution without lessening the legitimate authority of the House, all Unionists should give a most friendly reception. They must, for instance, be prepared to consider, as has been already intimated, whether the members of the Upper Chamber ought not, in order to increase the strength of such Chamber, to owe their position in a great degree to election. The elected Senate of France has, just because it is an elected body, an amount of authority which has never belonged to any other of the Second Chambers which have been created under the various constitutions of which France has had experience since 1789. Behind all minor problems, moreover, lies the question which will sooner or later require the most careful examination, whether the fundamentals of the Constitution ought not, in a democratic State such as England, to be protected by an institution resembling in principle the Swiss Referendum. The very name of the Referendum is hateful to your demagogue, just because it is the one institution which is at once democratic and conservative, and, while it secures the rights of the people, curtails the sphere of party government. For the moment, however, the whole duty of every man who is a patriot rather than a partisan is to see that the House of Lords remains able to perform its essential function of insisting upon an appeal from the House of Commons to the nation.

Art. VII.—THE FIRST EARL OF LYTTON.

1. *Personal and Literary Letters of Robert, First Earl of Lytton.* Edited by Lady Betty Balfour. Two vols. London: Longmans, 1906.
2. *Selected Poems.* By the Earl of Lytton (Owen Meredith). New edition. London: Longmans, 1906.

LADY BETTY BALFOUR, whose book on Lord Lytton's Indian administration is a valuable contribution to the history of the Empire, has now, in these two volumes of wider biographical, personal, and literary interest, completed the story of a remarkable and fascinating life. She has done this with a self-effacement through which, nevertheless, appear those evidences of filial love, devotion, and sympathy which are among the best of the many touching tributes to her father's memory; and she writes in that direct and gracefully simple style which seems to belong of native right to women. The result is that a character reveals itself to us in the making with no more of interpretation and commentary than the intelligent reader anticipates and delights to find—a character strangely attractive in its strength, its weakness, and its anomalies. It is the portrait of a practical visionary whose twofold aims were, with painful and conscientious effort, kept apart; who could rule an empire with the experience of age, and yet see the visions and dream the dreams of childhood and youth; a politician who could love his enemies, and sometimes was drawn most closely towards those who most strenuously opposed him; a sceptic who felt the need and knew the blessing of prayer; a gentle pessimist with an irrepressible and almost instinctive sense that all things, including his own bitterest sorrows, were tending to some far-off and, as yet, inconceivable good.

The earliest years of Robert Lytton might easily have imparted to the rest of his life a sinister and cynical bias. The worst side of matrimonial strife is that revolting egotism which takes no account of the children, the very fact of whose existence should prevent or repress disunion; and this evil exhibited itself in Bulwer Lytton's family in a very acute form. Of the father in these first days the worst that can be said is that he was culpably

negligent, and that his love was intermittent and sometimes injudicious; but the mother was passionate, hasty, heartless, and cruel, with not even the semblance of maternal affection. Robert Lytton applied to himself in retrospect, with pathetic regret, the words of the luckless Richard Savage: 'No mother's care Shielded my infant innocence with prayer'; and it is grievous to record that the efforts of this true and tender heart to soften the bitter enmity between his parents only brought upon him the jealous wrath and suspicion of both. It is not surprising that, when he had to deal with this part of his father's story, the biographer's hand failed him, and he left unfinished a task which he alone could fulfil.

The sadness of children is sometimes only another name for the vicarious suffering of their compassionate elders, who know, what childhood has not yet learnt, how much cause it has to be sad. Robert Lytton in 1875 looked back upon the days he spent in Ireland, when he was about five years of age, as the happiest in his young life. Imagination, which consoled him to the end, began her work at once; and her vivid impressions were felt and retained long before they could be shaped in words. There was a sandy bay to which the boy, and that beloved sister whom he was so soon to lose, sometimes went, which they called the 'Velvet Strand'; and he speaks in later years of the sense of mystery and wonder with which he saw sailing-vessels near the shore. 'There is one verse of Tennyson,' he writes, 'which always brings the image of that bay with a rush before my eyes':

> 'And the stately ships go on
> To their haven under the hill;
> But O! for the touch of a vanish'd hand
> And the sound of a voice that is still.'

And again:

'I remember an old deserted house in the neighbourhood surrounded by a deep meadow in which the grass waved high above our heads and was thick with buttercups. . . . It was always empty, and my impression was that nobody ever had lived or ever would live in it again since some one had died there. . . . It was generally in the afternoon towards sunset that we visited that deserted house; and to this hour evening sunlight glaring on the windows of an empty house gives me

a cold creeping, and seems to me the quintessential expression of melancholy. It is like the light shining on a dead man's eyes, which have no light *within* them.'

The chief guide and guardian of Robert Lytton and his sister was a friend of their mother's, Miss Greene. To her charge, in 1838, they were committed entirely; and her niece, who still survives, has given a pretty picture of the life the three children shared together in a lovely house near Coventry, whither Miss Greene went to dwell. They had few toys, but they had a square volume of fairy-tales, and knew much of Scott by heart. The most sincere tribute to the magic power of good Sir Walter has always been paid by children of sensibility or genius. An old clergyman, looking back after sixty years, could remember, with the distinctness of yesterday, the time when, a very thread-paper little mortal on his Welsh pony, he rode through a certain little six-inch deep brook, shouting at the top of his voice,

> 'Never heavier man nor horse
> Stemmed a midnight torrent's force.'

And a like make-believe was practised by these young people in the 'children's room' when they enacted the opening scene of the chase in 'The Lady of the Lake.' Robert, as the king, blew a tin trumpet; the niece was the stag; and Emily, Robert's sister, appeared at the proper moment at the sound of the horn.

The book of fairy-tales was no less stimulating. Imaginative children are apt to take to fairyland as their proper spiritual kingdom, not at all repudiating, but reserving for future use, the severer creed taught them by parents and pastors. It would seem that Emily and the niece were the first to create this wonder-world for themselves, and told such stories of it, pretending that they visited it occasionally, that 'Teddy,' as he was then called, longed to visit it too. 'But,' says the narrator, 'how to reconcile our fictions with real facts was beyond us, so we had to say that only some quite special people were allowed to go; and, if any others attempted it, they were caught by gruesome creatures called "clutches" and carried away.' In spite of this disappointment and the 'clutches,' we feel sure that 'Teddy' reached a fairyland

of his own after all. Macaulay used to say that children were the only true poets; in Robert Lytton's view, the happiest ideal world lies about us in our infancy, and we unconsciously get back to it in our later dreams.

> 'Thither we return
> Long afterward, full weary of the world
> Since traversed, and yet know it not again.
> Like those Phœnician voyagers we are,
> Who, voyaging in search of lands unknown,
> Sail'd round the globe, and reach'd at last a land
> They knew not. 'Twas the land they first had left,
> Sailing in search of other lands beyond.
> So we, who call that fair land Poesy,
> Which is forgotten Childhood, reattain'd.'

So he writes in 'King Poppy,' that latest of his poems which he had in hand for so many years, adding, revising, reconstructing, till it became perhaps of all his writings the best expression of his character, the most faithful mirror of his favourite thoughts. If it might have been said of him, as of another poet, that he never was a boy, it might be said also that, in the best sense, he was always a child. In consequence, his converse with children was invariably sympathetic; and, as we learn from these pages, even his rebukes as an elder might rather be called the counsels of one conscious of sharing their infirmities. It was not moral indifference, but insight and fellow-feeling, which made him regard their errors not as sins, but as winsome eccentricities. When his first-born son, 'his brave, beautiful Rowland,' died, he expressed, in simple and touching verse, his fear that the little naughtinesses which he loved in the child could have no place in heaven. And the expansiveness of his affection, which burst through official restraints and had to some insular eyes a foreign air, attributable to his long residences abroad, was, we may conjecture, mainly the manifestation of that childlike nature which bitter experiences and much converse with our tortuous and variable humanity could not freeze into reserve.

His real education, until he went to Bonn, was that which he gave himself. At Harrow he won no prize, except a 'nonsense scholarship,' whatever that may be; but he devoured English literature out of school hours;

and, though he acquired no skill in Greek and Latin composition, the ancient classics even then, and still more when he read them more thoroughly at Bonn, were for him, as for Keats, who could read them only in translation, formative and inspiring, because studied as literature rather than exercises in idiom. It is strange that his father, never himself an exact scholar, but with a like assimilative power, and the same wide and intelligent curiosity, should have failed to measure Robert Lytton's rapid intellectual growth at this date, and should have regarded the hours spent in these self-chosen pursuits as time thrown away. If 'Clytemnestra,' as we have it, was written between the ages of fifteen and seventeen, there are few authentic instances of such early maturity of poetic power. It won, when at last it was published in 1855, the praise of Matthew Arnold, and drew from the emotional Leigh Hunt the tears of which perhaps he generally had a too copious supply. But this enthusiast was not in a particularly melting mood when he praised 'Clytemnestra'; at any rate it appears, from his remarks on other poems in the same volume, that his tears did not dim his critical vision. It may have been prudential wisdom and parental solicitude which led Bulwer Lytton to discourage his son's early efforts in literature; but, surely, never did these amiable virtues assume a more forbidding disguise. At the age of twelve the child sent his father some verses; and it is clear that they called forth little but censure, for Robert writes in reply:

'I do not ever think I shall like to give up my old friend the poetry. It cheers me when ill or unhappy. I always feel inclined to give vent to my feelings in poetry when alone, either in joy or in sorrow. I feel so ready to devote myself to it for life, for it is almost like a companion, and I feel so certain that I should make a great poet if I ever was one at all; but I know you know best, and you can tell all those feelings which grow on us when young and afterwards leave us.'

That there are 'feelings which grow on us when young and afterwards leave us' is a truth of which it is seldom possible to convince the young themselves. We have said that Robert Lytton was never a boy; and

certainly this is not a boy's letter; it indicates a passage from childhood to premature manhood, and tells of a paradise which thought has already begun to destroy. It is the first intimation of a never-ending conflict between the real and the ideal, between duty and inclination, between the cares and business of his life and that abiding solace upon which these seemed to be always encroaching. We say 'seemed' advisedly, for we have little doubt that the wide converse with men and extensive knowledge of their ways which his official employments gave him contributed as much to his making as a poet as that constant practice of his art which, as he complains almost with bitterness, those employments denied him. In one of his latest letters to his daughter he writes:

'My life has at least been a very full one, rich in varied experiences, touching the world at many points'; (and he adds), 'my natural disinclination to and unfitness for all the practical side of life is so great that I might just as likely have lapsed into a mere dreamer; the discipline of active life and forced contact with the world has been specially good for me, perhaps providential; and what I have gained from it as a man may be more than compensation of whatever I may have lost by it as an artist.'

We are convinced that he here says too little, and that he gained by the discipline of life not only as a man, but as a poet. It is scarcely a paradox to say that he was too imaginative; his thick-coming fancies, as Leigh Hunt early noted, were not kept in adequate control.

His daughter indeed, so often his just and sympathetic interpreter, tells us that the revolt from official cares rather increased than checked the tendency to disengage poetry from the actualities of human life:

'I think' (she writes) 'that the fanciful element, which became a more and more marked feature in his writings as he advanced in years, was in large part due to the need he felt . . . of escaping from an uncongenial world of fact, where his faculties were cramped by official convention and his character but partially understood, into a fable-land of his own creation.'

This we admit; but we are constrained to add, what we lack space to prove, that there is a very substantial part of his poetry intermingled even with his most ideal moods, and serving as their appropriate foil, which could

never have been written but for the fact that he 'touched the world at many points' and was a keen and, in the main, an amused observer of the phenomena which the world offered him. His official career gave him very many of those too numerous requisites which, as catalogued by the sage Imlac, convinced Rasselas that no human being could be a poet.

'Art requires the whole man,' writes Mrs Browning to him; and he seems to have accepted this as a verdict which, under the conditions of his existence, condemned him to dilettantism. But in his happier moods he knew better, and, as his daughter tells us, 'felt that the best in him went to his poetry.' And that 'best' was a great native gift, helped and stimulated by a knowledge which, like Jaques' melancholy, was 'compounded of many simples, extracted from many objects, and the sundry contemplation of his travels.' It was only in the strenuous days of his Indian Viceroyalty that his life was incompatible with any distinct literary effort. Then, indeed, the *vivida vis*, which never really abandoned him, was a smouldering fire, which nevertheless asserted itself in his private correspondence. We feel sure that he had that period in his mind when in his last book he makes the old King of Diadummiania say:

> 'The other day, when at the Council Board,
> My minister of Justice read me out
> A long report of his on Law Reform,
> Mysteriously within myself I heard
> A mocking echo of those melodies
> The child sings to the sea-wind and the sea,
> And suddenly I cried, "O sing once more
> The ninety-seventh paragraph sublime
> Of that seraphic and enchanting Code
> Of Criminal Procedure."'

The child whose melodies thus haunt the monarch is his own daughter Diadema, who—we are 'edified by the margent' here—is Poetry in its infancy, inspiration without art, hidden in the wondrous island which Phantasos, or Imagination, has made for her, while a puppet, art without inspiration, takes her place.

It is with this artless music that Lytton is fain to console himself, as if art combined with inspiration were

beyond his reach. But he was not so inartistic as he supposed; nor was that too exuberant fancy which his kindest censors found in him a fault which criticism or any form of special training could cure. His daughter says of his correspondence, 'to have ceased to be expansive and exuberant in expression as in feeling would have been to cease to be Robert Lytton altogether.' This once admitted, how could the same luxuriance be checked in his poetry without the risk of losing much that we could ill spare, including the unconscious revelation of the individual mind and character in that spontaneity which might be excessive but could no more be controlled than a river in flood? His father tells him, in sending back the proofs of 'Lucile,'

'The fault is incurable. It is in the wonderful excess of richness. There are too many words to one truth. But, so far as I have thus read, I feel more and more the ease, brightness and lightness of the whole. It has the indefinite thing, *Charm*.'

In this criticism, written when Bulwer had begun to recognise and take pride in his son's genius, there is perhaps not only praise but penetration. The fault is incurable just because the ease, if not the brightness and lightness of the verse, could not be severed from it without disappearing altogether. So far from considering that Robert's official duties were a bar to his success in poetry, Sir Edward believed that they were a necessary respite from over-productiveness and diffuseness, and, by the examples of Dante and Milton, urged that it was good for the imagination thus to lie fallow. But the father's theory of the motive power of poesy differed widely from the son's. The son must not write to please himself only, 'scribbling verses that no one would read.' He must find out the secret of popularity—Charles Mackay's, for instance—and he will discover that all successful poets 'concur to the great laws of rhythm and harmony, and in an earnest attempt to seize the most elementary, not the most refining, feelings of men.' On the other hand, the aim of Robert Lytton was, in the main, the satisfaction of his own soul, so much so that he unduly disparaged the poetry of 'Lucile' and the 'Wanderer,' which only satisfied the souls of other people.

Accordingly we read that 'it was not to his father but to John Forster' (that constant friend of his from his childhood) 'that he wrote most freely both as to his literary sympathies and his literary aspirations.' And to Forster he says, 'If I cannot write as I wish to write, silence is fitter and more soothing. To do this would be to sing from the throat, not from the heart—to be a sham rather than a truth.' The word 'soothing' here has a quite obvious significance. But he who sings, like Goethe's harper, according to the mood, must be content, like him, to find his sole reward in the music which he makes. The inscription on Robert Lytton's monument in St Paul's, written by his judicious friend Elwin, describes him as a 'poet of many styles, each the expression of his habitual thoughts.' And if those habitual thoughts became more and more transcendental with added years, there was less and less hope that they would be properly appreciated by the generation in which he lived. He certainly knew, better than any one could tell him, that men who bear precious seed after his fashion may have cause to go forth weeping, but seldom *presently* come again rejoicing, bringing their sheaves with them. The truth is that, possessing genius, he lacked that self-confidence which makes genius ever buoyant and hopeful. 'He was humble in his estimate of himself'—to quote Elwin once more; and it was characteristic of his humility and diffidence that he mistook the neglect with which much of his best work was received for an evidence of positive failure.

That 'Art requires the whole man' is one of those general maxims which, applied without discernment, may sometimes be quite untrue. For the great painter, the great sculptor, the great actor, it is a truism; these never relax effort till the climax of success is reached. But if to be engaged in great affairs were a bar to poetic achievements, we should never have had the 'Divina Commedia,' or 'Paradise Lost,' or 'The Faerie Queene.' The sculptor or the painter who should intermit the practice of his art in the prime of life would find, when he tried to resume it, that his right hand had forgotten her cunning; the actor who should do the same would become in his lifetime a forgotten voice. But Dante fights at Campaldino and in high office struggles with

factions in Florence, and wanders from city to city, a weary exile but an indomitable partisan, and nevertheless contrives to make a pilgrimage through Hell and Purgatory and Paradise; and Milton, as Foreign Secretary to the Commonwealth and Cromwell, writes acrimonious Latin for close upon eleven years, and yet lives to resume his long-suspended essay of 'things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme.' Robert Lytton might well have looked upon himself as an Elizabethan born out of due time; in the reign of James he would have echoed, but with more sadness, jovial Bishop Corbet's 'Farewell to the Fairies'; in the spacious days that preceded it he would have been a 'son' of Spenser. He should have consoled himself by the example of that kindred spirit. Spenser, a practical politician with the views afterwards called Cromwellian, and an excellent man of business, in the course of eighteen years among the wild Irishry, who burnt his house and with it perhaps his infant child, wrote 'The Faerie Queene.' Even at that date his secretarial duties must have involved much routine work, from which his soul took holiday in its own world of fancy; and he was popular in his lifetime as he has never been popular since, only because he wrote for a perfervid generation; this was the accident of his birth and in no sense the measure of his genius.

We must add that, if Robert Lytton's unfitness for the practical side of life was a native defect, he must have cured himself of it very early; and we search these pages in vain for any trace of it. There is, on the contrary, abundant evidence that he was diligent in his official business and painstaking in detail. His master in diplomacy was his uncle, Sir Henry Bulwer, afterwards Lord Dalling, whom he describes, in words which might be adopted for his own praise, as possessing 'a wonderful sweetness and delicacy of disposition and a great elevation of sentiment, especially in all that concerned his country.' Under him the nephew works hard as unpaid attaché at Washington, is 'very busy and very happy,' and thinks 'he understands the routine of keeping the archives and register, docketing despatches, etc., quite as well as the gentleman now in receipt of a salary for doing so.' He was only nineteen when he wrote this; and surely habits so soon and so cheerfully acquired imply no original inapti-

tude for the minuter cares of office. It is obvious that his diligence in the day of small things was not the least of the virtues which recommended him for successive employments at Florence, at Paris, and at The Hague; nor was it (apparently) until 1860, when, at the age of twenty-eight, he was second secretary at Vienna, that an opportunity was given him of displaying his capacity for the higher work of diplomacy. He was twice in that year sent to Belgrade, first to watch the Servian Prince Mílosch—'a sort of small Jenghiz Khan' (he writes), who has probably murdered a dozen men in the course of the strange career 'which has changed him from a pig-driver to a prince'; and, after the bombardment of the Servian capital, to 'keep the peace between the Turks and Servians till the close of the conference at Constantinople.'

For his success in these delicate missions he received warm praise from Sir Henry Bulwer, from the Embassy at Vienna, and from the Government at home. But from the outset he had in him the makings of a statesman. A letter from America to John Forster contains a masterly sketch of the state of parties there and the contrasted policies of North and South. His forecast was, indeed, at fault. He thinks it probable 'that the principles of the North on the subject of slavery, being more in accordance with the views of the world and the tone of advancing ideas, the South will insensibly succumb to the moral force of opinion.' If this hope was disappointed the sympathies of the young poet-diplomatist remained unshaken; and at the outbreak of the Civil War he delighted the historian Motley, then American Minister at Vienna, by warmly espousing the cause of the North when feeling in England ran strongly in the opposite direction. In a letter of 1866 from Cintra to John Forster, he speaks strongly of that 'aristocratic chivalry which would have plunged England into a disastrous and iniquitous war for the purpose of pulling into life a barbarous slave-power—a chivalry which would defend, against justice, humanity, and common-sense, women-flogging and man-murdering Governor Eyre on the ground of standing by an official agent against the field.' We cite these opinions, not for their intrinsic value, on which this is not the place to pronounce, but as indicating a consistency of judgment or perhaps of feeling in a heart essentially philanthropic.

From class-feeling Lytton was absolutely free. He writes in 1866, *à propos* of the Adullamites: 'I cannot, I confess, feel any sympathy with the Lowings and Horseman-neighings of terror at a modicum of fair-play for the working classes.' In the same year he says, with much prescience, 'I hope that I may live to see a thorough elementary system of *compulsory* secular education established in England. But I know that this will never precede a considerable extension of the suffrage.' He did, it is true, recognise that the inevitable growth of democracy could have, as its best appreciable result, only 'a general diffusion of mediocre comfort and well-being, adapted to the satisfaction and production of mediocre character.' 'The whole,' says a French critic on the same theme, 'becomes less coarse, but more vulgar'; and it is a dictum to which Robert Lytton would have subscribed, for he writes in one place, speaking indeed of a literary question, but obviously with a wider scope: 'It seems to me to be the fate of freedom to be made disgusting by those who exercise it.' These views, combined with the events both at home and abroad between 1880 and 1885, helped to make him 'a political pessimist,' but they imply no mistrust of any section of the community; they imply only forebodings for civilisation at large as modified by this ever-increasing and irresistible force. He has described progress as that which

> 'progressively deprives
> Some one of something previously enjoyed,'

and he has expressed in many, and sometimes very beautiful, forms his settled conviction that with every gain to humanity there is a corresponding loss. But we shall have read these volumes to little purpose if we have not discovered that he loved mankind as he loved children, not only despite, but because of, their aberrations, and possessed in abundance the large sympathies which are necessary to beneficent statesmanship.

From the whole tenor of his life and character we should suspect the assertion, repeated recently by Mr Paul, that Lord Lytton went out to India determined to pick a quarrel with the Amir. It is a calumny once more completely refuted in the pages before us; and indeed such a policy was altogether too Bismarckian to be accepted

by a soul so sincere and humane. To discuss his Indian policy is beyond our scope; we can only recommend the study of his viceregal experience to the many who think that the complicated problems of that tremendous office can be discussed effectively by the help of vague generalisations and comfortable phrases and convenient metaphors mistaken for convincing facts. 'A buffer state,' for example, is one of such metaphors, by the aid of which we can possess our souls in patience only until we discover that such 'buffers' are human beings with wills and hopes and apprehensions of their own, and under the impulsion of a stronger will can be made to attack as well as to defend. It was impossible to remain inert while the scarcely-concealed designs of Russia were talked of in every bazaar and her victory over the Mussulman power in Europe was regarded both by the Amir and by the Mahometans of India generally as a proof of her strength, and every instance of subservience to her as an ominous sign of England's weakness.

It was not theatrical but political effect which Lytton aimed at and achieved in the splendid pageantry with which he impressed the natives of India, and in the special honours by which he attracted the native princes, to whom state and ceremony are a great and even a necessary part of life. His conduct in the notorious 'Fuller case' was humane and just; his management of the Indian famine was masterly and tactful; and very few at the present time must be those who do not share his misgivings about that curious and conceited nursling of our English culture, the aggressive baboo. The strange miscalculation of the military department in the estimates for the Afghan war clouded the close of his Indian administration; but the incident, rightly understood, brings into luminous clearness the essentially chivalrous nature of the man. 'It was a blunder,' he says, 'of which the scandal and reproach must fall directly upon myself. The external responsibility of the Government of India cannot be subdivided.' An enemy might have said just what his magnanimous spirit prompts him to say in standing between the public and his subordinates, who were really to blame. He must have been consoled for much vituperation in India and unfair attack at home by the friendship and support of such men as Strachey and

Roberts; of Cavagnari and Colley, those two brilliant examples of soldier-statesmanship so untimely lost to their country; and of Sir James Stephen, who in England defended his policy with an energy prompted by his own robust good sense and his intimate experience of Indian affairs.

Lord Lytton's affection for Sir James Stephen was characteristic of his beautiful capacity for friendship and the catholicity of his tastes in this respect. In one direction indeed, in spite of many literary and philosophic tastes in common, it might be termed the attraction of opposites. The father of the lamented J. K. S. seems to have held poetry in very little esteem, and told Lytton, with humorous exaggeration, that the theme of 'Paradise Lost' could have been more effectively stated in a prose pamphlet of half a dozen pages. He must have had his *habitat* in the court of the Gentiles when Lytton's soul was in its inner sanctuary, dwelling apart. Yet this was a friendship unalloyed. There were others which survived political severance mainly through community of spirit in the things of the mind. Such was the bond with Mr John Morley, of whom he writes:

'Why is it that all my most instinctive affections are given to those from whom I am separated by my political convictions? Whenever I meet John Morley, I feel that he is the finest fellow and dearest man in the world to me—except James Stephen.'

The last days of Lytton's 'pleasing-anxious being' must have been much soothed by his intercourse with Whitwell Elwin, once editor of the 'Quarterly Review'—that quiet, discerning, and full mind, whose sober and instructive pages might well be read as an excellent antidote to the dangerous little learning and shallow epigram of much present-day criticism. What manner of man Elwin was may almost be guessed from the fact that Thackeray and Lytton independently hit upon the name for him of Dr Primrose, Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield. In 'Glenaveril' Lytton has admirably fused his portrait with that of Mr de Villers, once Saxon secretary at Vienna, 'a man,' writes Lady Betty Balfour, 'in whom French wit mingled with German fancy, a poet who did not write poetry, a musician who did not

write music, a scholar, and a romantically devoted friend.' And thus runs the combined picture, of which 'the capacity for love and the knowledge were Elwin's, the grown-up child likeness belonging more to Villers':

> 'A full-grown child was Edelrath; and he,
> Whose growth his growing tenderness caressed
> As growing ivy clasps a growing tree,
> So vast an appetite of love possessed
> That in his heart he crammed man's world and man,
> As in its mouth a child puts all it can.'

And no less comforting in earlier days must have been the society of Julian Fane, his colleague in the Embassy at Vienna from 1860 to 1863, whose influence, he tells us, 'was like the sunshine of an eternal summer on a land

> '"Where falls not hail, or rain, or any snow,
> Nor ever wind blows loudly."'

All in him was clear, and bright, and calm, but never monotonous—'a meeting of sweet lights without a name.' So he writes in that fascinating biography, the prose 'In Memoriam' of a companionship like that of Tennyson and Arthur Hallam. At Cambridge Julian Fane had been the most brilliant member of that occult society whose history from time to time emerges into an unsought publicity, a society which has included four men of brilliant promise prematurely lost to the world—John Sterling, Arthur Hallam, Julian Fane, and W. K. Clifford—whose memories survive through the pious care of kindred spirits—Carlyle, Tennyson, Lytton, and Frederick Pollock. At Cambridge Fane's chosen associate was Vernon Harcourt; at Vienna he found another in Robert Lytton; and surely never was alliance cemented through a closer resemblance in character and tastes. It was indeed one of those affinities which in less noble natures sometimes end in rivalry and direct antagonism; and Robert Lytton was no doubt unconscious that so much of the graphic account which he has given of Julian Fane's winning personality might pass for a description of himself. We are reminded of Montaigne's account of his friendship with Étienne de la Boëtie, which Lytton might have adopted to the letter. 'We were grown men when we were first acquainted; he was a few years older than I; we were together but four years in all;

there was no time to lose; and if you ask me why we loved each other, it was "parce que c'était lui, parce que c'était moi."'

Fane's 'Report on Austrian Commerce,' in 1864, and Lytton's 'Commercial Treaty with Austria,' in 1869, show that the two friends were one, not only in the possession of the same poetic spirit and the same literary tastes, but in that practical ability which they were able to display apart from the imaginative life. Their joint production, 'Tannhäuser,' they themselves only regarded 'as an intellectual *tour de force*,' in which 'they adopted the style and spirit of the Tennysonian idyll' by way of expressing in words their vivid impression of Wagner's music. Even from this point of view we think that 'Tannhäuser,' if once taken by the critics too seriously, is now not taken seriously enough. It is surely a very finished and graceful poem, of great elevation of feeling, and very characteristic of the minds that collaborated upon it in absolutely complete harmony. That it is imitative is acknowledged; but in fact it belongs to the imitative period of Lytton's poetry, though the phrase must be used with some reserve.

'We want in you' (writes Mrs Browning to the poet of twenty-five years old) 'a more absorbing life of your own—more individuality—so that you should not remind us of this poet and that poet, when you are so certainly and thoroughly a poet yourself. You don't imitate, then why should you not be original? But you *sympathise* too much. It's your own wine, but you use your neighbour's glass to drink it out of.'

It was never quite his neighbour's glass. If, for example, the 'Botanist's Grave' inevitably suggests the 'Grammarian's Funeral,' the differences, both in the thought and the expression, are no less obvious. For, if in Lytton's poem there is that versatility of rhyme for which we are prepared, where humour is blended with fancy and reflection, there is very little that shows too obviously that the rhyme has created the thought—as if the clothes should be made first and their contents shovelled in afterwards—that fault in Browning over which somehow his genius contrives to triumph, to the peril nevertheless of the lasting fame which is notoriously risked by too much ingenuity. And the contrast in the

thought between the two poems almost brings the two men before us in epitome—so like Browning is it to idealise the minute pains of his gerund-grinder, and give him a place 'where meteors shoot, clouds form, lightnings are loosened, stars come and go'; so like Lytton to reverse the process—to begin with the boy, his heart full of wonder and worship, eager to reach the thought in Nature, to trace him degenerating, in the very quest, into the mere human likeness, sapless and withered, of the dried plant, upon which he has written an elaborate treatise, and to end with the moral:

> 'The world perchance, after all, knows already enough; what is wanted
> Is, not to know more, but know how to *imagine* the much that it knows.'

In spite of the conflict of opinion between Bulwer Lytton and his son as to the end and aim of poetry, in spite also of a friendly controversy between them on the question whether the greatest poets had founded schools, which we discover in the end to be only a war of words, there were two general principles of the utmost importance, on which they came at last to be much of the same mind. The first was that the poet who aims at immortality must beware of eccentricity, of straying from the main current of thought or expression in poetry; the value of that sanity of genius which makes Spenser and Milton survive, and Donne and Cowley, but for a few verses, instinct with genuine and perennial feeling, the typical representatives of a fashion long ago outworn. The second was a conception for literature of a more than insular criterion of its intrinsic force, as a corrective to our inevitable tendency to dwell upon merely superficial defects which are obvious only to us, and disappear in translation, or to set an exaggerated value upon extravagances which could find favour only with ourselves. Some intimation, therefore, is contained in this critical correspondence of that world-literature which was the dream of Goethe and Carlyle, although the irresistible resolve of Lytton to express *himself*, to 'write simply as he wished to write,' made him neglect any such criterion in his own case, and although he well knew that much of our English genius could never conform to it.

Thus he recognises that the Titanic strength of Byron —that *enfant terrible*, as he calls him, 'a sort of stupendous schoolboy, with his rough-hewn conceptions and shambling, burly bursts of verse'—is secure of a world-wide fame just because in its essence it can be conveyed, even when its characteristic negligence or excess is effaced by a foreign interpreter; whereas Carlyle is intrinsically difficult to render, except to a German. 'Fancy Carlyle,' he writes to Wilfrid Blunt, 'in the mind of a Frenchman; what a bull in what a china-shop!' And it is obvious that his revolt, both against Carlyle and against Browning, who powerfully influenced him at one time, was partly traceable to a growing conservatism of judgment and fastidiousness of taste, promoted by a tacit reference to the old masters of literature upon whom the world has pronounced a final verdict. He had, moreover, that historic sense in criticism which enabled him to recognise the value of conventions now obsolete; and this it is which prompts him to say to Mr Courthope, 'I cannot but think the English, by their too contemptuous disregard of these troublesome and unpopular unities, have lost the art of dramatic construction, while the French have largely owed their preservation of it to their greater reverence of such rules.' The same letter ends with a protest, such as we might expect from his intellectual sincerity and sound common-sense, against the propensity to extract some copybook moral from such tragedies as 'Hamlet' or 'Lear.'

'Tragedy' (he concludes) 'compels us to understand, not as an abstract proposition, but as a truth delivered through our strongest emotions, that Divine justice is not concerned about bringing things to a comfortable conclusion at the end of this poor little five-act play of ours: that its theatre is Infinity and its last word here "Beyond."'

Consonantly with this, he disliked in any poetry, on the one hand, the display of moral purpose, and on the other, the lack of moral power.

We have done but scant justice to a life-story so many-sided, so fascinating, and so pathetic. Lytton's best interpreter is his daughter. To the volume of 'Selections' from his verse she has prefixed an introduc-

tion which, short as it is, admirably describes and illustrates the changing and recurrent phases of his poetic career. Prematurity of thought and feeling has often an early grave; but he lost nothing that nature and circumstance gave him at the outset; and, if he added much, there was, in his most ideal fancies, something 'not too bright and good For human nature's daily food.' Some of these may for a long time remain 'vocal only to the intelligent,' and for the many may need a sympathetic interpreter, such, for example, as his 'After Paradise' found in Mr Gerald Balfour.* But, as he saw all things with a poet's eye, and had seen so much, there is a large part of his poetry which is by no means abstruse. Like the gentle and dreamy child of his own beautiful and simple fable, who was fascinated by the shaving which fell from the carpenter's workshop, he could find grace and beauty in things common, and, moving kindly with his kind, could invest with imaginative charm their simplest joys or sorrows. 'Dear little Villari' comes to him in great distress over the death of a friend's child, and Lytton writes: 'When some man comes to me wrapped up in a great sorrow, all other people suddenly dwindle into tricks and shams, as though he were the only real man in the world'; and that thought remains with him and finds expression at last in verse, which inevitably recalls the passionate outburst of Constance:

> 'To me and to the state of my great grief
> Let kings assemble.'

This is but one instance out of many in which these letters are illuminative; and it ought to force upon the most reluctant critic the conviction that Lytton was a poet in the first place and a politician only in the second. In his verse, moreover, we see repeated, though toned down with a certain quaint, easy felicity and a lightness of satiric touch in harmony with his refined and gentle nature, the wit and humour and quick observation of social life which in converse with his friends he exhibited in a more exuberant form. True poet as he was, it must have been galling indeed to him to find himself treated as one to whom poetry was only a diver-

* 'Scots' Magazine,' June and July 1888.

sion from the serious business of life, on the same plane with Frederick the Great writing bad verses in bad French, or Warren Hastings offering his guests a new sonnet every morning as a relish for their breakfast. But, if indolent reviewers and a still more indolent public could not appreciate the rare and perhaps unexampled problem which his life offers of powers so diverse and yet so equally balanced, there were, among 'those who know,' many who admired and loved him in both the characters in which he presented himself to the world, while he himself was groaning under the burden of public duty, and perhaps felt as Schiller's Pegasus might have felt when yoked with the ox to the plough. With a wife who entered with complete sympathy into every detail of his career, and children no less devoted, including the biographer, whom he calls his *alter ego*, he had one great solace in his domestic affections. Those who loved him best of all revered without jealousy that other solace which was a necessity of his life; nor did they grudge him those hours in which, like his own shepherd,

> 'He became as those on whose changed life
> A fairy's choice hath thrown its spell; to whom
> Their home and kindred, their diurnal ways,
> And all familiar things thenceforth appear
> Distant, and strange, and foreign to the sense
> Of their own nearness to an unseen power
> That speaks in silence, glows in darkness, breathes
> On sleeping lids, and burns upon shut lips.
> For wheresoe'er they gaze, there shines a star,
> And wheresoe'er they move, there sounds a song;
> A star unseen, a song unheard, by all
> But they, on whose thrill'd ear for ever rings
> The fairy music, and in whose wild eyes
> Reflected gleam the lights of fairyland.
> So strong the charm is on the life it lures,
> And luring, loosens from all else on earth,
> That with its spell, if broken, breaks the heart
> Of him whose being it hath once possessed.'

Art. VIII.—MR HALDANE AND THE ARMY.

1. *Imperial Strategy.* By the Military Correspondent of the 'Times.' London: Murray, 1906.
2. *The Army in* 1906*; a Policy and a Vindication.* By the Right Hon. H. O. Arnold-Forster, M.P. London: Murray, 1906.
3. *Two Speeches, delivered in Parliament March* 8 *and July* 12, 1906, *on the Policy of the Army in the ensuing Year.* By the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for War, R. R. Haldane, M.P. London: Dent, 1906.
4. *Cavalry in Future Wars.* By H. E. Lieut.-General Frederick von Bernhardi. Translated by C. S. Goldman, with an introduction by Lieut.-General Sir John French. London: Murray, 1906.
5. *Cavalry on Service.* By General von Pelet-Narbonne. Translated by Major D'A. Legard, 17th Lancers. London: Rees, 1906.
6. *The Nation in Arms.* By Baron Colmar von der Goltz. Translated by P. A. Ashworth. London: Rees, 1906.
7. *Speech delivered in Parliament, February* 25, 1907. By Mr Haldane. The 'Times,' February 26, 1907.
8. *The Preservation of the Militia.* By Colonel the Duke of Bedford, K.G. London: Murray, 1907.

THE periodic revivals in Parliament of the subject familiarly called Army Reform always excite a certain amount of academic interest, and even of unpractical discussion, among the general public. Throughout all the discussion, however, an underlying feeling can be traced, a suspicion that practical reform cannot be hoped for; that the remedies proposed do not touch, and are not intended to touch, the real evils; that the schemes which from time to time appear and vanish are mere lures to divert attention from the alarming faults in our military system. The newest plan is that recently set forth by Mr Haldane. Its critics are of two classes. There are those who object to it because of its details—the reduction of the regular army, the employment of militia, with an expeditionary force, the adherence to the Cardwell system. Others base their strictures on broader principles, and plainly assert that the scheme is founded on misapprehension or misstatement of our national

requirements; that, even if successful in its limited way, it will make no sufficient provision for national security.

The views of earnest military reformers on the vital question of national defence do not lack adequate expression; but hitherto the study of the subject has been made difficult by the fact that the best contributions to the discussion have appeared only in the press, or in reviews and magazines, and that the task of discovering these essays and rescuing them from the oblivion of back numbers is laborious and unsatisfactory. The collection of reprints which has been published under the title of 'Imperial Strategy' is therefore welcome, for of all the articles which have helped to enlighten the public on the essential obligations of national existence and the requirements of national security none are better worthy of reproduction than those supplied to the 'Times' by its military correspondent. Settled doctrines based on reasoned thought are what this nation requires to work out its salvation; and, lest those who are responsible for settling the doctrines should find the reasoned thought beyond their powers, the author of 'Imperial Strategy' has prepared for them some very solid foundations.

The book consists mainly of a selection from these articles; a few of the essays are reprinted from other periodicals; only two, and these comparatively unimportant, are published for the first time. Whether the author has been wise in retaining the original form of his articles is doubtful; valuable as they are, the essays follow each other in somewhat inconsequent fashion; they do not cover the whole field of the subject, and occasionally they overlap. No doubt the field is a wide one, and the task of preparing a consecutive treatise on Imperial strategy might well appal the most resolute propagandist; yet in dealing with a subject so tangled, and subject to so many distinct and conflicting influences, continuity of thought and argument is of the utmost importance. The articles, each complete in itself, are luminous and convincing, and are admirably designed for their original setting, the columns of the daily press, where sustained continuity of reasoning is impossible to the reader, and therefore unnecessary in the writer. But in a book which is in every respect deserving of study, it is a pity that the work

should be left in any way incomplete. The pearls are there, but the chaplet is not yet strung.

If the problem of national defence, Imperial strategy—call it what you will—be considered in its simplest aspect, there are two primary and conflicting factors: the requirements for security and the disinclination to endure the burden of armaments. These influences are always opposed to each other; and, although in some fortunate countries—the United States, for example—the requirements are so small and the resources are so great that the conflict is not at present discernible, the extent of the preparations which any nation can make for war must depend finally on the respective intensity of the opposing interests. Among continental nations security is the first consideration; the standard has been originally fixed to comply with military requirements; and, as yet, the assaults of those who prefer present comfort to permanent safety have not had sufficient weight to effect any appreciable reduction in this standard. The burden of armaments has been lightened in many ways—by better distribution, by alteration of its incidence, by giving to the people discipline and health in return for service; but these measures of relief have been carried out, in almost every case, without any material contraction of the margin of safety. The method by which continental nations endeavour to attain the standard of security is simple; the rule is that every sound man of suitable age shall be liable, and shall be prepared, to serve his country in war. By adopting this principle the great Powers each succeed in organising a force which will have a reasonable chance of victory in any probable war; this may be called unlimited security. Lesser Powers trust to their forces being sufficient to discourage a superior adversary from undertaking a difficult and costly campaign; they thus obtain a limited security, based on the prospect of being able to ensure peace; and, to strengthen this partial security, they endeavour to gain allies to help them, or protectors whose possible intervention would be a serious consideration to an aggressor.

The system on which this country takes measures for its defence is entirely different. The standard is not fixed, save in certain details, by requirements of security, but rather by the amount of the concessions reluctantly

granted by a people who consider that the burden of armaments should be measured by inclination and not by necessity. In two respects only has our defence policy followed the dictates of plain necessity; the standard of strength of the navy and that of the garrison of India have some relation to the possible tasks which these forces may have to undertake. In both cases the necessity for a standard has been brought home to the nation only by imminent danger; at certain stages of the Napoleonic wars the command of the sea was in jeopardy, and at the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny the British force in India was manifestly insufficient. In other respects the insular view of national defence is in strange contrast to continental principles, so much so that there is need for some consideration as to the causes and effects of the different policies.

There can be but little doubt that the military policy of continental states is dictated by military considerations and is entirely uninfluenced by methods of government. Germany, under an autocracy slightly tempered by public opinion, and France, guided by democratic principles, have arrived at the same conclusions. In almost every European country also military policy is continuous; whatever party be in power the standard of security remains the same. If any alteration is made in the standard either of strength or of efficiency it is made and accepted by the nation as a whole, not by the political party which temporarily controls the Government. Our insular policy is fundamentally different. Since the time of Cromwell there has always been a party in the State which recognises no standard of military security, but considers only the burden of armaments; whose policy has ever been the avoidance of present sacrifice at the risk of future disaster. From time to time these views have prevailed; the burden has been lifted; and disaster—minor disaster, thanks to the Channel—has followed in due course. It must be said in partial excuse of the supporters of this misguided policy, that until the latter part of the nineteenth century no attempt had ever been made to fix a standard of security, and then only the navy and the garrison of India were considered; but the curious part is that it was but seldom that any attempt was made to justify the periodic reduction of armed

strength by arguments to prove that reduction would not impair security. The effective argument has always been the objection to expense; not that the expense was unbearable, but that it was inconvenient; frequently the argument has been supported by the strange plea that the army, or navy, has been extravagantly administered, and that therefore the cost should be lessened, not by economy, but by reduction of strength or efficiency.

The people who are susceptible to argument of this kind are for the most part the victims of ignorance. However cultured they may be, whatever may be the range of their knowledge in other respects, the study of military policy has been omitted in their education. Indeed it may be said that the great majority of the nation has only the vaguest idea of what military policy is, or what our military policy should be. One reason for this lack of knowledge is that the principles on which our policy should be based have seldom been clearly stated and have never been adequately discussed. The first attempt at any authoritative statement, based on scientific deduction, was contained in Mr Balfour's speech of the 11th May, 1905, on Imperial defence. This date is likely to be a landmark in our military history, for Mr Balfour brought Truth from the hiding-place where she had lurked for generations. Decently veiled she was; no statesman could face the risk of presenting her otherwise to the public gaze; yet enough was visible to let people see in how far the reality differed from imaginary conceptions. For none had believed the tales of the few adventurous spirits who, unaided, had previously penetrated to her retreat.

Among continental nations the doctrines of national defence are considered worthy of attention by all; and consequently the main principles on which the resources of the country are organised for war are well known to the public. Some of the books which have appeared on this subject deal with the matter so thoroughly that they are of value to nations other than those which they are primarily intended to instruct. Of these works, perhaps the most notable is Baron von der Goltz's treatise, known in this country under the title 'The Nation in Arms,' of which a new English edition has just appeared. The main

object of the book is clearly stated by the author; it is 'to create a sound conception of the nature of war outside military circles. A keen desire for instruction has already manifested itself, and a true comprehension of the nature of war is certainly not the least important step in the direction of national military efficiency.' In this country there has as yet been no manifestation of a keen desire for instruction, yet the need for instruction is evident enough; a cursory perusal of the report of any army debate in the House of Commons will supply ample proof of the ignorance or indifference of most of our legislators on the subject of national defence.

Mr Balfour's authoritative statement, however, has borne good fruit, for, although there are those who still cry for reduction, with or without reason, and others who consider that the military problem can be solved by the addition of a few men to the army reserve, or by the extension of the period of volunteer encampments, there is yet noticeable, in pronouncements in the press and from the platform, a tendency to admit that there are *some* main principles by which military policy should be guided, and a recognition of the fact that to the lack of such guiding principles in our policy the present unsatisfactory state of our armed forces is due. It is becoming apparent that not only have we not got what we want, but that we are paying for what we do not want. Our forces have been formed haphazard to meet emergencies of which some were imaginary, some were temporary; the lines of their organisation have been the lines of least resistance, that is, those which lead to disorganisation; their functions have hitherto been undefined, because any attempt at truthful definition would expose the inherent absurdity of the system. Mr Balfour's statement drew attention to the fact that our naval strength is sufficient to protect these islands from invasion; yet we maintain three hundred thousand men for the sole purpose of resisting an enemy after these islands have been invaded. We have frontiers abroad which march with those of great Powers; to protect these frontiers we have only the disengaged portion of the regular army and its reserve, forces which may be accurately described as the surplus of our foreign peace garrisons. These bald facts are alone sufficient to

show the irrational manner in which our military policy is carried on. Even if the troops which are tied to home defence were capable of resisting an invader (which they are not), there is still no place for them, under such limitation of service, in any scheme which aims alike at efficiency and economy. While our navy is supreme, the money spent on home defence troops is wasted.

The authoritative statement of Mr Balfour opened the gate to discussion of the broad principles which he had outlined. Of those who have taken part in it, Mr Arnold-Forster and Mr Haldane, the two Secretaries of State concerned, have naturally been the most prominent. Mr Arnold-Forster certainly made use of the principles enunciated by the Prime Minister; that is, he applied them when they fitted in with his own preconceived notions, and he discarded them when they did not. His book, 'The Army in 1906,' is an elaboration of his share in the discussion on military policy, and is, it must be admitted, a spirited piece of special pleading in favour of his discarded scheme. It is valuable, because the scheme was, in parts, a good one, and the reasons which are adduced for many of the suggestions, particularly for the conversion of surplus regular and selected militia regiments into a short-service force, are well considered and weighty; but the case is frequently damaged by overstatement, and sometimes by misstatement.

For Mr Haldane's contributions to the discussion we have to look to his speeches, two of which have been published in pamphlet form. The Secretary of State adopts the attitude of a diffident student of the military art; he has formulated the opinion, unusual in this country, that among professional soldiers there are men of military knowledge, and even of intelligence, and has had the courage to admit that, on certain points, the professional view is worthy of consideration. This attitude is certainly discreet, and has done much to strengthen Mr Haldane's position, especially with the army, which is unaccustomed to fair words and quickly responsive to appreciation. With the general public also Mr Haldane's diffidence has been of service; there is a widespread belief that the insensate reduction of battalions was a measure forced on the War Minister and not originated by him. Even his artless hope of being

able to create a second-line army out of 'those who take an interest in rifle-shooting, or have a taste for drill,' has raised a smile only of sympathy, not of ridicule. Mr Haldane is digging for his foundations; the rock is there, although he has not yet reached it; but as long as he perseveres in his exploration, so long is there hope of his success, and so long will there be trust in his good faith.

Before the standard of security of a nation can be assessed, there is a vast amount of preliminary calculation required; and the terms of calculation are in their nature indefinite, depending on estimate, not on certainty. For most nations, however, the calculations are not very complex; only one or two contingencies have to be considered; possible enemies are few and easily indicated. When the British Empire is in question the contingencies assume an infinite variety; the terms of the calculations must be estimated by means of expert evidence of the military power of nearly every nation on earth; the calculation itself touches closely the national life, and its correct solution will tax the best intellects of the country. If the case of a single frontier, India, be considered, some of the necessary estimates and calculations are at once apparent. Estimates are required of the strength of the forces which Russia could bring to her Afghan frontier, and could maintain in that theatre, of the sufficiency of the supplies and transport for this force, of its probable value in war, judged from its training and previous records, of the geographical obstacles or aids to its progress, of a hundred obscure and recondite considerations which might affect an offensive campaign. The inclination of the Afghan ruler and of his people, the armed strength of that country, and the possible application of its forces, must be included. The attitude of native India, the possibility of an alliance against us, are important factors. All these factors having been weighed, we must estimate our ability to deal with them, reckon up the assets, and consider the best means of making up the deficiency. In 'Imperial Strategy' a chapter is devoted to the defence of India; and the most casual reader cannot fail to be struck by the complexity of the problem, and by the lack of any national and settled policy in our method of dealing with it. The fact is that those who have sufficient knowledge to dictate a sound policy have

no power, while those who have power have no knowledge. The standard of security even for one frontier cannot be worked out without the assistance of those whose lives have been devoted to the study of the military art in all its details; the science of the soldier and the judgment of the statesman must be brought together in harmonious cooperation.

When this process has been completed with relation to every probable or reasonable contingency of war in any part of our wide-spread Empire, then a national standard of security can be assessed. That our military preparations will ever attain this standard is perhaps not to be expected. We have ever loved to take risks; but, if we have a standard, we shall at least have some data by which to gauge the extent of the risks we are accepting. At present we have none; we know that the risks are heavy, and that is all. And until we have a standard we shall be unable so to organise the resources which we may feel disposed to devote to national defence as to make the risks as small and as remote as possible. Our military organisation at present bears but little relation to our requirements for war; our auxiliary force resembles a breakwater from which the sea has receded, notable only as a historical landmark, useful only as a playground for the local children. 'We are organising the army,' says the author of 'Imperial Strategy,' 'on the basis of five-sixths of it remaining at home, where, unless all our naval theories, practices, sacrifices, and traditions are mere nonsense, they will never fight a battle.... In organising forces which we cannot send abroad and cannot use at home, strategic dementia has reached its climax.'

The fixing of the standard, the calculation of our requirements for security, can only be undertaken by the King's Government, aided by the best military advice and information. But, whatever the precise result of such deliberation may be, the fact is evident and undenied that our present arrangements are totally insufficient. There can therefore be no objection, even before the standard is arrived at, to the consideration of the methods by which our resources can be organised to greater effect, without imposing any more severe strain on the country. The country is in no humour to accept additional financial burdens unless the necessity is im-

pressed on it very forcibly; it is doubtful whether any influence, save the pressure of imminent danger or the experience of disaster, will avail to wring a consent to bear a heavier contribution. No one knows this better than Mr Haldane; and the trend of his experiments is all in the direction of economical conversion of his resources, of getting better value for his money, without any increase of either the compulsory or the voluntary burden, the taxes or the conditions of service. That something may be accomplished in this direction is generally admitted; the only danger to be feared in setting to work at once is the possibility of the selected scheme being essentially of a limited nature and incapable of either permanent or temporary expansion, should it be discovered later that the requirements of security had been underestimated. This was the fundamental defect of Mr Arnold-Forster's scheme; his estimate of our requirements, arrived at, apparently, by intuition, was of the vaguest nature; and the force to be provided by his proposed organisation was strictly limited to an arbitrary strength. Power of expansion up to the full extent of our resources is absolutely essential.

That the regular army is, from its nature, incapable of indefinite expansion, is universally admitted. It is an efficient but highly expensive machine designed to perform certain particular services; to provide foreign garrisons in peace time, to control dependent races, to undertake small wars, to train auxiliaries. The expense of maintaining it at a strength sufficient for the performance of these functions not only makes great expansion on regular lines impossible, but provides a strong argument for the strictest limitation of its permanent establishment. Any hope of fulfilling our requirements for defence by increasing the regular army may be dismissed as chimerical; expansion must be sought for elsewhere.

It would appear at first sight that in Mr Haldane's new scheme a limited expansion of the regular army is provided for. Seventy-four training battalions are to be established, in which men will be enlisted for six years on the condition that, if a general mobilisation takes place during their term of service, they may be sent in drafts to reinforce the battalions of regulars; similar but unspecified arrangements are to be made for the other arms and departments of the regular army. These men

will form, practically, a partially trained addition to the army reserve; it is expected that about 80,000 men will in this way become available for foreign service with the regular army in time of war, and that we shall thus be able to mobilise and to maintain in the field for six months a force of 160,000 men. This is, so far, the limit of this expansion. If the scheme is successful and the men are found, we are, theoretically, very much where we were; that is, we have available for war oversea—the most probable contingency—the regular army, backed by 80,000 special reservists, where formerly we had the regular army backed by 80,000 militia. Practically we are better off, for not only has a vast improvement in organisation been outlined—the establishment of a proper proportion of the three arms and of the departmental services—but we shall at least know whether the 80,000 reservists can be counted on or not. There could never be any certainty that the militia would be available for service oversea; it lay with them to say, when the emergency arose, whether they would consent to extend their liability. With the new force the number available will be known beforehand, and will be represented by the strength of the force, for each man will accept the liability on enlistment. These are undeniable advantages, but yet they do not give us expansion; for that we must still look elsewhere.

The territorial army, the second line, in which the volunteers and part of the yeomanry and militia are to be absorbed, is evidently the force to which Mr Haldane expects us to look; and it may be admitted at once that some of the principles which he has applied to the organisation of this force are entirely suited to a system of expansion. The decentralisation of administration, the formation of territorial divisions, the enforcement of a period of liability, are all valuable reforms; the minor defects which are apparent now, or may show themselves later, can be remedied without impairing the scheme. But there is one defect which exists in our auxiliary forces as they are, and will exist after they are reorganised; the 300,000 men are to be tied down to the defence of two islands which the navy keeps inviolate; they are to ensure local superiority in a theatre to which no enemy can penetrate. The field force of regulars may be fighting abroad, but the territorial army remains at home. At

the end of six months the field army, even if successful so far, will have its last reserve in the ranks; the territorial army, after six months' embodiment, may be fit to take the field, but it will still remain at home. Perhaps it, or some part of it, or some individuals belonging to it, may feel disposed to help the field force, and they may be allowed, or even encouraged to do so, but they could not be ordered to go, whatever the emergency; their obligation to fight extends only to places where no fighting is to be expected. No doubt the existence of this force may tend to discourage any attempt of an enemy to raid the United Kingdom; but raids are neither very probable nor necessarily very serious. We are spending our strength in endeavouring to cope with the most remote contingency, leaving the obvious and pressing dangers unconsidered.

Mr Haldane is, in fact, engaged in making ropes of sand, and is taking great pains to ensure that only the best kind of sand shall be used to make his ropes. The ropes will not be very valuable, but by happy foresight, or chance, his machinery is so constructed as to be capable of dealing also with hemp; the use of sand is merely his preference. The organisation of the territorial army appears to be suitable for the provision of an efficient force for a great war; it is the intention at present to use it to provide a force which shall be useless in a great war, which shall remain immobile, paralysed, outside the sphere of conflict. Yet for the machinery, the organisation, we may be grateful; if Mr Haldane gives us that and nothing else, he will have given us more than any of his predecessors for generations. We shall have the means, if only we have the will to use them, of producing a real second line army for purposes of war. What is wanting is the authority to turn the organisation to good account; to ensure that the force which is to be created, however small it may have to be, shall be available for service wherever it is required, and shall not be interned where it is not required. What is wanted, in fact, is an obligation on the part of the second line army to serve, in time of war, wherever the proper authorities may consider that its services will be most useful. If men can be found to accept this obligation, then we shall have a real and useful force, and the problem of

expansion will be, in some degree, solved. If the men cannot be found, we shall at least know our danger; we shall have discovered the insufficiency of ropes of sand.

'Our belief is' (said Mr Haldane on February 25) '. . . that they (the men of the second line) would be ready, finding themselves in their units, to say, "we wish to go abroad and take our part in the theatre of war, to fight in the interests of the nation and for the defence of the Empire." It might be that they would not only go in their battalions, but in their brigades and even divisions.'

It might indeed be so, but it would be a good thing to find out beforehand. One way to find out would be to ask them; if they agree, then they can be counted on; if they demur, the expense of training them will be a purposeless extravagance. It looks as if Mr Haldane dares not put the question because he fears what the answer may be; he confines himself to speculation because he is afraid to face the possible reality.

It may be admitted that an obligation to serve abroad, if necessary, in time of war, is a serious matter for a citizen soldier. It is indeed so serious that it is very doubtful whether a sufficient number will accept the obligation. Nevertheless the fact is quite clear that for purposes of war no narrower liability can be of any value in the effort to meet our requirements. Mr Haldane, with suspicious candour, has admitted that the end to be attained has not come within his purview. 'I have never been able,' he says, 'to work out the standard of the requirements of the Empire.' Nor has anybody else; but many have tried, within the limits of personal knowledge, to work out a rough estimate; and it cannot be supposed that Mr Haldane, after a year's study of military problems, has formed no kind of estimate for himself. The problem of the defence of India must have come before him; does he accept Lord Kitchener's estimate of our requirements for security in that quarter? Or the estimate of Lord Roberts? Or neither? Or, if neither, has he discovered or evolved any estimate of those requirements which leads him to believe that they would be fulfilled by a force of 160,000 men, maintained in the field for six months? Mr Haldane evades the question of requirements altogether.

'Though we are not laying down any standard of requirements for the Empire, we are keeping together a force which is better prepared for war than any force which we have hitherto had; and that seems to me to satisfy the requirements of the Empire, at all events more than at the present time, while one is prejudicing nothing and no principle.'

This also may be all quite true, and we may be grateful in reason, but the intensity of our gratitude will depend on the proportion which the improvement bears to the deficiency. If a man has the bailiffs in his house for a debt of a hundred pounds, and has only threepence to meet the bill, it will not comfort him much to find another penny in his overcoat pocket. The actual increase in fighting power given by this new scheme will be very small when compared to the gap that is yet to be filled; and Mr Haldane, in spite of his political optimism, must know this very well.

Nevertheless, although the actual increase in fighting power is small compared with the increase which is required to ensure safety, there is reason to hope that the efficiency of our inadequate force will be notably improved by Mr Haldane's organisation. He has dealt with the material and the money at his disposal in a workmanlike manner; and, although there will certainly be much difference of opinion with regard to the necessity or the value of the various measures of reform which he advocates, it must be admitted that sound reasons or weighty authority can be adduced in favour of each one of them. The alterations in the organisation of the 'first line,' the force for war oversea, are mainly four: the self-contained division, the allotment of cavalry duties, the provision of men from civil life for certain technical and administrative services on mobilisation, and the scheme of depôt battalions. As to the first, there is practical unanimity of approval for the proposed formation; the new divisions, which can be grouped into armies to suit the conditions of a campaign, are yet capable, both administratively and tactically, of independent action. Organisation in army corps is suitable for great military Powers which can produce a score of them; for us, who have never been able to complete three, except on paper, the system is cumbrous and unpractical. The efficacy of the divisional formation also, especially for oversea

service, has been proved by the ease and certainty with which the Japanese armies in the late war were despatched, combined, and redistributed to meet the varying exigencies of the campaign.

The distinction which has been drawn between the strategic and the protective duties of cavalry, and the consequent allotment of our available mounted troops to independent cavalry, army cavalry, and divisional cavalry, are a belated effort to conform to views which have long ago been accepted by the leaders of military thought in continental countries. It seems probable that Mr Haldane, or his advisers, may have been informed or reminded of these views by the simultaneous and opportune appearance of these two books on the subject, both of them translations from the German, in which the necessity for the distinction is put beyond doubt. These books, happily enough, are absolutely complementary one to another; General von Bernhardi, in 'Cavalry in Modern War,' attacks the subject theoretically and arrives at his conclusions by deduction. General von Pelet-Narbonne, in 'Cavalry on Service,' adopts the inductive method; he has selected from history a single, but very complete series of operations of a cavalry force, and from the actual success or failure of the methods adopted by or forced upon it, has suggested certain general principles. The conclusions of Bernhardi and the general principles of Pelet-Narbonne are, on many points, in agreement, and on one are identical, namely, that the cavalry of an army in the field has two distinct duties to perform, and that the same force cannot simultaneously perform both. These duties are, shortly, strategic reconnaissance and protection; that part of the cavalry which is detailed to carry out the first must have complete independence of movement, that which performs the second must be strictly tied to the army which it protects. Strategic reconnaissance is essentially an offensive operation; protection is defensive. The first implies concentration, to overcome the hostile cavalry; the second implies dispersion, to guard all avenues of approach. If only one force is available for both purposes, then, when it proceeds on reconnaissance, the army will be left exposed; if it remains to guard the army, it will acquire but little information of the enemy. The Germans, therefore, in

war, divide their cavalry into two portions, 'cavalry divisions' for reconnaissance, and 'divisional (or corps) cavalry' for protection. General von Bernhardi defines the two functions as those of intelligence and security.

'Fundamentally different arrangements' (he says) 'are necessary to fulfil these two purposes. Any one who attempted to entrust both the provision of intelligence and the protection of the troops to one and the same body of men would, in the vast majority of cases, fail to secure either purpose so long as the enemy's mounted forces still held the field. To secure information, i.e. intelligence, requires concentration of force. The reconnoitring cavalry must beat their opponents out of the field in order to obtain opportunities for discovering what is going on behind the enemy's protective screen. To accomplish this, the cavalry must endeavour to work round the adversary's flanks, and may in consequence have to leave the front of its own army entirely uncovered. The protection of this army, on the other hand, requires a wide extension of front and consequent subdivision of force, the exact opposite of the concentration which the provision of intelligence imperatively calls for.'

This is the theoretical argument. General von Pelet-Narbonne's practical examples point the same moral.

'The deployment of the armies in advancing from their detraining points was to be protected and concealed, and information to be obtained about the distribution, movements, and intentions of the enemy's forces. These duties, which fall to the cavalry, were of both an offensive and defensive nature, and must be separately carried out to attain a successful result; i.e. the duty of observation must be fundamentally separate from that of protection.'

The recognition of these principles, by those responsible for the efficiency of our army, must be counted as a reform; but in the application of them Mr Haldane has not been successful. It is proposed to allot to the new infantry divisions — semi-independent bodies of nearly 20,000 men each—only two squadrons of yeomanry, as divisional cavalry. This proportion of mounted men is manifestly insufficient, even if the quality were the best that could be provided; and the prospect of having to depend for reconnaissance on some three hundred partially trained men under inexperienced officers will

not be very satisfactory to a divisional commander. It would appear that the divisions have been starved in order that mounted men might be found to form the hybrid formation which is to be called army cavalry, a force of which the functions are indefinite and the value problematic. The system adopted shows an intentional departure from simplicity, with no compensating advantage to justify it.

The third of Mr Haldane's proposals—the provision of men from civil life to take up certain duties with the field army on mobilisation—is frankly an experiment; and its success depends on two conditions which are not yet assured. There is doubt as to whether the men required will come forward; and there is doubt, even if the men come forward, as to their consenting to undergo training sufficient to fit them for immediate service in the field. The first question will be answered definitely before long, but there is reason to expect wide divergences of opinion about the answer to the second. Not only must the standard of fitness for war always be somewhat indefinite and to a great extent a matter of opinion, but there is also the danger that, in order to fulfil the first condition, the second may be waived; that is, that in order to get the men, to show the force on paper, the training may be so relaxed that the services of the men may at first be of little value. And it must be remembered that on these men the fighting power of the whole of the field army is dependent; not one of the six divisions will be able to mobilise without them; not one will be fit for service unless these men are efficient.

The question of the sufficiency, both numerical and military, of these reinforcements for the first line is grave; it cannot be answered except by making the experiment and considering the result. Conjecture and prophecy can carry no weight. But, admitting that the value of the scheme cannot be gauged except by experiment, it remains to be considered whether the experiment is worth making. Here Mr Haldane is on more solid ground. The regular soldier is an expensive article, so expensive that there is little hope that any British Government would maintain an establishment sufficient to provide, on mobilisation, 160,000 regular soldiers, in the proper proportion of the different arms. Also the regular soldier is highly trained; and it

must be admitted that in a modern army there are many services for the proper performance of which a high standard of military training is not essential. These duties, in fact, either approximate to duties which are continuously performed in civil life, such as supply, telegraphy, or railway transport, or they are of a nature so simple, as for instance the driving of ammunition column waggons, that prolonged and continuous training, either civil or military, is unnecessary. Every efficient substitute for a regular soldier will save money to the country; how much exactly he will save cannot be estimated until the result of the experiment is known. For, under a system of voluntary service, these prospective non-military reservists may hold out for such terms as they please; and there will be no choice between giving what they ask and doing without them. It may be expected, however, that the system, if successful, will result in a considerable saving; and a possible increase in the strength of our army for service oversea, if attained with no increase of cost and no diminution of efficiency, is a sufficient excuse for experiments of the boldest nature.

It is perhaps with regard to Mr Haldane's fourth proposition, the establishment of draft-producing depôt battalions, and the extinction of the old militia system, that the greatest volume and intensity of criticism is to be expected. The militia is a landmark; whatever may be its faults and failings, it has great traditions and a historic past. In all times of difficulty and danger, in every great war, as soon as the invariable insufficiency of our preparations became manifest, the militia has closed up its ranks and has gone forth silently, expecting no praise, demanding no reward, to take its place in fighting line or garrison. Its services have earned for it not only the respect and gratitude of the nation, but also the right to retain its place in the national forces, as long as its continued existence can reasonably be justified. For some years this latter question has been in doubt. The quality of the militia has deteriorated owing to the invasion of its recruiting field by the volunteers; its strength has diminished owing to the annual exodus of 12,000 men who enlist from it into the line. The terms of service are of such a nature that it is difficult for a man in regular work to attend a

training, and yet they are so devised that an idle man can easily belong to, and train with, more than one corps. This practice is known to be not uncommon, and renders all returns of strength somewhat untrustworthy.

Moreover, there is the consideration that the militia, when it takes the field, will consent to do so only in its units, and that its officers and men are not available to replace casualties in the regular army. This limitation is one on which there is a considerable divergence of opinion, and it may be well to endeavour to clear it up before proceeding further. The advocates of the present system argue, with apparent reason, that, when men take the field, they should go in the battalions or batteries in which they have been trained in peace, under their own officers, shoulder to shoulder with the comrades they know. If there were anything like an equality of efficiency between militia and line this argument would have weight, especially at the beginning of a war; but it has never been pretended that militia battalions are as efficient as those of the line. Therefore, when the waste of war has reduced regular battalions to a fraction of their proper strength, the question to be decided is whether it is better to reinforce these battalions by adding others of less efficiency, or by filling them up to their full complement by officers and men whom they may absorb and make their own. For example, if a force of regulars in the field had lost 4000 men by casualties, would it be better to send 4000 officers and men to fill the vacancies in the regular battalions, or to reinforce the regulars by a brigade of militia, 4000 strong, in its own battalions? There is no experienced leader who would hesitate for a moment if the choice were offered him; the opinion may be hazarded that there are few who would not prefer to have 2000 militia in drafts rather than 4000 in units.

The opinion that reinforcements sent to the front during the course of a war are more valuable in the form of drafts than in that of units has been held strongly with reference to old and new units much more alike in original efficiency than are line and militia battalions. The system pursued by the Federals, during the American Civil War, of organising new units in preference to filling up the gaps in those already in the field, is con-

sidered by Colonel Henderson, no mean judge, to have affected seriously the efficiency of the Federal Army.

'Thus' (he says in 'The Science of War') 'battalions which had served in more than one campaign and had gained experience and discipline were soon reduced to the strength of a couple of companies; whilst others lately raised boasted a full complement of rifles, but were without officers, commissioned or non-commissioned, capable of instructing or leading their unpractised men.'

Speaking of the arrangements of the State of Wisconsin, which, alone of the Northern States, adopted the system of reinforcing by drafts instead of by units, General Sherman was emphatic in his opinion.

'We estimate a Wisconsin regiment equal to an ordinary brigade. I believe that five hundred new men added to an old and experienced regiment were more valuable than a thousand men in the form of a new regiment, for the former, by association with good experienced captains, lieutenants, and non-commissioned officers, soon became veterans, whereas the latter were generally unavailable for a year.'

The view of the Federal civil authorities, however, who persisted, mainly to meet the wishes of recruits, in organising new units under inexperienced officers, leaving their experienced officers without men to command, is still maintained by some with whom efficiency in war is a consideration second to that of convenience in peace. The Duke of Bedford, a representative militia commanding officer, in his pamphlet on 'The Preservation of the Militia,' frankly bases his opinion on convenience of recruiting, and relegates efficiency to the background.

'The militia' (he says), 'if it is to be recruited by the county authorities, must constitute a second line to the Regular Army, and must not be incorporated into the Regular Army in time of war. No Lord-Lieutenant, no county magnates, no county residents, no senior officers of the militia, can be expected to throw their hearts into the creation of a force which is not to be allowed to go on service as a complete unit under its own officers, but which is to be used merely as a drafting force and lose its identity in the ranks of the Line.'

This may be true; but if so, it seems to show a curious narrow-mindedness in these county personages that they

should be unwilling to do for the county regular battalions the service which the Duke of Bedford evidently expects them to do for the county militia battalions. Are we to suppose that in case of war the county gentlemen of Bedfordshire would care nothing for the efficiency of the 1st Battalion Bedfordshire Regiment, fighting in the first line, but would centre their attention on the 3rd Battalion Bedfordshire Regiment, in garrison at Malta? If this be so, then the upper classes of this country must have strangely limited ideas of patriotism and a remarkable lack of the sense of proportion. It may be that the Duke of Bedford's opinion of the character of his neighbours is unduly pessimistic; but it must be admitted that misplaced *esprit de corps* of this kind is too prevalent. There are some volunteers, some yeomen, some militiamen, and a good many regulars, whose view of all military problems is limited to the influence of these problems on their own particular force. The idea of a national army is beyond them; each will fight for his own petty privileges, however damaging these privileges may be to the welfare of the army as a whole. If Mr Haldane's scheme succeeds there will be at least a diminution in the number of the opposing factions; on one side will be the regular army with its two reserves, and on the other a homogeneous territorial army. Even a limited and prejudiced mind may be able to grasp the essential principles on which the two forces are organised and to understand that efficiency gained by either at the expense of the other would be detrimental to the national interest.

In considering the effect of the substitution of depôt battalions for militia battalions, however, there is one apparent disadvantage in the new scheme, that is, the loss of militia units which until now have always volunteered for garrison service abroad in time of war, thus setting free regular battalions for field service. From a proviso in his Bill, offering to the units of the territorial force the option of volunteering for such service in time of war, Mr Haldane apparently expects that the tradition of the militia in this respect will be handed on. Theoretically the conditions are unaltered; the militia was free to volunteer for service abroad, or to refrain, as it liked; the territorial army will be equally free. But

with regard to the militia, there was a certain confidence, based on past experience; militia battalions looked on volunteering for service as almost a moral obligation. The view which the territorial army may take is quite problematic; the only inducement that is provided is the law that this force, when the situation is sufficiently serious, shall be embodied for training. Once embodied, it is not unlikely that many may see no additional hardship in continuing their training, for a time, abroad.

The measures of reform which Mr Haldane intends to apply to the auxiliary forces are, as has already been noted, mainly in the direction of improvement of organisation; and his efforts towards this end are characterised by sound military instinct and by some boldness. The main defect is evident; he is organising a fighting machine which cannot be counted on to fight except in the remote contingency of invasion. Otherwise the organisation appears to be suitable and capable of further extension. But over the whole scheme is a cloud of doubt which can only be cleared up by experience. There is no certainty that Mr Haldane will get the men he wants under the conditions which he proposes; he may have to choose between a shortage of personnel on one hand and, on the other, either a relaxation of the conditions of service or an increase of cost. If men fail to come forward in sufficient numbers, nothing will bring them forward but additional inducements; and these can only be provided by lightening the personal burden or by increasing the personal reward. If the first be adopted, the standard of efficiency, low enough already, will fall still lower; if the second be adopted, the army estimates, already high enough, will rise still higher. It is not impossible that both results may ensue. If the men required do come forward and accept the increased obligation and diminished inducements which Mr Haldane offers, then his scheme will be safe. But that will not make the country safe.

Mr Haldane has gone as far as he dares in the direction of efficient organisation. If he has gauged correctly the endurance of the volunteer under the burden piled upon him by the rest of the community, his arrangement may last until the volunteer awakes to the fact that in addition to his own work he is doing the work of ten other men who are idle, and that he is accepting a risk that ten

other men, who are cautious, are evading. If Mr Haldane has made a mistake in his estimate of the patience of the volunteers, then his scheme for a territorial army must fail. If it should fail, then the country must be prepared to consider seriously the question of compulsion; for it is generally admitted that in these proposals the limit of the voluntary system has been reached. The minority of the nation, by whom the auxiliary forces are provided, cannot be expected to make unlimited sacrifices for the benefit of the majority; the doubt about Mr Haldane's scheme is whether it has not exceeded the limit of the sacrifices which the minority are prepared to make. Under the voluntary system the volunteer has always before him the contrast between his own position and that of the majority who do nothing, the majority whose right to evade service is the fundamental principle of the system. It is not surprising that the volunteer should insist on making his own terms; the surprising point is that his terms are so moderate. But it is he who commands the market; it is on the class of man who now fills the ranks of the volunteer forces and on each man's interpretation of his duty to the State that the success of the scheme, as a scheme, depends. For it is to these men, and not to the nation at large, that Mr Haldane's appeal is made; he cannot expect that those others who have shirked the lesser obligation will accept the greater. If an appeal be made to the nation as a whole, the appeal must be for compulsion, that is, for universal service, for it is ridiculous to appeal to the man who does not volunteer to work a little harder and take a little more risk. While the possibility of evasion exists, service, even the limited service of the volunteer, is to a certain extent a hardship, for the distribution of the burden is unjust. If the injustice be removed the weight of the burden would be almost unnoticed.

The success of Mr Haldane's scheme, therefore, may be said to depend on the possibility of his obtaining the men he requires at a reasonable cost. The scheme itself is in advance of any former proposals; it contains sound measures of reform and is no bar to further reform. Its insufficiency is due to the inherent defects of the voluntary system to which Mr Haldane is tied; and the fact is quite clear that, under that system, no great improvement on

this scheme can be hoped for. For every reason the scheme should have a fair trial. Those who adhere firmly to the principle of voluntary service will find in these proposals the extreme possibility of the voluntary system; those who favour conscription, or compulsion, or universal training, will perceive that the whole voluntary system is undergoing its final trial. The regular army will recognise an effort to produce a field army which, although too large for a small war and too small for a large war, will yet be complete and organically sound. The auxiliary forces will have what they have always wanted, organisation, and should be able to understand that practical organisation of these forces is impossible without radical alterations in their constitution.

So profound is Mr Haldane's subtlety that people of the most diverse opinions can find a point of view from which the scheme presents a favourable aspect. With the exception of Mr Arnold-Forster, whose regretful eyes still linger on his own rejected masterpiece, nobody is likely to condemn the proposals as a whole. Criticism of details is inevitable; and these Mr Haldane appears to be prepared to meet with undaunted, even cheerful front. And in his defence of his theories we may wish him success, for if the scheme in its entirety be put on its trial, then, whether it succeeds or fails, the attention of the country will have been directed to certain problems which have hitherto been neglected, problems on the correct solution of which the very existence of the nation may depend.

Art. IX.—THE CHARACTER OF GOETHE.

1. *Goethe, sein Leben und seine Werke.* By Dr Albert Bielschowsky. Two vols. Tenth edition. Munich: Beck, 1906.
2. *The Life of Goethe.* By Albert Bielschowsky, Ph.D. Authorised translation by W. A. Cooper, A.M. Three vols. Vol. I. New York and London: Putnam, 1905.
3. *Goethe.* By J. Firmery. New edition. Paris, 1897.
4. *Goethe.* By Richard M. Meyer. Second edition. Berlin: Hofmann, 1898.
5. *Goethe.* By Georg Witkowski. Leipzig and Berlin: Seeman, 1899.
6. *Goethe en France: Étude de Littérature comparée.* By F. Baldensperger. Paris: Hachette, 1904.
7. *Études sur Goethe.* By Paul Stapfer. Paris: Armand Colin, 1906.

IN a letter to Carlyle, written in 1837, John Sterling says:

'As to reading, I have been looking at Goethe, specially the "Life," much as a shying horse looks at a post. In truth, I am afraid of him. I enjoy and admire him so much, and feel I could so easily be tempted to go along with him. And yet I have a deeply-rooted and old persuasion that he was the most splendid of anachronisms. A thoroughly, nay intensely pagan life, in an age when it is men's duty to be Christian. I therefore never take him up without a kind of inward check, as if I were trying some forbidden spell.'

In his tale, 'The Onyx Ring,' Sterling embodied in the character of the poet Walsingham the conception of Goethe to which he here gives expression. He came eventually to take a very different view of the character and work of Goethe, and, in Carlyle's words, put him on the throne of his intellectual world; but the interest of his original view is that, since Goethe first attracted attention in this country, it has been the view of the average cultivated Englishman, and precisely on the grounds indicated by Sterling—Goethe's 'thoroughly, nay intensely pagan life.' The aversion of Wordsworth and Coleridge—characteristically English in their feelings and sympathies—rested on the same grounds. Coleridge tells us that he was pressed to translate the first part of 'Faust';

and one of the two reasons he alleges for not undertaking the task was the consideration whether 'it became my moral character to render into English, and so far, certainly, lend my countenance to language, much of which I thought vulgar, licentious, and blasphemous.' To Dr Arnold, another typically English mind, the Prologue in Heaven was the expression of a profoundly unchristian spirit, to which reverence must be an inaccessible feeling. In Mr R. H. Hutton's memorable essay on Goethe the same point of view and the instinctive aversion it inspired are expressed with a fulness and subtlety of detail which have assured its permanent interest as a representative English criticism of Goethe.

There have, indeed, been eminent English critics who have seen Goethe with other eyes. Not to speak of his first and greatest apostle, Carlyle—the last man we could call English—Matthew Arnold, Sir John Seeley, and Henry Sidgwick received Goethe with no such misgivings as those originally felt by Sterling, and freely acknowledged him as one of the safest and sagest guides in the 'conduct of life.' But, in different ways, the three critics just named were pre-eminently non-English in their cast of thought and in their conception of the gospel most needed by their countrymen. 'Concerning Goethe,' says Prof. Dowden, 'the British public have always had their doubts and scruples'; and the general attitude of English critics towards Goethe since the beginning amply confirms the assertion. It was a sure instinct that guided them in their suspicion of something in Goethe that was new, strange, and alien to the traditions on which were based the fundamental conceptions of the English mind regarding man's relations to himself, to his fellows, and to the nature that produced him. To this element in Goethe they gave the name of 'paganism,' at once as a description and a stigma; and, whether we call it by this name or by the designation which Goethe himself gave it—*reine Menschlichkeit*, whole and sound humanity—it was an element which, if admitted as a principle in the guidance of life, must transform its aims, its ideals, and its animating tendency.

Goethe's so-called 'paganism' has been the chief factor in preventing his cordial acceptance by English readers; but there are other characteristics of his work which of

themselves would sufficiently explain the comparative coolness of his reception. Even on purely literary grounds there is not one of his productions which was fitted to compel instantaneous and unquestioning admiration in the English mind. As these works were successively introduced to English readers, there was some inherent shortcoming discerned in each of them which critics, naturally disposed to be unsympathetic to their author, could easily magnify without apparent injustice. The first in the series, 'Götz von Berlichingen,' could not be expected to make a great impression on a public familiar with its great models, the historical plays of Shakespeare. Nor could Werther, though Macpherson's Ossian was one of his spiritual ancestry, inspire the emotion he evoked in other countries, since Ossian himself had not moved the Briton as he had moved the Frenchman and the German. Even the first part of 'Faust,' the most characteristic and most puissant expression of Goethe's genius, had grave defects in the eyes of critics whose ideas of dramatic conditions had been formed on the Shakespearian tragedies; and when Coleridge said of it that it has 'neither causation nor progression,' and that it is a succession of 'mere magic-lantern pictures,' he only expressed the natural conclusion of English critics. 'Wilhelm Meister,' though a landmark in the history of modern literature, has been, and will probably ever remain, in spite of the eulogies of Carlyle, a dark problem for English readers, which for the most part they will agree to leave to the ingenuousness and ingenuity of its author's own countrymen. Of the last of the long series—the second part of 'Faust'—it is enough to say that its phantasmagoric symbolism was as little fitted to impress the Englishman as the prosaic detail of 'Meister.'

It is only when we survey Goethe's work in its totality that we realise the vastness of its scope and its permanent significance. But on a generation or generations of readers, to whom his successive productions, each with its own imperfections, were introduced only at long intervals, he could not make the impression which is the result of such a survey. What strikes us in the early English criticism of Goethe is its unconsciousness of the appearance of one of the master-minds of the race. Doubtless, he might be regarded as a person of some importance in Germany,

which had no great literature in the past; but to make of him a writer of universal significance seemed but the numorless folly of a nation in its intellectual childhood. To an Edinburgh reviewer in 1816 'Wahrheit und Dichtung' appeared a literary impertinence and only another example of 'the mingled rant and sickliness of German literature.' In De Quincey's contemptuous review of 'Wilhelm Meister' (1824) there is no suggestion that he has any consciousness of the stature of the author with whom he is dealing. If Carlyle, as Seeley says, was an inadequate interpreter of Goethe to England, he has at least the signal merit of divining his real importance, and of assigning him his definitive place as one of the great counsellors of humanity. But even the potent voice of Carlyle could not convince the intelligent majority of his countrymen that he was not worshipping an idol of his own fancy; and it was not till the middle of last century that the average reviewer spoke of Goethe in terms which revealed a perception of his range and quality. In the same publication which in 1816 had treated 'Wahrheit und Dichtung' with such easy contempt, we find a writer, though distinctly hostile to what he considered Goethe's profound moral defects, using these words of him in 1857:

'When we consider the variety, the power, the charm of his style; the profound and delicate insight into the human heart; the classical polish and grace, without the least tinge of pedantry; the wide, deep and harmonious views of Nature; the exquisite taste in Art; the masterly handling of a language formerly reputed harsh, but which he has made musical, expressive, and graceful—when we consider in how many ways he is second only to those who have been first in one alone, we scarcely know whom to set above him.'

The article from which this sentence is quoted is a review of Lewes's 'Life,' the appearance of which is, after Carlyle's various utterances, the most notable literary event in Goethe's literary fortunes in England. Yet it can hardly be said that Lewes's book materially modified the general English estimate of Goethe which had come to prevail at the time of its publication. Brilliant as the book is from many points of view, it was perhaps lacking precisely in the qualities requisite to impress public opinion. From beginning to end it has the character

of an apology for Goethe's life and the tendency of his teaching; and the impression it leaves as a whole is that one whose conduct and writing needed so much to be said in his defence must remain an equivocal figure alike as a man and as a creative artist. From about the time when Lewes's book appeared, however, Goethe's greatness as a writer was a fact accepted by every competent English critic; and it was no longer possible to speak of him as De Quincey had done in his review of 'Meister'—a review which, it is significant, in deference to the change of public opinion regarding Goethe, he materially altered in the collected edition of his works which appeared in 1859. But, if the estimate of Goethe's genius had thus risen, the original suspicion regarding his personal character and the tendency of his writings did not change; and the average Englishman still looks at him 'as a shying horse at a post,' as one who is essentially pagan 'when it is men's duty to be Christian.'

The national expression of opinion which a great writer's work evokes is a part of that work itself as well as a collective critical estimate of its value. We have seen what has been the general trend of opinion in England regarding Goethe; how he has been received in France is the subject M. Baldensperger's book 'Goethe en France.' In an octavo volume of nearly four hundred pages he has collected from newspapers, magazines, and books the judgments passed by French writers on Goethe from the date of the appearance of his earliest works. Antecedently we might have expected that his reception in France would have been more favourable than in England. His personal relations with France were closer; he frankly admitted that he owed to France the best part of his culture; and he even incurred the odium of his own countrymen by his cordial appreciation of France and her people. His 'paganism,' also, it might have been supposed, would not be a serious stumbling-block with a nation which has the repute of being the Gallio among its neighbours. Yet the conclusion of M. Baldensperger's book is that Sterling's comparison of the shying horse and the post is as applicable on the one side of the Channel as on the other. 'Geneva' and 'Rome,' we are succinctly told, have been Goethe's steady adversaries in France, and together they have in a large

degree determined opinion regarding him. For Lacordaire Goethe was *un mauvais génie*; and Lamennais writes, with special reference to 'Faust,' 'Je me figure quelquefois que ce grand charlatan entendait à merveille qu'il ne s'entendait pas et riait en lui-même des pauvres nigauds qui se creuseraient un jour la cervelle pour trouver le mot d'une énigme qui n'en a point.' As an expression of the attitude of 'Geneva' we may take the judgment of Amiel—a 'Genevan' at heart though he had broken with religious dogma. Goethe, he says, 'ignore la sainteté et n'a jamais voulu réfléchir sur le terrible problème du mal. Il n'est jamais arrivé au sentiment de l'obligation et du péché'—a sentence which contains the burden of R. H. Hutton's indictment of Goethe.

In France, as in England, it has been with those who have broken with traditional beliefs and sentiments that Goethe has found his account; and his chief believers have been spirits like George Sand, Théophile Gautier, Sainte-Beuve, Renan, and Taine. For Taine Goethe was 'le maître de tous les esprits modernes'; and George Sand is equally emphatic in her recognition of his significance. Goethe, she says, 'n'était pas seulement un grand écrivain; c'était un beau caractère, une noble nature, un cœur droit, désintéressé. . . . C'est une grande figure sereine au milieu des ténèbres de la nuit.' As marking the development of opinion regarding Goethe in France, M. Baldensperger quotes two sentences, one written in 1847 and the other in 1862, which indicate a close parallel with the similar development in England:

'Il s'est trouvé alors [in 1826] parmi nous' (writes the critic of 1847), 'une école littéraire [that of Romanticism] qui a essayé d'introduire en France le culte, l'adoration de Goethe à la manière allemande. Il a résulté de cette tentative quelques travaux distingués et des résultats utiles; l'attention a été excitée, le cercle des idées a été un peu élargi, le public a admiré avec des réserves un génie étrange qui le touchait, le choquait et le déroutait en même temps; mais en somme le culte n'a pas pris, et je doute qu'il prenne jamais.'

It was about the middle of last century, we have seen, that the true import of Goethe began to be apprehended in England; and the following sentence, written in 1862, indicates a similar growth of opinion in France:

'La disposition générale, et en même temps, par quelques côtés, très spéciale qu'on me permettra d'appeler "l'esprit goethéen," est chez nous, je le sais, fort étendue, surtout depuis une quinzaine d'années, et elle tend, chaque jour, à se répandre davantage.'

The more favourable prospects for Goethe in France, however, were merely temporary; the war of 1870 came, and Goethe, with all things German, passed under the ban of French opinion. It was under the cloud of national humiliation that Edmond Scherer wrote his stringent article on Goethe to which Matthew Arnold called attention in this Review, and which is the French parallel to the essay of Hutton, though its strictures rest on literary rather than on ethical grounds. Yet, as the memories of 1870 are passing away, M. Baldensperger assures us that the star of Goethe is again in the ascendant in France; and, if the excellent biography of him by M. Firmery, and the republished studies of M. Paul Stapfer are representative of general French opinion, the conclusion seems well founded. More convincing, however, is another judgment of M. Baldensperger, based as it is on the working of Goethe's genius for over a century, and applicable not only to France, but to every country that has passed under the discipline of Christianity.

'Goethe est encore engagé en quelque mesure dans le départ qui se fit entre deux catégories nouvelles d'intelligences, les unes surtout soucieuses de ranimer la tradition religieuse ou nationale, les autres disposées à se préoccuper plutôt des exigences rationelles et des suggestions de la conscience et de l'esprit critique.'

A divider of spirits, indeed, must Goethe continue to be till the cross is garlanded with roses, as Brother Marcus in 'Die Geheimnisse' found it at the hostel on the hill.

'Es steht das Kreuz mit Rosen dicht umschlungen,
Wer hat dem Kreuze Rosen zugesellt?
Es schwillt der Kranz, um recht von allen Seiten
Das schroffe Holz mit Weichheit zu begleiten.

Of these hesitations and reserves we find no suggestion in the more recent German biographies of Goethe. Even in his own country, as we know, Goethe has had his periods of obscuration; there have been German detractors of his personal character, of his genius, and of

the tendency of his teaching. But these days seem now to have gone by; and his orb can hardly become more full and resplendent than it is at the present moment in Germany. In the estimation of all three biographers above noted, 'the Eternal did create Goethe to be a guide to the universe'—the mission for which Joseph de Maistre's youthful friend thought that Chateaubriand had been specially selected. Different as these German biographies are in scope and merit, their authors are one in spirit, one in intention, one in their attitude of reverential admiration, passing not infrequently into breathless adoration. 'The most beautiful of lives that ever was lived,' exclaims Prof. Meyer, 'had the most beautiful end'; of Goethe's place of burial he writes:

'For the German people this is a holy grave, to which thousands repair in reverential homage, by which they linger in pious edification. But we know that Goethe is not to be found there. Where two hearts beat in enthusiasm for eternal beauty, Goethe is there with them. And when one solitary heart in ardent longing strives after the Highest, then rises the feeling, "Thou hoverest around me, exalted Spirit."'

Of the three biographies noted, that of Dr Bielschowsky has found the widest acceptance in Germany; and its popularity is itself a notable proof of the hold that Goethe has taken of the German mind. The first volume was published in 1895 and the second in 1903; and the completed work is now in its tenth edition. A circumstance connected with its production affords another testimony to the national interest in its subject; its author, a teacher in Berlin, broke down in health while engaged on his work, and the Government relieved him of his official duties to enable him to complete it. That his book should have had such a warm reception in Germany we can easily understand. The labour of a lifetime, it embodies the results of the vast literature that has grown up round Goethe since his death in 1832. Its tone of reverential homage is in the key which the general reader likes to be struck in the case of national heroes. It is, moreover, a thoroughly German book—German in its effusiveness, in its minuteness of detail, in the largeness of its scope.

That such a book on such a theme should be translated

for the benefit of English readers was certainly highly desirable; but it may be doubted if it is the kind of book that will appeal to them or increase their sympathy with Goethe. The first volume of a translation (to consist of three volumes instead of the two of the original) has already appeared; and printers and publishers have done their best to make the work attractive. If the translator, Mr Cooper, has not been so happy in his task, the reader of the original will sympathise with him. The style of Dr Bielschowsky has been much commended by his countrymen, but it is a style that is not easily transmutable into English. It is pitched in a key to which English writing does not ordinarily rise; and the translator is thus out of tune with the mood of the average English reader. And Mr Cooper has so thoroughly imbued himself with the spirit of his author that, as is apt to happen, he has frequently taken over his idioms as well as his sense. He tells us, for example, that his author's book has 'experienced' many editions, and that it 'was woman's work that compromised the misunderstanding between Goethe and the Jacobis.' Mr Cooper's translation abounds with such Germanisms; but the difficulties of his task will appear in his rendering of a sentence, which is a typical one of the original:

'Die drei jungen Mädchen und die geistvolle Frau Mercks gruppierten sich aber zugleich um einen anderen Darmstädter, der ihrer Sinnesart weit näher stand, um den in schönen Empfindungen und Gedanken sich wiegenden, galanten Leuchsenring, eine weiche Natur, durchtränkt von Georg Jacobis süsser Milch und von Klopstockschem Thränenwasser.'

All the nine muses would need to be at the elbow of a translator who should essay to do such a passage into commendable English; this is how Mr Cooper accomplishes the feat:

'The three young girls and Mercks' intellectual wife formed, however, at the same time a coterie about another man in Darmstadt, whose disposition was more nearly like their own, the gallant Leuchsenring, who revelled in beautiful thoughts and emotions, a tender nature, saturated with the sweet pap of Georg Jacobi and the tears of Klopstock.'

A book written in such a style seems hardly destined to be popular with English readers; and its substance is

not likely to make it more acceptable. With necessarily fuller and more accurate knowledge, Dr Bielschowsky adopts virtually the same attitude to his subject as Lewes; for Goethe's character, and the questionable actions of his life, he is an unswerving apologist, and of his writings he speaks in the tone of panegyric. In the case of Friederike Brion we have a typical illustration of his attitude to his subject. There is no incident in Goethe's life which has evoked severer animadversion than his conduct to Friederike. According to his own account (and it should not be forgotten that he is himself virtually the only authority for the story), he gained the affections of this simple daughter of a country pastor, lived for a few months in a dream of passion, and finally deserted her. Dr Bielschowsky's justification (for a justification it is meant to be) of Goethe's conduct is as follows—we give it in Mr Cooper's translation:

'Goethe had formed an ideal for himself, which it seemed to him would be destroyed by a union with Friederike. The giant had no desire to lead the life of a dwarf. Hence the inward unrest, the vacillation of his soul, and the feeling that he was grasping after shadows, when he began to think of the consequences of his love. "In what a terrible state of mind I found myself when I heard them speak of marriage." His ideals tormented him, they drove him irresistibly to plunge into the flood of fate, to try there his titanic power and live up to his capabilities. In the presence of such a demonic impulse toward life and freedom, which asserts itself as a natural necessity, it is out of place to speak of right or wrong. Great geniuses, less masters of themselves than other men are, must, like the mighty forces of nature, follow the laws inherent in themselves. They are sent to redeem humanity, while in the fulfilment of their mission they become entangled in guilt. So also Goethe.'

We have quoted this passage at length because it is an excellent specimen of our author's manner, and at the same time indicates the spirit in which he conceived his subject. The judgment he will pass on what he calls *den dunkelsten Punkt* in Goethe's life—his relations to his mother—we can confidently anticipate. It will be remembered that between the date of his leaving his home in Frankfurt, in 1775, and the date of his mother's death, in 1808, he only saw her thrice, and that before she died he

had not visited her for eleven years. Recently, in this Review, a writer reprobated, in the strongest terms, Goethe's filial neglect, regarding it as a conclusive proof of a nature incapable of genuine affection, and swayed in all its impulses by a calculating egotism. It is interesting, therefore, to see what construction Dr Bielschowsky puts on Goethe's conduct in this reference.

'Was Goethe, indeed' (he asks), 'the egotist many of his contemporaries and a still greater number of persons since have represented him? We who to-day have a deeper insight than our predecessors into the workings of his soul will not give our vote for this tattle; rather, with those who stood nearest him, and who never raised the slightest reproach against him in this relation, we shall seek an explanation of the apparent riddle' (ii, 29).

And, briefly put, this is the solution of the riddle which is offered to us. It was of prime importance for Goethe, if he was to bring forth and give to the world all that was in him, that Weimar should be his permanent home. But there was always a possibility that the attractions of his native Frankfurt might prove too strong for him; and among these attractions affection for his mother was the most powerful.

'But could he' (asks Dr Bielschowsky), 'with his passionate feeling and his natural softness of heart, be certain that, by the side of his mother, and exposed to a hundred flattering influences, he would not take the disastrous resolution' (ii, 31).

And turning round on the impugners of his hero, he indignantly exclaims:

'As if this man thought only of himself and not of the world; as if he would not have inflicted the greatest injury on the world had he maimed his production out of regard to these considerations!'

These extracts may suffice to indicate Dr Bielschowsky's general attitude towards 'the case against Goethe,' as it has been put by less friendly critics. Let us now hear his tone when he speaks of his works. Of 'Werther' he writes as follows, in Mr Cooper's rendering:

'We have followed the inevitable development with bated breath; and, when the bullet puts an end to the life of the weary wanderer, we, the cool, corroded sons of the twentieth

century, are inclined to mingle our tears with the aged steward's and kiss the lips of the departed. In "Werther" fell the noblest and purest of human souls. With inexhaustible love he embraced mankind and shared all their joys and sorrows; it was his greatest delight to help the children and the poor; to him, as to his Saviour, they were dearest; nothing harsh or evil entered his breast, and he shuddered as he embraced Lotte, though but in a dream.'

The work, as a whole, is thus characterised:

'This wonderful novel in letters glistens and gleams with all the forms and colours of style; and weariness is wholly a stranger to it. From the great periods, rushing on in splendid cascades, at the beginning of "Werther" to the last terse lapidary sentences which roll over the grave like the rumbling salutes of cannon, this style captivates and agitates our hearts.'

There is one critical chapter in Dr Bielschowsky's book which is in curious contrast to the others. As he unfortunately died before the completion of his work, the treatment of 'Faust' was entrusted to Prof. Ziegler of Strassburg, and the result is a strangely dissonant note in the general tone of the book. In the freest spirit Prof. Ziegler discusses the question which has tormented German critics from the beginning—the question of the essential unity of the poem as a whole—and his conclusion is decisively for the negative. Even to the first part he denies the organic unity which is a necessary condition of a perfect work of art. He finds in it a blending of Goethe's earlier and later styles incompatible with the harmony of tone which is the evidence of a great conception issuing fresh and whole from the artist's consciousness. Elements, moreover, have been arbitrarily thrown into the poem, as in the *Walpurgisnachtstraum*, which have no natural place there; and, most serious blemish of all, the poet has only a wavering and uncertain grasp of the central motive of his work. With the second part of the poem Prof. Ziegler deals still more stringently. He holds, in fact, that Goethe, as the result of his own development, was antecedently disqualified from continuing the drama to its necessary conclusion. In the Second Part Faust is 'the type and representative of striving and struggling humanity'; but, when Goethe

took it up near the close of his life, his own mental attitude was that of a contemplative repose to which unrest was alien and distasteful. Even in the opening scene, according to Prof. Ziegler, the wrong chord is struck. 'The ethical element is wanting,' he says, 'and ethical should have been the working of the Gretchen tragedy on Faust.' Beautiful as the scene is, it is essentially 'operatic,' and the question must always rise whether Gretchen should have been so completely ignored in Faust's emergence into a higher life. 'Operatic' and '*unmotiviert*,' indeed, are the words which Prof. Ziegler constantly applies to successive scenes in the second part; and his judgment on it as a whole is virtually that of D. F. Strauss, and accepted by other German critics, that it is 'ein allegorisch-schemenhaftes Produkt.'

We have said that Dr Bielschowsky's biography is not a book that appears likely to appeal to English readers or to win English sympathies for Goethe. This, it need not be said, is no disparagement of a book which was primarily written for the author's own countrymen, who have shown their appreciation of its merits. To every student of literature, indeed, German or not, the book must be one deserving of high regard. Merely as a prolonged illustration of the different mental temperature of nations it suggests interesting speculations on the absolute value of literary standards. We can ourselves indulge in outpourings on Shakespeare and Scott; but the strain to which Dr Bielschowsky rises, and which appears to find a response in German hearts, is beyond us. Who may say on which side virtue lies? But the book is further interesting as an irrefragable witness to the position which Goethe now holds among his own people. Long regarded with suspicion, and even aversion, as one devoid of patriotic feeling (one of his worst shortcomings in the eyes of Englishmen also), he is now hailed as one of the chief glories of his nation, of which he has been the principal builder and inspirer and instructor. Prof. Ziegler, we have seen, is no blind adorer of Goethe, and yet this is how he sums up the work which Goethe has done for Germany:

'Without Goethe no Bismarck; without Goethe no German people! That Germans might become a people politically, it was necessary that they should first become a people one in

spirit and one in feeling, with a common speech and a common culture, and, we would gladly add, a common faith. The creation of such a united people has been the work of our poets and thinkers, and above all of Goethe, the most perfect representative of German art and of the German nature in general, who for our faith likewise has bequeathed as his legacy—the recognition of the universal presence of the Divine, and therefore, as its necessary consequence, a just and mild reverence before all that is human; for Man also is God. Thus, to conclude, Goethe's ideal of whole and sound humanity (*reine Menschlichkeit*) is the goal to which we must strive. In this sense he was the first Stadtholder in the kingdom of the German spirit, the first Chancellor in spiritually united Germany, as Weimar through him became our first spiritual capital. But Goethe does not belong merely to his own people, he belongs also to the whole human race. With Shakespeare and Homer he is the only world-poet, one who speaks his own national speech and yet speaks for every people, and who, we may at the present day even add, speaks in a tongue intelligible for all time.'

Such is the position, we are led to infer, which is now generally assigned to Goethe in Germany, at once as an ethical and an intellectual force. That the world in general will ever accept this estimate of the essentially beneficent working of Goethe's genius may well be doubted. Even in Germany there are still dissentients who abide by the old charges against his personal character and the tendency of his writings. His ethical standards, these dissentients tell us, are not for the good of the German people; his ideals are not national ideals, and it would be disastrous for Germany were they to become so. The true German character is impersonated in Luther, with his expansiveness, his spontaneity, his social instincts, and not in one like Goethe, who sought his inspiration outside his own nation, who was devoid of popular sympathies, and whose ideal was an intellectual aristocracy, and not a commonwealth based on the foundation of religion, of simple feeling and of human brotherhood.

How is it, we are driven to ask, that such divergent views should be entertained regarding one of whom we may safely say that we possess fuller authentic information than regarding any other of the world's great men? Of his life, from birth to the grave, we have details so

precise that he is ever before us a living personality, acting or acted upon by the successive influences by which he was surrounded. From the testimonies of friends and foes, from his own set productions, from his voluminous letters and journals, we have a portrait of a human being, with his moral, mental, and physical characteristics in their totality, such as, we might have supposed, must have left no room for doubt regarding the manner of man he was. As Sir John Seeley has remarked, 'we may almost say that Goethe has compensated to mankind for its almost total loss of the biography of Shakespeare.' Yet, doubtless, the very abundance of the information we possess regarding him is one cause of the diverse impressions he makes on different minds. To grasp his life and achievement as a whole can only be the attainment of a few specialists; and it is thus only from particular aspects of his work that the majority of those who read him can form their opinions regarding its general tendency.

But in the case of Goethe it is not only the wealth of material that is bewildering; in his character and in his genius there is an elusiveness of which he was himself well aware, and which struck every sensitive observer. 'In some respects I resemble a chameleon,' he wrote of himself when he was in his fifteenth year. 'Is my Alexis to be blamed, then, if he has not studied all my phases?' Writing of him at the age of twenty-five, Fritz Jacobi says: 'Goethe is as one possessed, and almost never has any choice as to what he shall do'; and Felix Mendelssohn, who saw him about a year before his death, declared that the world would one day come to believe that there was not one but many Goethes. And this protean nature was in exact correspondence with his physical organisation, regarding which, also, we have the most precise details. The massive head and bust presented in his later portraits suggest the frame of an athlete impervious to the influences that disturb the equilibrium of less robust constitutions. In point of fact, not Shelley himself was more sensitive to 'skiey influences' than Goethe. Though of a powerful frame, his organs were peculiarly subject to disorder; and both in youth and age he had frequent illnesses which nearly proved fatal. A clouded sky, a low barometer, paralysed his creative force; and

in his later years he had to await the inspiration of the returning sun. His effervescence of spirit during his two years' sojourn in Italy—the only really happy period of his manhood, as he so frequently declared—was due even more to its climate and skies than to its treasures of ancient art.

In his human relations he was equally sensitive. A particular cast of expression, a particular shade of manner in those with whom he came in contact, formed a barrier to intercourse which he was unable to overcome. Unsympathetic criticism of himself or his work he felt as keenly as the most irritable of the irritable tribe; and the cold reception of the works he produced after his return from Italy threw him into permanent depression. By the minor troubles of life he was discomposed to a degree which can only surprise ordinary mortals; and in the case of its greater trials he gave way to emotions which for the time completely unmanned him. His friends dared not speak to him of the deaths of Schiller and of his own son; and during the last illness of his wife his conduct was that of one distracted. Such was the physical and mental temperament of the man whose external demeanour in his later years suggested the carriage of a god, to whom 'the sense of tears in mortal things' was but the stimulant to æsthetic and philosophic contemplation.

Here it is that we touch the problem of Goethe's nature, the different answers to which explain the contradictory impressions that prevail regarding his character and his work. With such a temperament, how was he enabled to subdue himself to the steady and persistent purpose which seems as apparent in him in the most passionate period of his youth as in the calm of mature age? Once and again it appeared as if he were about to make shipwreck in the tumults of passion; yet he ever emerges victorious, apparently only invigorated by the struggles through which he has passed. Certain expressions which he was in the habit of using regarding himself have been accepted as the explanation of this duality of nature; and, construed as they have been, they have naturally led to conflicting conclusions regarding his personal character. The general drift of these expressions would seem to imply that, even in

seasons of, apparently, the most complete self-abandonment, he remained master of himself and was able whenever he pleased to make artistic capital out of his own emotions. Such seems to be the drift of the passage in 'Wahrheit und Dichtung,' so frequently quoted, in which he says that it was his habit to seek escape from all violent mental experiences by throwing them into some form of poetic production. To the same purport is the famous sentence in his letter to Lavater, written at a period when by his own confession he was least master of himself, in which he says that his one desire, which outweighs every other and is never a moment out of his mind, is to rear the pyramid of his existence as high as his nature will permit.

But do the facts of his personal experience and the circumstances of his creative activity indeed prove that he was at all times his own master, equally in his relations to his fellows and in his relation to his imaginative production? Was he able to say at any moment, 'I will pursue this path of conduct, or follow this artistic ideal, and none other,' and abandon it when it seemed good to him? As we should expect from his physical and mental organisation, precisely the contrary is the impression we receive, the more closely we study his personal conduct in the passionate experiences of his life and in the successive phases of his intellectual development. It is an illusion common to the greatest as well as to the most ordinary mortals that they are determining their own choice of alternatives when in reality they are only obeying an instinct which is the ruling impulse of their nature. Such an instinct we find in Goethe from earliest youth to latest age—the instinct to know, to understand, and to create. In the conflict of this instinct with his susceptibility and mobility of feeling—engaging him at every period of his life in some new emotional experience, impelling him to search after new aspects of truth or of beauty—we seem to have an explanation at once of the man and of the creative artist.

It is in his manifold love passages, as numerous in his maturity as in his youth, that we discover the essential traits of Goethe's temperament. His susceptibility in these experiences was equalled only by his apparent volatility. Did there come a moment in these episodes

when, as we are told, he deliberately exercised his volition, and in cool disregard of the objects of his passion, said to himself, 'thus far and no farther?' From all we know of him, and from any conclusions we are able to form regarding the working of the human heart, there was no self-determination in the matter. In each case passion ran its course; his 'chameleon' nature demanded new interests; and his intelligential instinct, as we may call it, was there as the central impulse of his nature to supply them. In the most enduring and most absorbing of all his passions, that for Frau von Stein, we can trace the gradual process of his emancipation. There was no deliberate attempt on his part to escape from it. As we read his letters to her during the period preceding his Italian journey we can trace the gradual breaking of the spell that bound him to her; and his sojourn in Italy completed his disenchantment. And it is to be noted that in all his love adventures there was no final rupture between him and the objects of his passion; no violent estrangement followed; and his discarded loves continued to regard him with cordiality and esteem. Frau von Stein, indeed, for a time keenly resented his changed relations to her; but in her case it was the presence of a rival, Christiane Vulpius, that whetted her feeling. Yet he appeared even to her as 'a beautiful star that had fallen from her heaven.' 'Alienated lovers,' is his own characteristic remark, 'become the best friends, if only they can be properly managed.'

If we attend to the development of his genius or the ordering of his life as a whole we see the same process at work as in the case of his affairs of the heart. One aspect of life or ideal creation after another impresses his mobile spirit; he is dominated by it for a time, and with all the resources of his intelligence he strives to give it expression in lyric or drama or thesis.

> 'Das ist die Kunst, das ist die Welt,
> Das eins ums andere gefällt.'

From his own manner of speaking, especially in 'Wahrheit und Dichtung'—in large degree a theoretic construction of his own development—we might imagine that he deliberately looked around him for what would best profit his own culture, made his choice, and passed

on to new conquests when it seemed good to him. But in the rapid succession of his points of view in literature and art, we see rather the susceptibility of a nature as quick to receive impressions as to abandon them. During his youth, previous to his settling in Weimar at the age of twenty-five, he takes his colouring from the prevailing influences around him—at Frankfurt, at Leipzig, at Strassburg. Assuredly it was not from self-determination that he sat at the feet of Herder and imbibed his views regarding popular poetry and Shakespeare. His sojourn in Italy is usually supposed to have resulted in a complete transmutation at once of his personal character and of his artistic ideals; and this is regarded as the most remarkable illustration of his self-mastery, of his faculty of renewing and transforming himself by a simple effort of volition. He went to Italy with his passionate nature still unsubdued, and he returned the statuesque figure, the 'Jupiter of Weimar,' with whose image the world is familiar; he went, still under the dominion of the 'northern phantoms,' and he returned a pagan Greek, pagan in his ethical and æsthetic ideals. But such transformations do not take place in the nature of things; as Goethe himself says, a man cannot jump off his own shadow. 'Au fond, quand je m'étudie, j'ai en effet très peu changé; le sort m'avait en quelque sorte rivé dès l'enfance à la fonction que je devais accomplir.' So wrote Renan when in old age he surveyed his life as a whole; and between the Renan who wrote 'L'Avenir de la Science' and the Renan who wrote 'L'Abbesse de Jouarre' there is a wider gulf than between the Goethe of 'Götz' and the Goethe of the second part of 'Faust.'

It is indeed one of the important results of the immense labours his countrymen have expended on Goethe that they go to prove that the Italian visit made no vital breach between his earlier and later life either in his character or in his genius. There was a change in his external demeanour and a change in many of his personal relations, but that change had already been observed before his departure for Italy, and was but another illustration of his susceptibility to immediate influences. He has himself told us that it was one of the painful conditions of his position in Weimar that it made

impossible that frank and cordial relation with others which it was his nature to seek and from which he had hitherto derived encouragement and stimulus; as a State official, he says, he could be on easy terms with nobody without running the risk of a petition for some favour he might or might not be in a position to confer. A change there undoubtedly was in his outward bearing; and the change was more marked than ever after his return from Italy. But in the essential traits of his character no change is perceptible which is not explicable by the years that 'bring the inevitable yoke.' In his unrestrained hours, in sympathetic circles, he was still the Goethe of the days of Leipzig and Frankfurt, responsive to every new impression, subject to the same bursts of passion, delighting and astonishing his friends by his sallies of high spirits and freaks of fancy, and (surest proof that there was no stiffening of his youthful nature) even in his most advanced age the friend and playful companion of children as he had always been.

If the Italian journey effected no essential change in his nature, neither did it effect a definitive change in his genius or in its characteristic expression. As in the past, so in the future, he was to show that he was as susceptible and responsive as ever to fresh suggestions in the exercise of his faculty. He returned from Italy dominated by the ideals of Greece in life and art; his ethical point of view became, for a time, aggressively pagan; and in a few set productions he sought to embody his conceptions of classical models. The 'Roman Elegies,' 'Iphigenia,' 'Tasso,' and 'Hermann und Dorothea' are his chief efforts to realise classical forms and the classical spirit under modern conditions. But these efforts only mark one of the successive phases in the development of his genius. It is his own admission that he came to see that the Greek ideal was not all in all; and the work of his later years is the conclusive proof of his changed opinion.

> 'Wir sind vielleicht zu antik gewesen,
> Nun wollen wir es moderner lesen.'

This changed point of view was doubtless partly due to the cold reception of his work produced under the classical inspiration; for, whatever contempt Goethe

might profess for general opinion, he keenly felt the indifference of the German public; but it was still more due to new influences acting on his impressionable spirit. In spite of all the hard words he has said of romanticism, there were elements in that movement which were in reality more akin to his nature and poetic instincts than the classical ideals. It was by 'an unconquerable impulse,' he told Schiller, that he returned to the 'northern phantoms' of Faust, as he elsewhere calls them; and his later productions are the evidence of his new inspiration. In the 'Westöstlicher Divan,' the 'Wahlverwandtschaften,' 'Meisters Wanderjahre,' and the second part of 'Faust,' classical ideals are thrown to the winds, under the deliberate conviction, as he also expressed it to Schiller, that 'whatever genius brings forth as genius should be brought forth unconsciously.'

'Goethe is as one possessed, and almost never has any choice as to what he shall do.' Alike in the case of his affections and of the development of his genius this seems to be the true judgment on Goethe as he is mirrored in his words and deeds at every stage of his career. Far from being the self-conscious master of his actions and of his creative faculty, it was by 'unconquerable impulse' that he passed under each new passion, each new ideal of artistic production. But behind the impulse was his marvellous intelligence, equally spontaneous in its action, which searched every experience with a freedom of gaze hardly to be found in any other human spirit. It is, in truth, the distinctive characteristic of his mind which gives its supreme value to the counsels he has to offer, that he looks at all things as if he had been the first to see them. 'I will not rest,' he wrote from Italy in 1787, 'till nothing is any longer word and tradition, but living notion'; and a remarkable criticism once passed on his work as a whole seemed to himself to describe the essential working of his genius. 'Does not every page he wrote show that he felt a far deeper need to penetrate into the innermost being of men and things than to give his thoughts poetical expression?'

It is in this attitude of mind, this untrammelled gaze into every object that presented itself to his vision, that we find the explanation of the charge of 'paganism,' which has been brought against him since the scope of

his work was fully apprehended. A striking passage in the 'Melanges et Lettres' of Doudan well illustrates the identity of Goethe's outlook with that of the cultivated minds of classical antiquity:

'In my judgment' (says Doudan) 'we have not taken sufficient account of the ravages that have been effected in the modern mind by the habit of admiring the unknowable instead of simply resting in our ignorance. In the time of Cicero no supernatural belief dominated cultivated minds. When he followed his reveries on the terrace at Formiæ, with the sea outstretched before him, he gave full reign to all the best instincts of human reason. When he sought after the mystery of things, and asked what the waves murmured at his feet, what the stars of the Italian sky had to say to him, there came between him and nature none of those imposing but shapeless phantoms which transported St Anthony in the desert and St Ignatius in the world of busy life.'

Was the outcome of this attitude towards every question that concerns man's deepest interests essentially hostile to the Christian conception of his being and destiny? Many who consider themselves Christian will now give an answer to the question very different from that which they would have given a few years ago. To one of the two types of Christianity which now appeal to the world Goethe is indeed the irreconcilable foe. The medieval conception of the Christian revelation, with its mechanical deity and its ascetic ideal, seemed to him an outrage at once on nature and the human spirit. On the other hand, of a Christianity based on what he considered the true teaching of its Founder, on the graces and virtues that make for the adornment and elevation of life, on an understanding of the universe compatible with man's highest reason, he deemed himself the true friend and ally. To the permanent promise and potency of Christianity he was, in his last days, an ungrudging, even enthusiastic, witness; and we are told that of its Founder 'he would speak with such emotion that he could not control his tears.' When Ludwig of Bavaria asked him why he was called 'the last of the Pagans,' his answer was that, if Christ were to come alive, he would perhaps think him the only Christian. Nor was this said in mere paradox, as his abiding opinion of the Christian documents sufficiently vouches. In these documents it was

his lifelong conviction that men would continue to find the highest ideal that has been revealed to them, but only on the condition that they appropriate 'what is really there.' And he has told us what in his judgment is 'the sum of all wisdom,' as Christianity and human experience accord in proclaiming. It is in those genial relations in which thoughts are never at strife with things—relations which are finally summed up in the essentially Christian graces, faith, hope, charity.

'La religion,' it has been said, 'a perfectionné la civilisation, mais la civilisation le lui a bien rendu'; in other words, religion retains its hold on man only on the condition of growing with his ethical and intellectual growth. In Goethe we have the supreme manifestation of the modern spirit; and, if religion should finally reject him, it may even be at its own peril. Yet, whatever may be the world's final judgment on the ultimate bearing of his message, so various and comprehensive was his spirit that the believer of every creed may find his account in him. Out of his vast legacy, covering almost every field of human interest, each may construct his own breviary for his own stimulus and upbuilding, and on the tablets of all may be inscribed such a counsel as that which he sends to Schiller, who needed it less than most: 'Bleiben Sie fest im Bunde des Ernstes und der Liebe: alles übrige ist ein leeres und trauriges Wesen.' 'Abide fast in the bond of earnestness and love; all besides is emptiness and sorrow.'

P. Hume Brown.

Art. X.—THE COLONIAL CONFERENCE.

1. *Correspondence relating to the Future Organisation of Colonial Conferences.* Cd. 2785 of 1905.
2. *Despatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, with enclosures respecting the Agenda of the Colonial Conference*, 1907. Cd. 3337 of 1907.
3. *Correspondence relating to the Colonial Conference*, 1907. Cd. 3340 of 1907.

THE great political event of the year 1907 is the meeting in London of the representatives of the self-governing States of the British Empire to consult on matters of joint concern. On this occasion the meeting is not, as before, incidental to a royal jubilee or coronation, but is primarily for the transaction of business. The chief of these States by far in wealth and population, and because it still holds under its sole supreme control a population of nearly 350 millions in the autocratically ruled part of the Empire, is the United Kingdom. Even apart from its vast dependencies, the United Kingdom still bears in the British Empire in regard to population the same kind of proportion to the next largest State, Canada, as in the German Empire Prussia bears to Bavaria. But in the German Empire the proportion can hardly be reversed as time goes on, while in the British it not only may, but in all probability will be. The potentialities of Canada are immense, and so, though probably in a less degree, are those of Australia and South Africa. New Zealand may quite possibly, in the course of centuries, equal the United Kingdom in population as it does in area.

These are the possibilities which make the right guidance of the relations of the free States of the British Empire a matter of supreme importance. The inhabitant of these islands is even still apt to regard the colonies as more or less flourishing outlying estates of his own. When disposed to speak poetically, he talks of the mother-country and her children—rather a hollow and deceptive metaphor. If an image drawn from family life be used at all, Canadians and Australians should be called cousins, not children. The facts that the Prime Minister of Canada is a man of French race, and that

the Prime Minister of the Transvaal is of Dutch race, show very strikingly that the sway of the Empire is now no more exclusively in English hands than the sway of the Roman Empire after Augustus was exclusively in Italian hands. It was the secret of empire, said Tacitus, *arcanum imperii*, that an emperor could be made elsewhere than at Rome. Our business now is to rid our imaginations of that outworn image of the mother-country and her colonies and to replace it by the idea of States closely allied, interdependent, meeting, like lines drawn from the circumference of a circle to a centre, in allegiance to one throne, and widely varying in greatness but equal in rights. The object of the present Imperial Conference is to find means for making the wills of the several Governments work more and more in unison.

Thus the importance of the questions to be discussed at this Conference is far greater than that of the purely provincial questions, such as an Education Bill, which cause so much excitement in England, and by which the choice of the men who not only govern this kingdom but control dependencies and armaments and foreign relations is, strangely enough, determined. What we are in fact watching is, as a writer of distinction has said, a stage in the majestic evolution of the British Empire.

If space permitted, it would be interesting to examine in detail what were the resolutions passed at the last meeting of the Conference of 1902, and what steps have subsequently been taken in pursuance of them. We can do no more than allude to the more important of these. In the way of joint defence we have the increased contributions of Australia, New Zealand, Cape Colony, and Natal, towards the navy, and the extension of the principle of reserving a certain number of commissions in the navy and army to colonial candidates. The late Government, in 1905, also carried through the arrangement placing Canadian militia officers on a footing of equality with those in the regular forces—a measure which, as the Dominion Government said, 'may prove to be but the first step towards the grant of Imperial commissions valid throughout all the forces of the Empire.' At the present Conference Australia desires to reconsider the agreement of 1902, involving a naval contribution in return for a local squadron, apparently with a view to converting the

form of Australian contribution into one more agreeable to opinions now held in Australia. New Zealand, on the other hand, appears to be willing to increase its contribution. The Commonwealth Government has raised the question of a permanent representation of the colonies on the Imperial Defence Committee, an institution which, founded originally for the purpose of co-ordinating the work of departments in Whitehall, offers one of the fairest avenues towards co-operation between the States of the Empire in matters of joint concern and supreme importance.

If defence is one main road, and perhaps the nearest, to closer relations, another is reasoned and conscious co-operation in the direction of trade by statesmanship into certain channels for high political reasons. One method is that indicated in several resolutions passed at the 1902 Conference, of subsidising merchant-shipping lines between different parts of the Empire, cheapening postal and cable communications, and so forth. Another method is that of tariff preferences. Present English opinion is much divided on this subject, but the Conference of 1902 unanimously recognised that

'the principle of preferential trade between the United Kingdom and His Majesty's dominions beyond the seas would stimulate and facilitate mutual commercial intercourse, and would, by promoting the development of the resources and industries of the several parts, strengthen the Empire.'

That Conference recognised that a system of inter-Imperial free-trade was not yet practicable; but that it was desirable that all the colonies should give 'substantial preferential treatment to the products and manufactures of the United Kingdom.' The colonial Prime Ministers at the same time urged on His Majesty's Government 'the expediency of granting in the United Kingdom preferential treatment to the products and manufactures of the colonies, either by exemption from or reduction of duties now or hereafter imposed.'

Mr Chamberlain, in his attempt to carry into effect this policy of the last Conference, has suffered defeat. But Canada has maintained her existing considerable preference in favour of British goods; South Africa and New Zealand have instituted a like preference; and

Australia has passed an Act—not yet in force, because certain treaties with foreign Powers bar the way—giving preference to certain classes of British goods if conveyed in British ships manned by white seamen. These last conditions, and also certain tendencies in Canada, indicate a return towards the principle of those old Navigation Acts which had so potent an influence in building up British maritime greatness. So also does the resolution passed in 1902 in favour of forbidding trade between the different coasts of the British Empire to the ships of nations, like the United States, which give a monopoly of their own coastal trade to their own ships, and of otherwise considering whether steps should be taken to promote Imperial trade in British vessels. Australia proposes at the present Conference the reaffirmation of this important resolution. But, if we return towards the principle of the Navigation Laws, it will be, as in other matters, on a different plane. The legislation will no longer emanate exclusively from Westminster, binding willing or unwilling colonies, but will be enacted, after agreement, by the several legislatures of the Empire.

The Australian Government at the present Conference will move that the tariff preference resolutions of 1902 should be reaffirmed, with the variation that 'it is desirable that the United Kingdom grant preferential treatment to the products and manufactures of the colonies.' This will raise the issue squarely. It is certain that all the partner States, with perhaps the small exception of Newfoundland, agree in this view, although they may not all deem it politic to vote for a resolution in these terms. It remains to be seen whether the Government of the United Kingdom will so far meet them as to agree to propose to Parliament a preference on products such as tea, wine, and tobacco—at present very severely taxed under our existing tariff—when such products reach our shores from any part of the Empire, self-governing or dependent. If our Government are not precluded from this step by their pledges or their fears, they can accept the New Zealand resolution, which does not go beyond this proposal, and take this road, for the present, out of the difficulty, leaving it to their successors to broaden, as no doubt they will, the basis of taxation, and at the same time to extend the preferential system—if this should be

found possible—to the products and manufactures of the British Empire.

Lord Elgin, in arranging the Agenda for 1907, has placed in the forefront those subjects which the Governments taking part in the Conference appear to be most anxious to discuss, leaving minor subjects to take their chance of obtaining a hearing, if time allows. These primary questions are the 'constitution of future conferences,' preferential trade, defence, naturalisation, and emigration. Of these the first was brought forward in Mr Lyttelton's despatch of 20th April, 1905; the last was proposed by the present Government, at the suggestion of Lord Tennyson's Committee on Emigration. Resolutions relating to all these subjects have also been proposed by several of the colonial Governments.

The first place has rightly been given by Lord Elgin to the question of the constitution of future Conferences, or, as it would be better expressed, to 'the constitution of the Conference'; and in this question is included that of the name by which the Conference is hereafter to be known—a matter of some importance in view of the influence which words and symbols have upon things.

The published correspondence discloses two questions which will no doubt be discussed on the opening day. One of these is the claim made by the State Governments of Australia to be admitted to the Conference *pari passu* with the Federal or Commonwealth Government, a claim rejected by Lord Elgin, subject to any decision by the Conference itself. There can be no doubt that the Conference will ratify the view taken by Lord Elgin; one can hardly imagine a step more retrograde than the admission of these States. Like the American States long after the Union, these Governments are unable to realise that they have ceased to be independent units, and have become States. They are self-governing indeed in purely internal matters, so far as such matters have not been transferred to the Federal authorities; but in all matters of external relations, including relations to other units of the Empire, they have surrendered independent existence. As Mr Deakin said in his annihilating despatch of 22nd December, 1906, 'the right of representing the people of Australia in their relations with individuals or communities beyond our shores,' or, in other words, 'the

right to act on behalf of Australia as a whole in all matters that relate to the interests of Australians as a united community,' is now exclusively vested in the Commonwealth Government. There can be no doubt about that; and the inevitable decision should be a valuable means of hammering this hard truth into the minds of aggrieved provincial statesmen. If we look at wealth and population alone, there is, no doubt, incongruity in the representation of Canada and Australia by one Prime Minister each, and of South Africa by three; but it may be hoped that, before the Conference meets again, the federation of South Africa will have been accomplished, and it is even possible that Newfoundland will have become one of the provinces of Canada.

The other question relating to the constitution of the present Conference was raised by the Canadian Government. The Conferences of 1897 and 1902 were composed of Prime Ministers, except that the Secretary of State for the Colonies represented the United Kingdom. Other Ministers, belonging to the Imperial and colonial Cabinets, took part in the discussion when their special departments were concerned, but were not reckoned as full members of the Conference present at every meeting. The terms of the resolution passed at the Conference of 1902 confirmed this practice. It was agreed that

'it would be to the advantage of the Empire if Conferences were held, as far as practicable, at intervals not exceeding four years, at which questions of common interest affecting the relations of the mother-country and His Majesty's dominions over the seas could be discussed and considered as between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Prime Ministers of the self-governing Colonies.'

The Canadian Government, in a despatch dated 25th October, 1906, made the proposal that

'the Conference may be treated as one of Colonial Ministers, the Government of each Colony being free to send such of their members as they may be pleased to select to represent the Colony at the Conference, and such representatives to be deemed members of the Conference in the fullest sense, with the understanding, however, that, in any matters which may be determined by vote, each Colony shall have one vote only.'

The reasons given by the Canadian Government in support of this proposal are of a practical, not a theoretical nature. One is that, if responsible Ministers are called away so far from home, they should in courtesy be allowed full participation in the consultations. Another reason is that, if their colleagues, or their more important colleagues, are not present, the Prime Ministers will be unwilling to assume the responsibility of dealing with a certain class of questions.

These reasons are not very convincing, because, as Lord Elgin pointed out in his reply, colonial Ministers are at present on the same footing as English Cabinet Ministers and can always attend the Conference when their own departments are concerned. There is, however, no fundamental reason, as in the case of the admission of the Australian States, for objecting to this proposal. There is something, on the contrary, to be said for having a larger body present at every sitting. It is true that a Canadian Postmaster-general might listen with apathy or non-intelligence to a discussion about a torpedo flotilla for Australia, but the same might be said of any Minister at a Cabinet Council while discussions alien to his department were in progress. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in proposing this change, may indeed have had in mind the definition of Colonial Conferences contained in the despatch of his Government of 17th November, 1905, as 'more or less unconventional gatherings for informal discussions of public questions'—a definition intended to counter Mr Lyttelton's assertion that the Conferences had practically grown into that 'Imperial Council' so much distrusted by the Canadian Premier. Be that as it may, Lord Elgin took the correct course in pointing out the difficulties in altering the constitution of the Conference before it met, and in leaving this question to be discussed, together with others under the same head, at the Conference itself.

This question, and not, as Mr Chamberlain desired, the trade-relations question, will evidently be the leading theme of the present assembly of chiefs of the Empire. The question was considered at some length in an article on 'Imperial Unity' in the January number of this Review. It was launched for discussion by Mr Lyttelton in his circular despatch of 20th April, 1905. Mr Lyttelton proposed two steps—one that the 'Colonial Conference'

should receive the name of 'Imperial Council,' the other that there should be established a permanent joint Commission, composed in certain proportions of representatives of the United Kingdom and of each colony, assisted by a special secretariat, to prepare subjects of common concern for the Conference, or for the Governments taking part in it, in the intervals between its sittings. This organisation would, he justly argued, give greater continuity to the work of the Conference.

The subsequent correspondence shows diverging opinions. The Canadian Government vigorously rejected the title of 'Council,' though they accepted the epithet 'Imperial.' With some reserve and hesitation they expressed themselves as willing to consider the question of the permanent Commission. The Australian Government, on the other hand, bring forward the following resolution:—

'That it is desirable to establish an Imperial Council, to consist of representatives of Great Britain and the self-governing Colonies, chosen *ex officio* from their existing administrations.

'That the objects of such Council shall be to discuss at regular Conferences matters of common Imperial interest, and to establish a system by which members of the Council shall be kept informed during the periods between the Conferences in regard to matters which have been or may be subjects for discussion.

'That there shall be a permanent secretarial staff charged with the duty of obtaining information for the use of the Council, of attending to the execution of its resolutions, and of conducting correspondence on matters relating to its affairs.

'That the expenses of such a staff shall be borne by the countries represented on the Council in proportion to their populations.'

The resolutions to be proposed by the New Zealand and Cape Colony Governments show that they take the side of Australia and not that of Canada on this issue.

Mr Lyttelton expressed the willingness of the home Government to defray the expense of the secretarial staff and office. The Australian Government, however, propose that 'the expenses of such a staff shall be borne by the countries represented on the Council in proportion

to their populations.' A great deal turns upon this question of a few salaries and office expenses. It may be the key of the whole position. The Australian proposal is logical. If there is the beginning of a true Imperial Council of States varying in population, wealth, and strength, but equal *de jure*, there should also be the beginning of a true Imperial Civil Service. If, on the other hand, the Conferences are to be, in the words of the Canadian Government, occasional and informal gatherings for the discussion of business, there is no reason why the 'mother-country,' acting as hostess at these social parties, should not detach for the purpose, as she now does, two or three of her competent servants at the Colonial Office. No doubt it would in practice be difficult to have a staff paid by several States, and responsible to a body of Premiers living in different quarters of the planet. The idea might make long-dead Treasury officials stir uneasily in their graves.

A possible solution is suggested in the latest manifesto of Sir Frederick Pollock and his friends, when they hint that the organisation might be under 'the interim direction of His Majesty's Government in consultation with the States of the Empire.' No doubt the Colonial Office would be willing enough, and even pleased, to evolve a new cell within its own organism for this 'interim' purpose, trusting that the 'interim' would prove an eternity, and would gladly specialise one or two of its officials in the service of the Conference. This would be an improvement upon the present system of beginning to prepare subjects a few months before a conference begins and abandoning them with relief when it is over. If we are to proceed by short steps at a time—as the canny statesmen from the northern hemisphere seem to desire—this would be the smallest possible step to take, and would be almost humiliatingly free from risk. A bolder policy would be to make the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom the president of the Imperial Conference. The secretariat would then be placed immediately under his direction, as president, and would be independent of, though closely connected with, the Colonial Office, just as the Imperial Defence Committee staff is in the department of the Prime Minister and is not a branch of the War Office or Admiralty. The bolder policy is the crea-

tion of a department for civil affairs in the direct service of the Conference; the cautious policy is a slight development inside the Colonial Office. The cautious policy meets the exact needs of the precise moment; the larger policy is in accordance with the true idea of the Empire. Probably the conjunction of the circumspect Scottish mind dominant in our present Government with the wary French mind now ruling in Canada will make the slower policy prevail in this Conference. The more daring English spirit takes larger risks for greater gains. But fuller development may well wait for a few years, when the federation of South Africa will have been completed.

Mr Lyttelton's scheme has this defect that, although it meets one side of the requirements of the situation, it does not directly meet the other. It provides for the establishment of a special secretariat and of a permanent joint Commission for the steady and continuous investigation of questions of common concern and systematic preparation of work for the quadrennial meetings of the Imperial Conference or Council. So far it is excellent. But Mr Lyttelton's scheme does not meet the complaint of the colonies that their views and interests are not kept sufficiently in sight in the transaction of current affairs of the international kind. This discontent has lately made itself heard in connexion with the Alaska Treaty, the *modus vivendi* with the United States about the Newfoundland fisheries, and the Anglo-French Convention as to the New Hebrides. In affairs of this kind arrangements have to be made with great secrecy and often with much rapidity. This is the difficulty. It is not easy to act in full and swift co-operation with Governments at the other side of the world. If in all these transactions the Foreign Office and Colonial Office had to consult all the Governments of the free colonies, and not only those immediately concerned, the difficulty would be overwhelming. The treaty of alliance with Japan was a most important departure and one which might, in certain events, involve the whole Empire in a big war. Yet it would have been very difficult, without long delays and considerable chance of premature disclosures, to impart to the allied States all the delicate negotiations which led up to this conclusion and secure their adherence.

In the German Empire the federated Governments are represented by their nominated delegates in the Bundesrath. Common knowledge and action in foreign affairs are secured by a joint committee constituted for that purpose. Other committees serve the same ends in military, naval, and trade affairs. The Bavarian or Saxon delegates communicate with their State Governments and receive instructions from them. But here in London the Imperial Government, although it transacts business in which the whole Empire is concerned, is advised or checked by no such council. It is in some respects more easy to keep in touch with foreign Powers than with our own colonial Governments, because each Power has a representative belonging to the diplomatic profession, trained, skilled, an expert in the art of dealing with statesmen, having secrecy and discretion for a second nature, accredited and empowered to handle the most delicate and important affairs. But if the Foreign Office wish to consult a colonial government they have to write to the Colonial Office, who write to the Governor, who consults his Ministers, and the answer must return by the same circuitous road.

It has been suggested that the agents of the colonies in London, whose business is now mostly commercial and financial, should be raised to a position resembling that of diplomatic Ministers. It has also been sometimes suggested that they should be *ex-officio* Privy Councillors, and should be invited to take part in meetings of the Cabinet when Imperial affairs are under discussion. It is very much a question of *personnel*. If the colonies can and will send to London men of the first class to represent them, as the European Powers do, the Imperial Government would not, we think, hesitate to consult them in one mode or another in all matters of importance, and would be greatly influenced by the views and advice which they could communicate on behalf of their Governments. This can more easily be done now that Australia has been federated. Another step will be taken when the federation of South Africa has been achieved.

Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, might each be represented in London by one or more Commissioners authorised to act in all respects, subject to the instructions of their Governments, in the interest

of their respective States. These Commissioners would be in constant touch with the Ministers of the Imperial Government and with each other. When the subjects under discussion made it worth while for them to attend, they could form part of the Imperial Defence Committee, thus meeting the view expressed in one of the Australian resolutions 'that the Colonies should be represented on the Imperial Council of Defence.' The High Commissioners could discuss other matters of Imperial concern on other Committees together with Ministers and officials of this country. They would be at hand to guard the interests and express the views of the colonial Governments when arrangements were being made with foreign Powers. Possibly they might also sit *ex-officio* in the House of Lords, an assembly which, with reforms, offers a splendid foundation for a truly Imperial Senate, precisely because it is non-elected, and can therefore be made non-provincial.

There is no reason why a step in advance of this kind should not now be made. It will be a move along the road which leads to that end—not so distant perhaps as Mr Balfour thinks—the evolution, not, or not for a long time yet, of a sovereign Legislature, but of a true Council of the Empire. Let this be noted. If our Prime Minister, as President of the Conference, represented the United Kingdom, if Lord Elgin represented the Crown Colonies and other dependencies, and if Mr Morley represented India, then the present Conference would be, for the time being, a real Council of the whole Empire, by whatever name it might be called.

Art. XI.—JOHN EVELYN.

1. *The Diary of John Evelyn.* With an introduction and notes, by Austin Dobson. Three vols. London: Macmillan, 1906.
2. *The Diary of John Evelyn; with a selection from his familiar Letters, etc.* Edited from the original MSS. by William Bray, F.S.A. A new edition in four volumes, with a life of the author and a new preface. By Henry B. Wheatley. London: Bickers, 1906.

THE advantage of writing Memoirs is that nobody can supersede you. A man who has learnt to write and is wise enough to write about his own time has the promise of immortality in his pocket. The editors of Herodotus and Froissart and Saint-Simon come and go; and the heirs of their learning sit in their seats, take over the inheritance, and perform the first duty of heirs by burying their fathers. The new owners soon add to the estate and honours of their line; and before very long the first of the editorial ancestry is become nothing more than a name mentioned in a preface. It is a law from which greater men than editors, the very historians themselves, are not exempt. Unless he be Livy or Gibbon, the historian who writes of any age except his own has but a brief and transient tenure of fame or life. But there is no death for Thucydides or Clarendon; and there is none for Saint-Simon or for Evelyn. They are for ever the men who saw with their own eyes the things and people they describe, and, though they may have to call in industry to edit them and learning to correct them, they can safely defy genius itself to take their place.

Still, of course, though they may all alike be indestructible, they are not all of the same metal. There is the lead of Sully, with its occasional vein of gold; there is the iron of Saint-Simon, apt for the furnace; and there is the cool and gracious silver of Evelyn. The contrast, at any rate, between the Englishman, who writes so much of Whitehall, and his younger French contemporary, who writes almost always of Versailles, is striking enough. Evelyn's little finger knew more of books and science and the arts than the whole body and mind of Saint-Simon.

But Saint-Simon is a far more powerful writer, as he is also a more masterful and passionate personality. Evelyn is a virtuous lover of all good men, and a virtuous disapprover of all bad men. Saint-Simon loves and hates with equal fierceness, and by no means only on grounds of reason. An honest and virtuous man himself, he is naturally, as a rule, on the side of the angels—on that of the Duc de Bourgogne, for instance. But then there is also the Regent to be remembered, who was not exactly one of the angels. And, on the other side of the account, there are the people he did not like and could not be just to, such as Madame de Maintenon and the Duc de Maine. That is to say, that his likes and dislikes were very largely an affair of temperament, and even of prejudice, as they are with most people of strong character.

His Memoirs suffered less from this than might have been expected; for there was something stronger in him than his prejudices, and that was the thing which provided the whole business and pleasure of his life, the desire by one means or another to know everything that was being said or done in that Court which was his world, and to record it instantly, effectively, and accurately. The impression is immediate; the pen that writes is hot with the eager quest of truth, and hot with the stir and pleasure of its discovery almost as much as with the fire of indignation or the zeal of partisanship. The truth he gives us is not always what the studies and reflections of another century will declare it to have been; but it is that unique kind of truth, the impression of the moment, which no subsequent wisdom of the ages can either recapture or supersede. And in Saint-Simon it has a vividness, a flutter of actuality, which is unsurpassed in all literature.

Of this particular and most delightful quality few writers of Memoirs have so little as Evelyn. The note of the man is sweet reasonableness; and that makes always for coolness of temper, and not unfrequently for greyness of colour. Even where his Diary has not been retouched by its author's ripe wisdom or the experience of later years, as we know much of it was, the man is so naturally wise and good that he is as sensible in the thick of a revolution as the sagest posterity can be in its easy chair after the lapse of two hundred years. He is a saint,

but he does not really hate sinners; a sage who only weeps over the foolishness of fools. A far more cultivated and a far more public-spirited man than Saint-Simon, he is thinking too much of greater matters to be able to throw himself with Saint-Simon's ardour into the eternal intrigue of personalities that makes up the life of a Court. Indeed, he is altogether more interested in things, and less in persons, than Saint-Simon. All the petty side of personality which makes the fascination of Saint-Simon and Pepys, as it does of Miss Austen, he, as a rule, simply passes by. He is neither so absorbed in himself as Pepys, nor so absorbed in a few people about him as Saint-Simon. Pepys' childishness, his absurd egotism, his unique genius for the confessional, his frank admissions that the things disdained by saints and philosophers are for him things of daily pleasure, interest, and importance—these are all as unknown to Evelyn as the Frenchman's heat and violence or his unique air of taking us into the very heart of the furnace that keeps the world in motion. Evelyn is, in fact, a wiser and better man, and a poorer writer, than either.

What, then, is it that keeps his book and name alive? Well, of course, he has one great merit which belongs of right and of necessity to all keepers of voluminous diaries. No man can keep a diary for long who does not find life interesting. The pessimistic diarists are only so in appearance; when you come close to them you find that they enjoy their pessimism more than the average man enjoys life. And in any case they are the exception. Most of these recorders of every day take the intensest pleasure either in themselves and their doings, or in the spectacle of the world, or in both at once. The daily pages could not be kept up without the stimulus of the daily pleasure. To the diarist, things, that is, *his* things, whatever they are, are so intensely interesting that the thought of their perishing unrecorded is intolerable. And so Pepys must tell us his exact feelings when people would not admire his new clothes; and Saint-Simon must give us every twitch of the Duc du Maine's features in the day of his downfall; and Boswell finds Johnson's retorts far too delightful a dish to set before oblivion even when he is himself their victim. With men of his sort nothing can stand against

the pleasure of telling the tale, neither vanity, nor prudence, nor even decency.

Evelyn's way is a different way from those others, but it is still, like them, the way of pleasure. He is decently pleased with himself throughout, and he is throughout delighted with the arts and sciences of wise men and with the works of God. Neither bad times nor bad men can long silence his praises of fine buildings and beautiful gardens and new discoveries. Except the two greatest of all, he knew all the interesting Englishmen of his day; and not the Queen of Sheba herself took greater pleasure in listening to wisdom. No sort comes amiss to him. He is always ready for divinity and a great hearer of the best sermons; but he is equally ready to discuss shipping with Pepys or architecture with Wren or antiquities with Arundel or science with Boyle. England has seldom, perhaps never, produced a better type of the man of cultivation, intelligence, and public spirit. There is his world. The weaker side of human nature may sometimes regret that he will not tell us a little more of the actual life of Whitehall, the gossip of the Court, and the daily sayings and doings of that attractive, disappointing, too sadly human monarch, King Charles II. But that is not his affair. Except for one terrible picture, that famous one of the Sunday before Charles' death, he gives few of the details which are so overflowingly abundant in Saint-Simon that we feel as if we had lived at Versailles. As for the most remembered personal element in the Court, he says little about it. As a patriot he is disgusted at the cabal of 'parasites, pimps, and concubines' who supplanted Clarendon; as a Christian he laments the King's vices; as a gentleman he stands amazed at their unashamed publicity; but as a loyal subject he says as little as he can about them. The notion that courtesans are the most interesting of human beings had not been invented in his day, and, if it had, it would not have been entertained at Sayes Court or Wotton. With such creatures and their world he has as little to do as he may. His curiosity, insatiable as it is, is of the old sort, not the new; the things which it is so unwearied in searching out are the things which adorn human nature and not—well, not the other things. He is an amateur, again in the old sense, of the best things

everywhere, and of all things at their best; and for him vice would simply be either a coming short of the proper stature of humanity, or a corruption of it and a disease; in either case a thing to be done with as quickly as possible.

There are, in fact, two casts of mind and two classes of writers which stand out in more or less marked contrast to each other at all times, and there is no doubt to which Evelyn belongs. However we name them, 'ceux qui agitent le monde, et ceux qui le civilisent,' classical and romantic, the men of clearness and calm and the men of magic and enthusiasm, the walkers in the broad streets of life where the fine palaces and fair prospects are, and the walkers in the by-streets where squalor and eccentricity hug their independence, it is plain enough in which party Evelyn is to be looked for, if so humble a person as a diarist may find a place in either. The one sort finds everything interesting, even the ugly, and sometimes especially the ugly; the other averts its eyes, as far as it may, from disease and disorder, and ugliness and irrationality. That is what Goethe meant when, with some injustice to himself as well as to other people, he declared that the classical was the healthy and the romantic the diseased. Anyhow, without any calling of names, the distinction is plain, and so is Evelyn's character and plan. While his friend Pepys is as fond of his own feelings as a modern romantic, and as full of the curiosity of ugliness as a modern realist, Evelyn is as choice in his tastes and as dignified in his confessions as the most irreproachable of the French classics.

This, then, is the man whom we now have introduced to us afresh by Mr Wheatley and Mr Austin Dobson. Mr Wheatley's edition is a reprint of that already issued under his editorship in 1879, the text of which was itself a reprint of that of 1827. The present publication also contains Mr Wheatley's life of Evelyn, written for the 1879 edition, the bibliography compiled for that work, and 'an entirely fresh series of engravings.' These, however, are much less numerous, and less well printed than those in the other new edition, for which Mr Austin Dobson is responsible. This latter must be regarded as the best existing edition of the Diary until some future

editor has access to the original MS. at Wotton. That the owner at present refuses; and without it no edition can be either final or complete. Meanwhile, till the portions of the journal omitted by the original editors are given to the public, the best attainable text is not that of 1827, followed by Mr Wheatley, but that issued in 1850–1852 by John Forster, added to Bohn's Library in 1857, and now reprinted by Mr Dobson. This text contained a good many passages omitted by Bray, the first editor. It was founded on the labours of William Upcott, who had been the original cause of the Diary being published, and had assisted Bray in preparing the first edition in 1818, reprinted in 1827. But from some accident these editions did not include a number of passages Upcott had intended to be printed; and that of 1827 even omitted a few passages which occur in the editions of 1818 and 1819. The edition of 1850 is, in substance, Upcott's revision of the original text, with the addition of those portions of his intended text which had been omitted by Bray. These omitted passages are not of very great importance, so far as we have observed; one instance may suffice to illustrate their character. The full entry for the 12th of May, 1641, is as follows:—

'On the 12th of May, I beheld on Tower Hill the fatal stroke which severed the wisest head in England from the shoulders of the Earl of Strafford, whose crime coming under the cognisance of no human law or statute, a new one was made, not to be a precedent, but his destruction—(with what reluctancy the King signed the execution, he has sufficiently expressed; to which he imputes his own unjust suffering)—to such exorbitancy were things arrived.'

The words in brackets do not appear in the earlier editions, and consequently not in that of Mr Wheatley. So for the year 1638, while Mr Dobson gives us a whole page of entries, Mr Wheatley gives only three lines; and in the next year the account Evelyn gives of his confirmation by the Bishop of Oxford will not be found in Mr Wheatley's edition. There is therefore no question as to which book is the more complete.

Mr Dobson also gives us an agreeable introduction, though, as he evidently fears, his readers may miss something of that unique and perfect intimacy with his

subject which he has accustomed them to expect from him. But, of course, Evelyn was born a hundred years too early to belong to the world Mr Dobson has made so peculiarly his own. Still he has a mass of most useful information to give us in his new notes; and it is strange that one of the very few actual errors we have found in them refers to an event that took place in the period about which he is generally omniscient. In September 1644 Evelyn left Moulins on the Allier and 'took horse for Varennes, an obscure village.' On which Mr Dobson gives a note which does less credit than usual to his editorial watchfulness. 'The obscure village to which Evelyn refers was destined to have a more memorable association in later years with the French Royal Family.' Neither the historical nor the geographical sense can have been quite awake when this was written or repeated. The fatal flight was of course to the frontier nearest to Paris; and the Varennes of Louis XVI and Drouet is within a few miles of Belgium, and by no means, like Evelyn's Varennes, in the very middle of France. But this is, of course, a detail and a trifle. The new notes, as a whole, will win the gratitude of every reader by their number, their accuracy, their brevity, and their point. Mr Dobson also reprints some of the notes of previous editors, and altogether gives the reader a great deal more assistance than Mr Wheatley; his notes, for instance, for the year 1683 amount to over a hundred, while there are only about twenty in Mr Wheatley's edition. So far, in fact, as the Diary is concerned, there is no doubt that Mr Dobson's book is to be preferred; but it is necessary to add that his work is confined to the Diary, while Mr Wheatley's four volumes include also Evelyn's correspondence and, somewhat incongruously, the correspondence between Charles I and Sir Edward Nicholas, and that between Clarendon and Sir Richard Browne. Evelyn's letters are rather a disappointment. They have little of the ease and familiarity of letters; many of them are given over to compliments and formalities; and some, like the immense letter to Pepys, are rather treatises than letters. On the whole, whether for the knowledge of the man himself, or of the age and world he lived in, the Diary is of far greater interest and importance than the letters.

A diarist has two chances, himself and his times. There is nothing like a living human being, and the man who is really alive and can make us see that he is, is no doubt in the surest of all roads to the heart of posterity. Evelyn is by no means ignorant of this road, but, to make assurance doubly sure, he has taken care to have a very intimate acquaintance with the other also. Few diarists have lived in more exciting times and fewer still have known so many of the chief actors in them. He was born in 1620 and died in 1706. He had lived, that is, as his tombstone says, through 'an age of extraordinary events and revolutions.' And he had had the chance of observing them all at very close quarters, and even, it may be said, of playing a minor part among the actors of each. In the Civil War, indeed, like the man of peace he was, he took no part beyond once setting out to join the royal forces at the battle of Brentford, and arriving too late. He was no coward; indeed he had a courage much rarer than that of the battlefield, as later years were to show; but, for whatever reason, he decided that England in a state of civil war was no place for him, and, leaving himself to be represented in the King's army by his 'black *manège* horse and furniture,' he went abroad and was on the Continent from October 1643 till October 1647. The last year had been spent at Paris, and there he had married, in June 1647, Mary, daughter of Sir Richard Browne, who represented Charles I at the French Court. He reached London on October 13, 1647; and the rest of his long life was spent almost entirely in England and very largely occupied in the public service and in the promotion of art, science, and learning. Whatever judgment may be passed on the contrast between him and Milton in the matter of the Civil War, Evelyn was never a mere self-indulgent man of culture, never an isolated recluse, never an uninterested spectator of public affairs. The long years of his grand tour were no doubt, in his eyes, designed to enable him the better to 'serve God in Church and State,' according to his abilities, for the rest of his life. And in fact they did so, as Milton's elaborate education and foreign residence prepared him for his way of service. Evelyn, at any rate, began at once to play such a part as was allowed him directly he returned.

Within a few days of his landing he was with Charles I at Hampton Court, 'where I had the honour to kiss his Majesty's hand and give him an account of several things I had in charge, he being now in the power of those execrable villains who not long after murdered him.' In the condition in which things then were, there was little scope for public action on the part of a moderate royalist like Evelyn. But what he could do he did. A few days before the execution of the King he published a book called 'Liberty and Servitude,' containing sentiments by no means palatable to the then ruling powers, so that, as he says, he 'was like to be called in question by the rebels' for it. He kept up a political correspondence with Sir Richard Browne, 'with no small danger of being discovered,' and used his friendship with the Dutch ambassador to get information to be sent abroad to Charles II. He avoided taking oaths to the new Government, and, particularly in Church matters, lived in open opposition to the new system. His strong churchmanship was entirely unconcealed and fearless, so that he and his wife were of a company of communicants invaded, on Christmas-day 1657, by a body of soldiers who levelled muskets at them as they went up to receive the sacrament, and arrested them afterwards for disobeying the 'Ordinance that none should any longer observe the superstitious time of the Nativity.' He was, however, released the next day, and, throughout the reign of Cromwell, he evidently had friends who had influence enough to protect him. Still such contact with public affairs as he had at this time was rather through Charles II and Clarendon, of whom he saw a great deal during a year's visit to Paris in 1651, than through anything he was able to do at home. But as the Restoration approached he came nearer the centre of things. In November 1659 he again showed his courage by publishing an 'Apology for the Royal Party' at a time when it was a capital offence to speak or write in favour of the King. Two months later we find him trying to persuade his friend Colonel Morley, one of the Council of State, who had more than once been of service to him, to do at once what Monk was to do a month later; and, again, replying to a pamphlet defaming the character of Charles II. So things speed on to the Restoration,

and poor Colonel Morley comes to Evelyn to protect him, which he manages to do, moralising when it is done: 'O, the sottish omission of this gentleman! What did I not undergo of danger in this negotiation to have brought him over to his Majesty's interest, when it was entirely in his hands!'

From the return of Charles II till the Revolution, and even to some extent to the end of his life, Evelyn, though never in prominent office, was in close touch with the Court and the King's Ministers, as well as with the principal ecclesiastics, scholars, artists, and men of science of the day. This is, as we said, one side of the interest of the Diary. The book is full of interesting people. Among the great personages of Evelyn's acquaintance, to name only those whom he saw often, are the King and Clarendon, Arlington and Clifford; Lauderdale, Shaftesbury, Sunderland, Ossory, Godolphin, Berkeley, the second Lord Clarendon, Lord Arundel, the great art collector, and his grandson the sixth Duke of Norfolk, the first Duke of Devonshire, the first Duke of Leeds, and another first duke, a much greater man, the first Duke of Marlborough. Among bishops and divines, whom he greatly frequented, those whom he knew outside the pulpit include Jeremy Taylor, Sheldon, Sancroft, Tenison, Tillotson, Earle and Burnet. Among men of letters we find him intimate with Waller and Cowley, and acquainted with Dryden, Hobbes, Locke, and Bentley, as well as with men of less note, like Milton's nephew Phillips and his friend Samuel Hartlib. Of Milton himself he apparently knew nothing; nor would it ever have occurred to him that anything fit for the perusal of a gentleman could possibly come from the man who in his eyes was simply 'that Milton who wrote for the Regicides.' With his brother diarist, Pepys, not then recognised even by himself as a man of letters, Evelyn was on intimate terms. And as to the men of art and science, he may be said to have known them all. 'That miracle of a youth, Mr Christopher Wren, nephew to the Bishop of Ely,' whom he first visited at Oxford in 1654, was to be his friend for life. He took great pains to start Grinling Gibbons on his career, introducing him to the King and to 'His Majesty's Surveyor, Mr Wren,' and did something of the same office

for Vanbrugh later. He had Verrio to dine with him, and gave him 'China oranges' off his own trees. And the list of musicians in whom he took delight would be a striking one even in that age, when all Englishmen loved and practised music. Of science it is enough to say that he was one of the chief promoters and original members of the Royal Society, and that among his most intimate friends was Robert Boyle.

The diary of such a man as this could hardly be dull, even if he were dull himself. And, in fact, the book is full of curious and interesting things, altogether over and above that continuous self-revelation which is the proper excellence of a diary. We pass with Evelyn through so many interesting doors never open to the vulgar, and now closed for ever. We put ourselves in his hands, and he sets us in a moment by the side now of a king or a queen, now of some statesman or philosopher or beauty of two hundred years ago. We have all heard from our childhood of Charles II and James II, of Charles' unfortunate wife and mother and his too fortunate mistresses; of the Cabal and the Seven Bishops; of Titus Oates and Judge Jeffreys. Here is a man in whose company we may meet them all. One day we can sit with him and hear Henrietta Maria relate 'divers passages of her escapes during the Rebellion; on another we may walk in St James' Park with Charles II and 'both hear and see a very familiar discourse between him and Mrs Nelly, as they called an impudent comedian, she looking out of her garden on a terrace at the top of the wall, and he standing on the green walk under it'; and though the lady has somehow or other managed to win the pardon, and even something like the affection, of posterity, we shall be forced to agree with our guide in being 'heartily sorry at this scene,' more especially as the very next scene is, alas! 'Thence the King walked to the Duchess of Cleveland, another lady of pleasure and curse of our nation.' But we may also see the same King playing a less ignoble part; talking astronomy with Evelyn at Whitehall, or discussing the habits of bees, or showing his plans for rebuilding Whitehall, and asking Evelyn's advice upon them, till the diarist is lost in admiration of his transcendent abilities, as we all incline to be of people who pay respect to our own. But of course Evelyn had good

grounds for thinking Charles no fool. He was himself a frequent witness of the King's versatility, and no doubt wherever they met, whether at Whitehall, or at the Royal Society, or at Sayes Court, he had the pleasant consciousness of talking to a man who understood what was said.

But Charles II is not the only king in Evelyn's gallery. There is Charles I at Hampton Court; there is Louis XIV dancing 'five entries' in a masque, a sight which Evelyn soon deserted for 'discourse with one of the Queen Regent's secretaries'; there is William of Orange as he first arrives in England to marry his cousin and pleases the diarist by his 'manly, courageous, wise countenance'; and the same person arriving once more on a still more important occasion, 'wonderfully serious and silent,' seeming to 'treat all persons alike gravely and to be very intent on affairs.' There is his queen giving scandal to all persons of good feeling by coming in to Whitehall 'laughing and jolly as to a wedding,' though she will afterwards so win Evelyn's admiration that he will talk of her at her death as one that 'does, if possible, outdo the renowned Queen Elizabeth,' perhaps the only instance in all the Diary of his losing his head enough to talk nonsense. But he never knew the Court after the Revolution as he had known it before. There are no such historically enviable moments again in his experience as that when James II, having repented of his first flight and slipped back from Rochester to Whitehall, 'goes to Mass and dines in public, a Jesuit saying grace (I was present)'; or that which immediately follows: 'I saw the King take barge to Gravesend at twelve o'clock—a sad sight! The Prince comes to St James's.' But even these entries yield in poignancy of human interest to that other of the death of Charles II:

'I can never forget the inexpressible luxury and profaneness, gaming, and all dissoluteness, and, as it were, total forgetfulness of God (it being Sunday evening), which this day se'nnight I was witness of, the King sitting and toying with his concubines, Portsmouth, Cleveland, and Mazarin, etc., a French boy singing love-songs, in that glorious gallery, whilst about twenty of the great courtiers and other dissolute persons were at basset round a large table, a bank of at least 2000*l.* in gold before them, upon which two gentlemen who

were with me made reflections with astonishment. Six days after was all in the dust.'

But Evelyn's pictures of the life of his day have other figures than kings and queens in them. Many of us would have liked to be with him when he 'waited on Prince Rupert to our Assembly, where were tried several experiments in Mr Boyle's *vacuum*. A man thrusting in his arm after exhaustion of the air, had his flesh immediately swelled so as the blood was near bursting the veins: he drawing it out, we found it all speckled.' And who would not have enjoyed visiting Norwich as he did, as the guest of Lord Henry Howard at that ducal palace which Fuller called 'the greatest house he ever saw in a city out of London,' and seeing the sights of the city, as he did, under the guidance of Sir Thomas Browne?

We should not have cared enough for Lord Henry Howard to vex ourselves, like Evelyn, at his ill-doings; and, but for that, the drive from Euston, 'my lord and I alone in his flying chariot with six horses,' ought to have been pleasant enough on an October morning. Nor would our architectural conscience have boggled at the palace as 'an old wretched building, and that part of it newly built of brick very ill understood.' The beautiful city, 'certainly, after London, one of the noblest of England, for its venerable cathedral, number of stately churches, cleanness of the streets, and buildings of flint so exquisitely headed and squared,' would have been enough to keep us in good-humour, more especially when helped out by the pleasures of conversation with the author of 'Religio Medici' and the sight of his 'paradise' and 'cabinet of rarities.' Then again it would have been pleasant to see Evelyn playing the host at Sayes Court to all his great visitors, Charles II and James II, and Henrietta Maria, and Clarendon, and many more. Clarendon came one day in 1662 with 'his lady, his purse, and his mace borne before him,' and they 'collationed with us and were very merry.' And then, a few years later, we get the reverse of the picture: 'Visited the Lord Chancellor, to whom His Majesty had sent for the seals a few days before. I found him in his bed-chamber, very sad. . . . He was my particular kind friend on all occasions.' One likes, too, the human touch in his note on the 19th June, 1683:

'I returned to town in a coach with the Earl of Clarendon, when, passing by the glorious palace of his father, built but a few years before, which they were now demolishing . . . . I turned my head the contrary way till the coach had gone past it, lest I might minister occasion of speaking of it; which must needs have grieved him, that in so short time their pomp was fallen.'

The magician of English history has given us all an almost affectionate intimacy with that age and its great persons; and one likes to see them in this way through Evelyn's glass, alive and moving on their own stage, where they played their parts, that then seemed, and sometimes were, so big with fate. The quiet Evelyn watches it all; goes to visit the bishops in the Tower one day, and dines, one hates to add, with Lord Chancellor Jeffreys the next. Probably in his position it was not easy to refuse a Lord Chancellor's invitation. At any rate Evelyn was no great lover of Jeffreys, speaking of him as 'of nature cruel and a slave of the Court,' and commenting with disgust on the fact that he and another judge, on December 5, 1683, went to a wedding and spent the afternoon and evening 'till eleven at night in drinking healths, taking tobacco, and talking much beneath the gravity of judges who had but a day or two before condemned Mr Algernon Sidney.' Evelyn had not been at that famous trial, nor was he apparently at that of the Seven Bishops; but he was in court during the most critical of the trials that arose out of the Popish Plot, when Wakeham, the Queen's physician, was acquitted, and the power of Oates began to decline.

It is unnecessary to enlarge further on the closeness of Evelyn's relations with the great events and famous personages of his day. But his Diary is by no means entirely given up to the political things and people with whom history chiefly occupies herself. No man, indeed, can have eyes for everything, and Evelyn is blind to many things which his readers would gladly have had him notice and record. He tells us nothing of the condition of the mass of the people, rarely speaks of poor persons or servants, rarely mentions the clothes he wore or the food he ate, never, at any rate, with that pleasure of memory unashamed which gives such details the

smack of life in Pepys or Boswell. He never gossips; tells us little of his neighbours' vices, and nothing of their follies; would assuredly not have recorded, if there had been any such matters to record, his wife's jealousy of his attentions to her maid; gives no such touches of rude veracity as that of Pepys' sister, for whom a husband must be found at once as 'she grows old and ugly,' or that of poor Mr Pechell, 'whose red nose makes me ashamed to be seen with him, though otherwise a good-natured man.' In all these matters, indeed, there is a whole world of difference between Evelyn and Pepys. Nothing that can come into a man's head fails to find its way on to Pepys' paper; nothing that cannot with decency and dignity be said in public by a gentleman is thought worthy of a place in Evelyn's. There is no denying it: Evelyn is a man of culture and quality; Pepys is an impudently actual human being. But for people who have Shelley's taste for 'such society as is quiet, wise, and good,' there are few books that have a more soothing and pleasing quality than Evelyn's. Nearly everything that virtue values has an honoured place in it, and most things that intelligence studies to understand.

Oddly enough, he tells us little of his reading, though his habit was to sit over his book till one or two in the morning. But he tells us everything of his sight-seeing, which may be said to have been half the business of his long life. The diary of his travels abroad, which fills most of Mr Dobson's first volume, is as good a picture as one could desire of the use an intelligent Englishman made of the grand tour in the seventeenth century. Every day he is seeing and hearing what is to be seen and heard in the way of religion, politics, art, science, and, most of all, his beloved architecture. So he pursues his way through the Low Countries, and France and Italy, till he gets to Naples, when he characteristically turns back, having been assured by 'divers experienced and curious persons' that the rest of the world was 'plain and prodigious barbarism.' And in England he is a very guide-book of great houses—Euston, and Audley End, and Cassiobury, and the rest—which he is never tired of visiting and describing. Some he had a hand in building, as Cornbury, where 'we designed a handsome chapel that was yet wanting'; and everywhere, of

course, the author of 'Sylva' observes gardens and advises about them, helping forward the planting of trees and making of 'paradises' for use, for beauty, and for delight. It is curious, by the way, to notice that it was in May and June 1643, in the middle of the Civil War, that, by his brother's permission, he 'made a fish-pond, an island, and some other solitudes and retirements at Wotton, which gave the first occasion of improving them to those waterworks and gardens which afterwards . . . became the most famous of England.'

Everywhere, at home and abroad, in time of war as in time of peace, he goes on his way in the same fashion, intent on all things in and out of doors that make for the advance, the adornment, and the civilisation of human life. And these are the things that fill his book, though, of course, he will incidentally give us glimpses of other things, such as, for instance, the extravagant hospitalities and foolish magnificence of these days. His father, as high sheriff, is attended by '116 servants, every one liveried in green satin doublets'; his brother's supporters 'eat and drink him out of near 2000*l.*' at an election; Lord Arlington entertains '200 people and half as many horses, besides servants and guards,' for fifteen days at Euston; and, when a man is made a bishop he must, like the author of 'Microcosmographie,' give a banquet costing 600*l.* to 'judges, nobility, clergy, and gentlemen innumerable.' What he tells us of social life is chiefly of this grandiose and semi-public order; things the newspaper might record, not the parlour trifles of Pepys. In their place we have to content ourselves with the new art of skating as 'performed before their Majesties by divers gentlemen' in St James' Park, and with an account of several London fogs.

But after all, as we said, the first interest of a diary lies in the diarist. What manner of man does Evelyn reveal himself to be in an autobiography extending over some seventy years?

Well, the man of culture and intelligence has already been in evidence. But that is a long way from being the whole man. There is, besides, a true patriot, a sincere Christian and churchman, the best of friends, the most devoted of husbands and fathers. All his life through he cared and worked for his country, for the most part

without any reward but that of his conscience. It is curious to see him at the Great Fire of London, how public-spirited in his action he is, taking the sick and wounded under his care, and how prettily he mingles the Christian and the scholar, Virgil and St Paul, in his meditations on the scene of ruin, 'non hic habemus stabilem civitatem' —'London was, but is no more.' And so in the Plague. Being a commissioner for the care of the Dutch prisoners, he stuck to his post in London when all the world fled, 'being resolved,' as he says, 'to look after my charge, trusting in the providence and goodness of God.' This was paid work and plain duty; but most of the multifarious labours he underwent for public objects were of that order of voluntary offerings to the country which have always been the special glory of English gentlemen. He was a member of the Commission for Charitable Uses, of the Commission for Sewers, of that for reforming the buildings and streets of London, of that of Trade and Plantations, and of that for founding Greenwich Hospital. He was also a Younger Brother of the Trinity House, and for a short and anxious time a Commissioner to execute the office of Lord Privy Seal.

All these offices, except the commissionership of trade, and possibly that of the Privy Seal, were unpaid; and his diary shows how much time, labour, and worry some of them caused him. Nor would he be rewarded by honours. He might have had them, even the Bath being once offered him, and plain knighthood many times; but all such offers were consistently refused. He worked, as the best men do, because he liked work and because he really cared about the public good. The list of actual offices he held is far from exhausting the record of what he did, or tried to do, for the public. He had a great deal to do with Charles II's foundation of Chelsea Hospital, working constantly about it with Sir Stephen Fox, and characteristically insisting that it should contain a library for the old soldiers to read in. And so he was the person to whose help Tenison turned when he was planning London's first public library. He pressed on the King's plans for the proper rebuilding of London after the Fire, and himself went into a scheme for an embankment of the Thames, by which he lost 500*l*. He obtained the Arundel Marbles for Oxford, and the

Arundel MSS. for the Royal Society. Half of his many pamphlets and publications aimed at some public improvement, from the 'Fumifugium,' which wanted to give London smokeless air, to the great 'Sylva,' which actually gave England an abundance of trees to supply her fleets. The man was, in fact, a born utilitarian of the better sort, the sort which has been refined by liberal studies and spiritualised by religion, and knows that national progress is an affair of many things besides increase of material wealth.

In all these matters he is really a type of the best kind of Englishman. No man ever more instinctively disliked the 'falsehood of extremes'; but, moderate as his principles were, they were definite and unchangeable. Nothing in the world would have made him either a Republican or a Jacobite, either a Papist or a Presbyterian. As in the face of the Commonwealth, so in the face of James II, he remained a strong Church of England man. And his position was one based on thought and study, not on mere habit and inheritance. Few divines could give a better account than his of the English Church's view of the Real Presence; and he had earned the right to speak with contemptuous pity of Charles II's posthumous attack on her doctrines, and to affirm that she is, 'of all the Christians professions on the earth, the most primitive, apostolical, and excellent.' That Church never stood higher than in his day, and he certainly has a place among her model laymen. She has a right to be proud, not only of his beautiful private pieties and charities, but of the activity and honesty of his public life. We have seen the courage with which he refused to conceal his Churchmanship and loyalty under the Commonwealth. In the same way, under James II, when he was Commissioner of the Privy Seal, he twice refused, in spite of some timid advice from Sancroft, to put the seal to licenses for the publication of missals and other 'Popish books' contrary to the law. No action could be more certain to offend James II; and it was doubly brave and honest of him at the time he did it, for he was at that moment prosecuting a claim against the Crown for 6000*l.*, of which the King's displeasure might easily have deprived him. It should be recorded to James' credit that Evelyn got his money a year later.

It is plain that he was universally respected by all those with or under whom he worked. And, if he is English in his high respect for the law, he is even more so in the prudence and moderation with which he always desires that laws should be made and administered. The very opposite of a fanatic and doctrinaire, he is everywhere, as the typical Englishman always is, in favour of moderation and compromise and the *via media*. He likes neither the Tory violences of 1685 nor the Whig violences of 1689; thinks Algernon Sidney had 'very hard measure'; would have no objection, though an opponent of the obviously political indulgence of 1672, to 'some relaxations' in 'the present Establishment,' nor even to some moderate plan of comprehension; and he is no nonjuror, being too much a man of sense to believe in passive obedience, and too much a man of learning to be ignorant that there was abundant precedent for the recognition of duly consecrated bishops whose predecessors had been deposed on secular grounds. So far he leans in the Whig direction; but he is very hesitating in his reception of William III; and it takes the Assassination Plot to make him fully realise how invaluable that king's life is to England. But here, as always, he objects to extreme measures, and when all lawyers were called upon to take an oath renouncing James II, he censures the proposal as 'a very entangling contrivance of the Parliament.' So again, anti-Papist as he was, he disapproves the hard laws about the estates of Roman Catholics. Indeed, it is scarcely too much to say that, if Ireland had been governed in his spirit, we should never have had an Irish question; and, if we had always handled colonial sensitiveness in the civil and conciliatory fashion he and his Council of Plantations recommended, we might never have lost America.

The truth is that he was guided, in his political as in his private and social life, by the kindly equity natural to a Christian and a gentleman. That age clung to many practices which we should now call barbarous and inhuman; but in all such matters Evelyn belongs rather to the world of Cowper and Wilberforce than to the world of Jeffreys. He hated horse-baiting as 'a wicked and barbarous sport,' was soon weary of the 'rude and dirty pastime' of bull-baiting, and declared some contemporary methods of warfare to be 'totally averse to humanity or

Christianity.' Indeed he is a grave man all through, and, though so strong a churchman, has not lived among Puritans for nothing. He despises and dislikes the 'impertinences' of the Carnival and its 'idle, ridiculous pastimes,' is no friend to foolish revellings anywhere, whether at the Middle Temple or at Newmarket, and escapes to his books when they take to gambling at Euston. There is as much of the scholar's disdain, no doubt, in this, as of the Puritan's principles; but in either way it is characteristic enough of the man. The picture he leaves us is of a man wholly given up to serious things, not by a severe sense of duty, but by natural taste and temper. His life is entirely in the things of the mind and the things of the soul. It is one long record of happy activities and happy pieties. His worldly prosperities and his many bereavements are referred with equal devotion to Him who was in his eyes not so much the 'great Taskmaster' of Milton's noble sonnet, as the wise and merciful Father of all men. Nothing can disturb his quiet faith; not the loss of his wonderful boy, nor that of his saintly and accomplished daughter, nor the death of so many more of 'my very dear children'; not the Plague, nor the Fire, nor even the Court of Charles II. And so he moves on to his serene and beautiful old age, in which every birthday looks back with thankful piety on the past, and forward with expectant submission to the inevitable and steadily nearing end. He died at Wotton on the 27th of February 1706, in the eighty-sixth year of his age. There is no better key to his life than the motto he chose for himself: 'omnia explorate; meliora retinete.' He is a man of miscellaneous culture who never became its slave, but was strong enough to choose among its treasures and to use the best.

JOHN C. BAILEY.

Art. XII.—THE IRISH UNIVERSITY QUESTION.

Report of the Royal Commission on Trinity College, Dublin, and the University of Dublin. Cd. 3311, 3312 of 1907.

THE problem of Irish university education has presented itself to statesmen of all parties for the past seventy years as worthy of the most serious consideration by those who desire the welfare of Ireland. Sir Robert Peel, Mr Gladstone, Lord Beaconsfield, in turn attempted its solution, but each in turn failed. Neither the Queen's Colleges nor the Royal University of Ireland have fulfilled the hopes of their founders, while Mr Gladstone's University Bill never passed into law, and was, indeed, the main cause of the fall of his first Administration.

In 1901 a Royal Commission was appointed, with Lord Robertson as its chairman, to enquire into the unsatisfactory condition of university life in Ireland outside Trinity College, Dublin; and, on the appearance of their Report, the history of the problem formed the subject of an article in this Review (April 1903). Legislation did not follow the Report, which had, at any rate, as the chairman said, 'the merit of dispelling some illusions'; and it was generally recognised that it would be difficult to support in Parliament any proposal for university reform until the opportunities offered to Irishmen by Trinity College, which had been excluded from the purview of the Robertson Commission, had been made the subject of enquiry. It was an open secret that domestic reform was desired by some leading members of Trinity College, as its ancient constitution, with its system of government by the Provost and seven Seniors, called for revision and reconstruction in view of modern educational needs and aspirations.

Accordingly the College consented in 1906 to the appointment of a Royal Commission, which was empowered not only to examine the domestic relations of the society but also 'to enquire and report upon the place which Trinity College, Dublin, and the University of Dublin now hold as organs of the higher education in Ireland, and the steps proper to be taken to increase their usefulness to the country.' It would appear from subsequent events that those who, in the interests of

internal reform, acquiesced in these terms of reference, hardly realised that the whole question of university education was to be re-opened by the Commission. This is, however, the result of their enquiry and Report. The Report cannot be regarded as a conclusive document, for the Commissioners are sharply divided as to the policy which they recommend to Parliament—a significant circumstance which illustrates the complexity of the problem set before them. It would have been natural to expect that this divergence of opinion among the Commissioners appointed by the Crown would suggest to the Irish Government the prudence of a careful and dispassionate survey of the situation, in the light of the evidence that had been published, before they committed themselves to any new policy. But the late Chief Secretary for Ireland, Mr Bryce, did not take this view; and within three days of the publication of the Report, although he was on the eve of resigning his Irish responsibilities, he made a speech in which he sketched the scheme of university reconstruction which Dublin Castle had devised. It remains to be seen whether Mr Birrell and the Cabinet will adopt this scheme; and we propose to give some reasons for our hope that they will abandon it in favour of less perilous and less destructive proposals.

What, then, is the educational situation in Ireland as it presented itself to the Royal Commissioners of 1906? What are the opportunities for university education?

First, in every sense, stands Trinity College, Dublin, which has been for three centuries an autonomous college with university powers, the distinction between college and university being merely nominal. The Commissioners report unanimously that, as it stands, the College 'is a noble institution for the maintenance of sound learning, not unworthy of its great traditions, and of the affection and veneration with which it is regarded by its children'—a verdict which will not surprise those who have personal acquaintance with that great society. Nevertheless, the Commissioners point out that certain changes in its constitution and its system of government are desirable in the interests of education and of the country; and their unanimous recommendations under this head, although they have attracted little public

notice, form perhaps the most valuable part of their Report. They deserve the attention of the members of the College, and it is to be hoped that they will not be overlooked when the larger questions at issue come before Parliament.

Trinity College is not, however, a sufficient provision for the educational needs of Ireland. More particularly, the Commissioners point out that 'it has never been, and is not now, to an extent adequate to the reasonable requirements of the country, an organ for the higher education of the Roman Catholic population.' This is not due to any unwillingness on the part of Trinity to welcome Roman Catholics. She was founded, indeed, in the interests of the Established Church of Ireland, and has been continuously supported by the members of that Church. It is probable that they will always be her chief supporters. But, so far back as 1793, she opened her doors to Roman Catholics; and since 1873 all posts of emolument and profit (except those of the Divinity school), and all prizes, fellowships, professorships, and seats on the governing body, have been offered to all comers without distinction of creed.

Nevertheless, Roman Catholics do not matriculate at Trinity College in large numbers; and the reason is not far to seek. Their bishops, to whom they are bound to defer, deprecate the system of mixed education, which they regard as dangerous to 'faith and morals.' It is not very clear how or why young Roman Catholics may enter Oxford or Cambridge, with the Church's sanction, while they may not enter Dublin; but the fact is clear and is admitted. With unwavering consistency the Roman Catholic bishops have declared that Trinity College is not a suitable place for their youth; and its unsuitability is due to that 'undenominational' character which is the distinctive note of its life.

We have in the Royal University of Ireland (established in 1879) an Examining Board, which does useful service in testing the work of students educated at the Queen's Colleges of Belfast, Cork, and Galway, as well as at the Jesuit College in Dublin. When it was set up, sanguine persons expected that it would relieve the difficulty of Roman Catholic education. But it has not succeeded, and for two reasons. Its governing body is constructed

on the principle of denominational 'balance'; and all questions affecting the appointment of officials or examiners are determined in the first instance by considerations of religious profession. This deprives the University of academic dignity, and is an insuperable obstacle to its gaining any academic prestige. Secondly, it is only an examining board and not a university in the true sense; and its establishment has done much to degrade the idea of university education, and to conceal from Irishmen the true functions of a university. These facts, again, are not in dispute; and, despite the good work done at Belfast College and also at the Jesuit College in Dublin, the provision for university teaching outside Trinity College is still inadequate and unsatisfactory.

In the face of these facts, a majority of the Commission appointed in 1901 recommended the transformation of the Royal University into a teaching university, embracing as constituent colleges those of Belfast, Cork, and Galway, as well as a new Roman Catholic college to be established in Dublin on a handsome scale. Having regard to the objections raised by the Roman Catholic hierarchy to 'mixed' education, and to the evidence submitted as to the safeguards which would be deemed essential by them, the Commissioners advised that on the governing body of this new college seats should be assigned to two Roman Catholic bishops; and also that of the four visitors of the college two should be bishops, who, in all cases of alleged heresy on the part of a teacher, should define the doctrine of the Roman Church. This was frankly to recognise the denominational difficulty; and it was probably in part because of the objections entertained by many Englishmen to the establishment or endowment of a 'denominational' institution that the recommendations of the Commission were not taken up by Mr Balfour's Government.

The question at issue was not, however, permitted to drop. On January 1, 1904, a letter on the subject was addressed to the newspapers by the Earl of Dunraven, which—rightly or wrongly—was regarded by the public as expressing the mind of the new Under-Secretary for Ireland, Sir Antony MacDonnell. Lord Dunraven's plan involved the abolition of the Royal University and the transformation of the University of Dublin into a federal university, comprising Trinity College, Belfast College,

and a new college for Roman Catholics in Dublin. The scheme was not elaborated in detail, but it was clear that Lord Dunraven's desire was, on the one hand, to secure for the new College which he proposed to create a share in the prestige of Dublin University, and, on the other hand, to provide for its 'autonomy,' that is, its practical independence of the University Court, which was to be given very little power. This *ballon d'essai* attracted some attention, as it was taken to indicate the direction in which Dublin Castle was moving; and the authorities of Trinity College lost no time in conveying to the Irish Government their determination to resist any such invasion of their ancient constitution.

In these circumstances the Commissioners of 1906 undertook their task of collecting evidence. It had been matter of rumour that the Roman Catholic hierarchy had been persuaded of the hopelessness of any proposal to give them direct representation on the governing body of a new State-endowed institution, such as had been recommended by the Robertson Commission; and that they would be content if means were devised by which their influence would be secured, although not formally recognised. As they are masters of the situation and have complete control of their laity, it was obvious that no legislation could lead to practical result without their sanction; and accordingly the statement which they submitted to the Commission was rightly regarded as of the first importance. It was quite clear and definite. On no terms will the bishops accept mixed education at Trinity College. They desire a Roman Catholic university, and nothing short of that will satisfy them; but they are 'prepared to accept,' i.e. as an instalment, a Roman Catholic college either in the University of Dublin or in the Royal University.*

These are the alternatives suggested by the bishops; and the Commissioners wisely recognised that their choice was limited to these. Like their predecessors of 1901, they refused to recommend a Roman Catholic university; and in view of the temper of Parliament they were probably right. But it must be borne in mind, nevertheless, that every other solution is regarded by

* Appendix to First Report, p. 82.

the Roman hierarchy as incomplete, and that there is no likelihood of the question being set at rest by the adoption of any other policy. It may be inconsistent with the trend of modern opinion for the State to establish and endow a university governed in Roman Catholic interests and animated by Ultramontane ideals. But, if that view be taken, a final settlement will not be reached; and the weary agitation of the past seventy years may be expected to continue.

In respect of the other suggested schemes before the Commissioners a preliminary observation may be made. Both are really 'denominational' in substance and in intention. If they were not this, they would not please those for whom it is proposed to carry them into law. The Roman bishops do not, indeed, now ask that direct control of a new college shall be placed in their hands or that they shall be directly represented on its governing body. They said in 1897* that they did not claim for ecclesiastics a majority of seats on such a body; and it has been alleged on their behalf that they would consent to a board containing some Protestants. But neither of these statements affects the issue. Unless the constitution of the governing body be such that, in fact, it will always be predominantly Roman Catholic, it will not satisfy the conditions that the bishops have repeatedly laid down as essential; for otherwise there would be no security that the 'faith and morals' of the students would be protected. Thus, to allege that Roman Catholics only desire a college 'as Catholic as Trinity is Protestant' is entirely misleading. Trinity College is Protestant in tone only because few Roman Catholics go there. If they matriculated in large numbers and won, in course of time, the majority of seats on the Board, no Protestant would have any ground of complaint, nor would complaints be heard with patience by Parliament. It is of the essence of an undenominational system like that of Trinity that there is no security that any particular creed shall always be predominant. But a college thus constituted for Roman Catholics would cease to satisfy them if it were ever 'captured' by Protestants. There is, therefore, a fundamental difference between the constitution of Trinity and

* Appendix to First Report of Lord Robertson's Commission, p. 388.

that of the new college which Roman Catholics desiderate. They ask to be started with a clear Roman Catholic majority on the governing body in order that it may be continued *in perpetuum*. This is denominationalism, however it be disguised. We desire to point this out, not because we object to endowment for denominational purposes, but because it is right that the nature of the Roman claim should be made clear. It is a claim, not for equality, but for privilege on the score of religious scruple; and, while we do not protest against such concessions, we think that those who grant them should do so with their eyes open.

Now it is between the two alternatives of a denominational college—free from tests, but with a constitution which shall permanently satisfy Roman Catholics—within and without the University of Dublin that the Commissioners of 1906 were divided. Sir E. Fry (the chairman), Sir A. Rücker, and Mr S. H. Butcher, M.P., think that the college should be in the Royal University, which they would reconstruct on the lines laid down by the Robertson Commission. On the other hand, Sir Thomas Raleigh, Chief Baron Palles, Dr Douglas Hyde, and Dr Coffey, recommend the abolition of the Royal University and the reconstruction of Dublin University so as to embrace the new Roman Catholic College and the Queen's Colleges as well as Trinity. Prof. Henry Jackson approves this scheme in theory, but declines to recommend it in practice; and Mr Kelleher (himself a Roman Catholic) thinks that no new college or university is needed. Thus there are on the one side an eminent English judge (a Quaker), and two distinguished academic experts; and on the other an eminent Irish judge (a Roman Catholic), a well-known Oxford man with Indian experience, a Roman Catholic physician, and the president of the Gaelic League. The situation was interesting until Mr Bryce's speech on January 25 showed that Dublin Castle had made up its mind quite independently of the Report of the Commission; and that it favoured a scheme which—unlike the scheme of the four Commissioners in many important points—resembled it in this, that it proposed to deprive the corporation of Trinity College of their charter, and to give the name of Dublin University to a new and untried institution.

We should have anticipated that Trinity College would take exception to a scheme so destructive of her dignity and unjust to her position. But we own that we were surprised to find that not only Trinity but all the other colleges concerned had entered a protest before the Commission against the adoption of the policy of Dublin Castle. The heads of Belfast, Cork, Galway, the Senate of the Royal University, the President of the Jesuit College, were as emphatic in their objections as were the Trinity representatives. It is clear that the alliance between Trinity and the lesser Irish colleges is desired by none of the parties concerned. That in itself furnishes a strong argument against the 'nationalisation' of Trinity College—as the phrase goes—by these drastic measures. It is true that, since Mr Bryce's speeches, several educational institutions have expressed their willingness to acquiesce in his proposals; but that is not surprising, inasmuch as he informed them that, if they did not agree to this scheme, they would get no other. But Father Delany and the Jesuits have not yet been coerced into approval; and a representative body of Royal University graduates in Ulster have promulgated a strong protest.

The objections urged against this scheme of reconstruction by the various witnesses are manifold, but one of the most interesting is founded on the conviction that Ireland is at present in need of a university of the modern type, like Birmingham or Leeds, rather than of increased provision for the old-fashioned university culture. To force all Irish education into the Dublin groove would be as unwise as to force all English education into the Oxford and Cambridge groove; and accordingly some highly competent judges recommend the reconstruction of the Royal University as a teaching university of the democratic type, Trinity College being left to develope on its own lines.

We sympathise with those who would fain see young Irishmen of all creeds associated in the generous rivalries of one great university. It is natural to think that the asperities of Irish life might be softened were such a system of common education established. But unhappily the thing is impossible. 'Mixed' education in a single college is forbidden by the bishops; and it has been made

plain that separate laboratories and separate schools of medicine and science would be needed if a Roman Catholic college were associated with Trinity in the university. 'Union of hearts' is not promoted by forcing two unwilling partners into an alliance; and we fear that such a policy would intensify rather than mitigate the spirit of opposition between the two parties in Ireland. The only way to avoid friction would be to concede almost absolute autonomy to each of the Dublin colleges, giving each its own equipment and its own professors, with authority to determine its own courses of study, and to reduce the powers of the University Court to a minimum. But this would be to set up two distinct universities in Dublin, and to do so not openly but by an unworthy artifice. We need not point out, moreover, that to give the Dublin degree to the members of a new society not subject to the laws and the discipline which have won for that degree an honourable reputation would be a gross injustice and a fraud upon the public. In brief, if the colleges are really 'autonomous,' in the sense that they are independent of the university authority, they become distinct universities and should be so designated. This is clearly understood by those Irishmen who ask for 'autonomous' colleges, but it is not fully appreciated in England where the control of a university over its constituent colleges is regarded as a matter of course.

The analogy of English university methods, indeed, is apt to mislead when it is applied in the widely different conditions which prevail in Ireland. For the success of the multiple college system at Oxford and Cambridge depends on the fact that the several colleges are animated by similar ideals and aspirations, and that they do not represent conflicting and inconsistent principles. Thus they submit themselves willingly to the discipline imposed by the university; and divergence of political or theological creed does not seriously affect the issue when courses of study have to be laid down and university examiners appointed. These things are settled on academic grounds. Far otherwise is it in Ireland. There the evil custom has been fostered by successive governments of 'balancing' the several religious denominations on public boards of education; and the results have been disastrous, the academic fitness of candidates for office being a matter

second in importance to their religious profession. We cannot wonder that a corporation with the traditions of Trinity College should oppose with all its might the introduction of this unworthy principle of 'balance' into the University of Dublin. Trinity desires to get the best available teachers, irrespective of their politics or their creed. That is frankly acknowledged by Roman Catholic authorities to be an ideal which they do not share.* The four Commissioners betray their consciousness of this difficulty by the recommendation that all university professors shall be appointed by special boards of experts; but Mr Bryce's proposals are not theirs. Mr Bryce would leave all such appointments to the University Court, although the precedents of the Royal University as well as of the primary and secondary Education Boards show that an artificially balanced governing body is little likely to vote on grounds of academic fitness only. Ireland has already perceived the defects of the system by which Dublin Castle pretends to secure 'equality' in university administration.

The difficulty emerges in another direction. Under the control of a University Court composed of representatives, on the one side of the liberal ideal, and on the other of Ultramontanism, the freedom of research and of teaching would be seriously impaired. The university professors of biology or geology would be subject at any moment to the intervention of the Court if their teaching should transgress the limits laid down by the Vatican. The domain of 'faith and morals' is very extensive; and an intolerable system of 'economy' and 'reserve' would be forced upon the men who ought to be the leaders of scientific thought. That religion does not need such defences is a first principle of the Churches of the Reformation; and the institution of an *Index expurgatorius* and the anathemas of the Vatican are entirely inconsistent with liberal ideals of education. To give a Roman Catholic college, as such, representation on the supreme Court of the only university in Ireland—and this is Mr Bryce's proposal—would be to concede far more to Roman Catholic scruple than would be granted by the endowment of a distinctively Roman Catholic university,

* Dr Delany's evidence (Appendix to Final Report, p. 278).

for it would confine all university teaching in Ireland within the limits approved by the Roman hierarchy. It is because of this obvious consequence of the scheme of Dublin Castle that academic bodies throughout the kingdom have felt themselves constrained to intervene, and that protests have been signed in the interests of free thought and speech at Oxford and Cambridge, as well as at the Scottish universities, and at the younger academic institutions in England.

These considerations seem to us to prove that Mr Birrell will be well advised if he rejects the *damnosa hereditas* bequeathed to him by Mr Bryce. Something, indeed, ought to be done in the interests of Irish education; but there is another alternative, namely, the scheme of the three Commissioners, of a new college in a reconstructed Royal University. Belfast and Cork would benefit by this reconstruction, as well as the Roman Catholics in Leinster; and the objections to a federal system, although not to be ignored, apply with less force to this plan than to Mr Bryce's, for the colleges to be associated are not yet strong enough to stand alone. This is a scheme which will secure for Irish Roman Catholics all that they ask, except, indeed, the prestige of Trinity College. But this they can have at any time by becoming members of her society, and they have no title to demand it on any other terms. In Irish politics the ideal is rarely attainable; but that is no reason for refusing to seek the best within reach. And to adopt a modest scheme such as that of the three Commissioners, which the Roman hierarchy have declared themselves 'prepared to accept,' which Trinity College would heartily and unselfishly support, and which many academic dignitaries outside Trinity would prefer for the present to all other schemes, is wiser policy than to destroy, for the sake of a rash experiment and to gratify doctrinaire politicians, the one British institution in Ireland which has prospered, the one institution of which all Irishmen are proud.

Art. XIII.—THE DERIVATION OF THE MODERN HORSE.

1. *Prejvalsky's Horse* (*Equus Prezwalskii*). By W. Salensky (1902). Translated by Captain M. H. Hayes and O. Charnock Bradley, with introduction by J. C. Ewart. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1907.
2. *The Multiple Origin of Horses and Ponies.* By J. C. Ewart. Trans. Highland Society of Scotland, 1904.
3. *The Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse.* By W. Ridgeway. Cambridge: University Press, 1905.
4. *On Skulls of Horses from the Roman Fort at Newstead, with Observations on the Origin of Domestic Horses.* By J. C. Ewart. Trans. Royal Society. Edinburgh, 1907.
5. *On the Origin and History of Domestic Horses,* being the Introduction to 'The Horses of the British Empire.' Edited by Sir H. F. de Trafford, Bart. London: Southwood, 1907.

In prehistoric times wild horses seem to have been as abundant in the south of Europe as were zebras half a century ago in South Africa. The zebras of South Africa, down to about 1870, consisted of three quite distinct species, viz. (1) the common zebra (*Equus zebra*), adapted for a life among the mountains; (2) Burchell's zebra (*E. burchelli*), represented by several varieties which frequented scrub and open plains; (3) the quagga (*E. quagga*), which was exterminated while adapting itself for a desert life.

The existence during recent times of three kinds of zebras, leads one to enquire, amongst other things, (1) did the horses, so abundant in the south of Europe during the Palæolithic period, consist of several species adapted for different environments? and (2) did the Palæolithic men of southern Europe, like the natives of South Africa before the advent of Europeans, simply regard the horse as a beast of the chase, or were they in the habit of maintaining semi-wild herds of horses as Laplanders to-day maintain semi-wild herds of reindeer?

In the case of horses, as in the case of the dog and certain other domestic animals, two views have prevailed before as well as after the publication of Darwin's 'Origin of Species.' According to some writers, all domestic horses have sprung from a single species; ac-

cording to others several wild species were domesticated and afterwards blended to form the modern breeds. Darwin, who devoted much time to the study of the Equidæ, adopted the view of those naturalists who 'look at all the breeds as having descended from a single species'; but he was careful to point out that, 'as several species and varieties of the horse existed during the later Tertiary periods, and as Rutimeyer found differences in the size and form of the skull in the earliest known domesticated horses, we ought not to feel sure that all our breeds are descended from a single species.'*

Sanson, Piètrement, and nearly all other recent writers on the Equidæ have followed Darwin, without however making any reservations. M. Sanson, though at one time committed to the view that domestic horses had sprung from eight distinct species, makes it clear in the last (1901) edition of the 'Traité de Zootechnie' that he now believes they have all descended from a single species consisting of two distinct varieties (*E. c. asiaticus* and *E. c. africanus*) including eight races. Piètrement, while adopting Sanson's classification, believed that the African variety (*E. c. africanus*) was domesticated by the Mongols to the south of the Great Altai Mountains, and that the Asiatic variety (*E. c. asiaticus*) was domesticated by the Aryans near Lake Balkash to the west of the Ala Tau Mountains. Further, Piètrement formed the conclusion that six of Sanson's races had been independently domesticated in more or less isolated European areas.

The view that several wild species, which differed in conformation as well as in colour, were domesticated and afterwards blended in varying degrees to form the domestic breeds was advocated by (amongst others) Col. Hamilton Smith in 1841 and Prof. Ridgeway in 1902. Col. Smith† believed that domestic horses had descended from five species or *stirpes* of the following colours—white, black, bay, piebald, and dun. Prof. Ridgeway, mainly on historical grounds, arrived at the conclusion that all the improved breeds of the world have resulted from the blending of a fine North African variety of a bay colour inclined to be striped, with a coarse variety

* 'Variation of Plants and Animals under Domestication,' i, 53.

† 'The Horse' (Naturalist's Library, vol. xii).

of Upper Europe and Upper Asia of a dun or white colour.*

Very different views have been held as to the ancestral history of the Equidæ. Naturalists, having accepted Darwin's doctrine of descent with modifications, for a time assumed that the domestic horses had descended from a Pliocene form connected by a single line of ancestors with a primitive five-toed Eocene ungulate. Now, however, many believe that, as there are at the present day several species of zebras, there lived contemporaneously all through the Tertiary epoch several species of 'fossil' horses. From recent investigations, largely due to the initiative and influence of Prof. H. Fairfield Osborn of the American Museum of Natural History, we have gained a wonderfully complete knowledge of the remote ancestors of the modern Equidæ. The oldest 'fossil' horses known were about twelve inches in height, but more like members of the dog family than dwarf horses. Of these little horses there were several species, some in the south of England (they occur in the London clay of Kent and Suffolk), some on the Continent, and others in the United States and Mexico. In course of time the four-toed Lower Eocene horses, generally now known as the *Eohippus* group, gave place to somewhat larger species which form the *Proterohippus* group. Though measuring fourteen inches at the shoulder and provided with more complex teeth, the fore-limbs in this later Eocene 'fossil' horse still carried four hoofs and the heels (hocks) were not yet raised very high from the ground. A perfect specimen of *Proterohippus*, found in Wyoming, indicates that the successors of the *Eohippus* family were in conformation not unlike a modern whippet.

After the lapse of untold ages the small Eocene horses with four hoofs in front and three behind were superseded by forms preserved in the early Miocene deposits in which there were three toes in front as well as behind. These Miocene 'fossil' horses, which measured about eighteen inches at the withers, were represented by several species in America, which form the *Mesohippus* group, and by somewhat different species (the *Anchi-*

* 'Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse.' Cambridge: University Press, 1905.

therium group) in Europe. The early Miocene forms are especially interesting because a study of their teeth and limbs indicates that they were beginning to adapt themselves for very different kinds of environments, for a life in the plains as well as in the vicinity of forests. The middle toe of each foot (which corresponds to the middle digit in the human hand and foot) is not only decidedly larger than the lateral (second and fourth) toes, but also longer. In some species the lateral toes are appreciably shorter and more slender than in others, and in all cases the teeth are being adapted to deal with harder and drier food; evidence of this we especially have in the cupping of the outer incisors, i.e. the appearance for the first time of the 'mark' in the incisors so characteristic of existing Equidæ. The various species of *Mesohippus* of the Lower Miocene in course of time gave place to Upper Miocene species which, though only measuring ten hands at the withers, were in some respects more specialised than any of the recent Equidæ. One (*Hypohippus*) was specially adapted for a forest life; one (*Neohipparion*) had long slender limbs adapted for boundless plains; while a third (*Protohippus*) seems to have been adapted for living partly in forests and partly in the open.

In 1901 a complete skeleton of *Hypohippus* was found in eastern Colorado. This Miocene forest horse was provided with large lateral toes which served, as Prof. Osborn points out, 'to keep the feet from sinking in the relatively soft ground of the forests or lowlands where it sought the softer kinds of herbaceous food, for which its short simple teeth were best fitted.' Of even greater interest than the limbs and teeth is the primitive condition of the skull in *Hypohippus*. It has long been recognised that in typical forest forms, such as the elk (*Alces*)—which during a considerable part of the year feeds on spruce-trees—the face is nearly in a line with the cranium, while in steppe and mountain forms, such as goats and sheep, the face is strongly bent downwards on the cranium, apparently to facilitate feeding on short herbage close to the ground. In *Hypohippus* the face was in a line with the cranium, as in the extremely primitive Okapi of tropical Africa, while the lower jaw was short and slender.

Neohipparion differed profoundly from *Hypohippus* alike in the skull, teeth, and limbs. It had evidently

descended from ancestors which had long been adapting themselves for a life on boundless plains and desert wastes, such as are now found in various parts of Africa, where, during parts of the year, the food is scarce, hard, and dry, and the drinking places few and far apart. Built like a Virginian deer, *Neohipparion*, as Prof. Osborn says, was 'delicate and extremely fleet-footed, surpassing the most highly-bred modern racehorse in its speed mechanism.' Even more remarkable than the long slender middle toes and the small functionless lateral toes of *Neohipparion* are the large skull, powerful jaws, and complex teeth. In this Miocene racehorse the face is nearly as much deflected as in sheep, and the lower jaw is long and massive and hinged on to the cranium much further back than in its forest-haunting contemporary *Hypohippus*. In *Protohippus*, the third of these late Miocene 'fossil' horses, we have an intermediate form, neither specially adapted for a forest life nor a life on the plains, but probably, with the help of protective colouring, capable of living in either.

The fleet three-toed *Neohipparion*, as well as the less specialised *Hypohippus* and *Protohippus*, in course of time became extinct; and their place was taken by one-hoofed forms having a general resemblance to the modern Equidæ. During the Pliocene the conditions in the New World evidently continued to be favourable for odd-toed ungulates, for at the beginning of the Pleistocene period, i.e. before the cold phase set in, which culminated in the Glacial epoch, horses flourished from Escholtz Bay in the north to Patagonia in the south.

Before the Tertiary epoch came to an end, or at least before man appeared on the scene, the Equidæ in North America had entirely disappeared; and, though in South America they survived into the human period, they seem to have become extinct before the arrival of Europeans in the sixteenth century. It is said at least ten species of Equidæ flourished in America in preglacial times. In most cases these species are only represented by teeth, fragments of skulls, and dissociated bones of the trunk and limbs. There is, however, one notable exception, for in 1899 a small herd of horses was found preserved on the eastern edge of the Llano Estacado of Texas. It was thought that this Texas horse (*E. scotti*) (one of the last

of the indigenous horses of America) might be an ancestor of some of our domestic breeds; but the very long face, strongly deflected as in *Neohipparion*, the presence of six lumber vertebræ and the form of the ribs indicate an affinity with zebras rather than with horses.

Though all the preglacial horses of America seem to differ from the modern horses, it is by many assumed that the ancestors of all the living Equidæ, the asses and zebras, as well as the horses, came from the New World. In Miocene times there was a land connexion between Europe and America in the vicinity of the Behring Straits, by means of which there was a free exchange of animals between Asia and the western side of America. It is hence possible that the ancestors of the modern horse came ready-made from the New World.

Until the Pliocene deposits of Central Asia yield up their long-kept secrets, we are not likely to be in a position to say whether the ancestors of the modern Equidæ came from America, or had their origin in Central Asia. Compared with North America, Asia seems to have had comparatively few species of Equidæ during the later part of the Tertiary epoch. In the north of India, in addition to *Hipparion* and its one-hoofed descendants, only two species are known to have existed in Pliocene times, viz. *E. sivalensis* and *E. namadicus*. About the same time *E. stenonis* occurred in England, France, Switzerland, Italy, and North Africa. During the Pleistocene period horses were not only, as already mentioned, extremely abundant in the south of Europe, but they ranged into England and well across Central Europe. How the Pleistocene horses are related to the Pliocene species is still uncertain. Mr Lydekker has suggested that horses of the 'Oriental' or blood-horse type are modified descendants of *E. sivalensis*, while M. Boule believes the 'Occidental' varieties to have sprung from *E. stenonis*. As a matter of fact, it is not yet possible to say which, if any, of the known Pliocene species stand in the relation of ancestors to the Pleistocene species. This being the case, it may be as well at once to enquire how many of the varieties in Europe at the end of the Tertiary epoch contributed characters to modern breeds.

From an examination of skulls and limb-bones from Pleistocene and early Quaternary deposits, and from

caves occupied by Palæolithic man, I have arrived at the conclusion that at or about the end of the Glacial period there existed in Europe at least three distinct species of horses, which may be known as the steppe, forest, and plateau species or varieties. In the steppe variety the face, of medium width, is very long and nearly as strongly bent downwards on the cranium as in sheep. Further, the length of the middle metacarpal * is on an average seven and a half times the width. Of the existence of this variety at the end of the Tertiaries we have evidence from bones found in the south of France and in the Rhine valley. In the forest variety, the face is short and broad, and nearly in a line with the cranium, as in the elk (*Alces*); and the length of the middle metacarpal is on an average five and a half times the width. The Pleistocene deposits of Essex have yielded portions of the skull and limb bones of a typical forest horse. In the plateau variety the face is very decidedly narrower, but only slightly more bent downwards than in the forest variety; and the length of the middle metacarpal is on an average seven and a quarter times the width. Evidence of the existence of horses of the plateau variety has been obtained from the Pleistocene deposits of Auvergne. If these conclusions are justified, it follows that the answer to the first question asked at the outset would be in the affirmative—that several species of horses occurred in the south of Europe towards the end of the Palæolithic period.

The second question was, Did the Palæoliths simply hunt the horse, or were they in the habit of maintaining semi-domesticated herds of horses as Laplanders maintain semi-domesticated herds of reindeer? That the men of the Reindeer age domesticated the horse is made highly probable by the numerous carvings and engravings from the Dordogne caves representing horses wearing halters. Palæolithic man may not have kept herds of horses as modern stock-owners keep herds of cattle; but the existence of these carvings indicates that when horses were subsequently required as beasts of burden, for war, or

* The middle metacarpal corresponds to the bone in the human hand, which extends from the knuckle of the middle finger to the wrist; in the horse it lies between the fetlock joint and the 'knee,' which corresponds to the wrist in man.

the chase, there would be no difficulty either in capturing or controlling them.

The evidence, so far as it goes, points to the existence in Europe, during the Neolithic and Bronze ages, of the same types of horses as flourished during the Palæolithic age. There are in the British Museum remains of horses from Walthamstow, Essex, said to belong to the Neolithic age, to which the plateau, as well as the forest and steppe varieties, had contributed characters. Horses of the forest type have been obtained from prehistoric deposits at Westeregeln, near Magdeburg, and in Brunswick, while remains of horses characterised by the small head and slender limbs of the plateau type (fig. 2) have been procured from prehistoric deposits in Switzerland, Württemberg, and Prussia.

If, during the Bronze age, there were horses of the forest, steppe, and plateau types, it is conceivable that, notwithstanding the inter-crossing widely practised during recent years, there are still fairly typical representatives, in isolated or outlying regions, of three varieties.* It used to be supposed that in the mouse-dun Tarpan of the Russian steppes we had a distinct variety or species, which had played an important part in the making of the domestic horses of East and Central Europe. This view is, however, untenable, for, as I pointed out some years ago,† the Tarpan of the Russian steppes is a mixture of several varieties; at the most it can only be claimed for the Russian Tarpan that it has in part sprung from wild ancestors. But, though the Tarpan is not a true wild horse, a true wild horse still survives; and it belongs to what I have named the steppe variety. This steppe horse (*E. prejvalskii*) is probably identical, as Prof. Ridgeway recently pointed out, with the true Tarpan of the Tartars described by Colonel Hamilton Smith.

Let us now consider the characteristics of the three types of horses mentioned above.

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* In a paper communicated to the Edinburgh Royal Society in 1902, I indicated that three varieties of horses can still be identified. These three varieties are described in the paper on 'The Multiple Origin of Horses and Ponies,' published in the Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland for 1904.

† 'The Tarpan and its Relationship with Wild and Domestic Horses' (Proc. Roy. Soc. Edin., vol. xxvi, 1905).

FIG. 1.

HEAD OF PREJVALSKY'S HORSE, THE TYPE OF THE STEPPE VARIETY.
This Horse is characterised by a very long face, long ears, an erect mane, a mule-like tail, and slender limbs.

FIG. 2.

A CELTIC PONY FROM ICELAND, IN SUMMER COAT, WITH THE MANE REMOVED.
The Celtic race and an allied Mexican race are the most primitive living representatives of the Plateau variety.

[*To face p.* 554.

Characters of the steppe variety.—When in 1881 it was announced by the Russian naturalist Poliakoff that a true wild horse still survived in the western portion of the Great Gobi Desert of Mongolia, Prof. Flower, M. Sanson, M. Piètrement, and other naturalists, thought Poliakoff's new horse might only be an accidental hybrid between the Kiang (the wild ass of upper Asia) and the horse. Even in 1902 the young Prejvalsky colts imported from Mongolia were regarded as hybrids; some even believed they were simply the offspring of escaped Mongol ponies. By crossing Mongolian and other mares with a wild Asiatic ass, I made it evident in 1903 * that Prejvalsky's horse differed from Kiang mules; and the appearance of a Prejvalsky foal in the Duke of Bedford's herd at Woburn made it further evident that the wild horse of Mongolia, unlike Kiang mules, is fertile.

As a full account of Prejvalsky's horse is given in Dr Salensky's work, I shall do little more than point out how it essentially differs from domestic horses. Unlike domestic horses, the wild horse has an upright mane (and is hence without a forelock) and a mule-like tail. Though in these respects resembling asses, unlike both asses and zebras it has two hind chestnuts, i.e. like ordinary horses Prejvalsky's horse has hind as well as front chestnuts, and an ergot or spur in the centre of each footlock. In colour the wild horse varies from yellow-dun to reddish-brown, but the 'points' are always dark up to at least the fetlocks, and there is a narrow dorsal band; shoulder and leg stripes, if present, are indistinct.

Being a member of the steppe variety, Prejvalsky's horse has a very long face bent downwards on the cranium, as in the Miocene three-toed horse *Neohipparion*. Owing to the deflection of the face Prejvalsky's horse (fig. 1) has a ram-like head; and in some cases, owing to large frontal sinuses and deep nasal fossæ, there is a pronounced 'Roman' nose. Another result of the deflection of the face is that the ears (always long but not wide apart) appear to be unusually far back; while, partly owing to the great length of the face and partly to the shunting upwards of the orbits, the distance between the laterally placed eyes and the nostrils is very great. The deflection

* 'The Wild Horse' (Proc. Roy. Soc. Edin., vol. xxiv, part v, 1903).

of the face on the cranium is so great in the wild horse that a line carried through the base of the cranium emerges well above the tips of the nasal bones; in a forest horse a similar line emerges well below the tips of the nasals. The marked difference between the skulls of horses of the steppe and forest types is made evident by figures 3 and 4. Poliakoff described the legs of Prejvalsky's horse as remarkably thick. As a matter of fact, as Dr Salensky points out, the legs are relatively long and unusually slender, while the hoofs are elongated and contracted at the 'heels.'

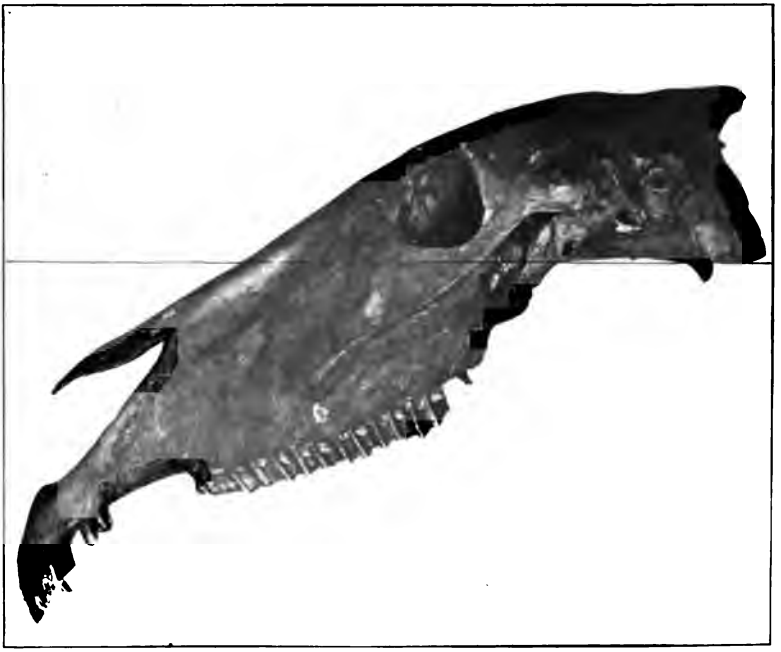
Apparently the Mongols have never succeeded in domesticating pure specimens of Prejvalsky's horse. The specimens in my possession are very suspicious, and they strongly resent attempts made to interfere with their freedom. As a rule, the wild horses are determined, stubborn, and untamable, as well as extremely cautious. When full-grown they are well able to defend themselves from wolves, though they rarely reach a height of 13 hands (52 inches) at the withers.

Dr Salensky, when discussing in 1902 the zoological position of Prejvalsky's horse, asked, 'Had it in the past a wider geographical range than it has to-day?' In reply, he said this and other questions could not yet be answered, for 'we have little actual foundation on which to base the answers.' Having since 1902 had the opportunity of studying the habits, conformation, and skeleton of Prejvalsky's horse, and of comparing it with the drawings, engravings, and carvings found in the Dordogne and other caves, I am satisfied that horses of the Prejvalsky or steppe type had a wide distribution during, and for some time after, the Stone age. The large, narrow-browed skull found at Remagen in the Rhine valley, some of the fragments of skulls from the Palæolithic settlement at Solutré in the Rhone valley, as well as bones found at Westeregeln and in Brunswick, undoubtedly belonged to a horse of the steppe type. The evidence afforded by the skulls is supported by the engravings and carvings by the men of the Solutrian and Reindeer ages. In some of the engravings the position of the eyes at once suggests Prejvalsky's horse—they are near the ears, and far from the nostrils; and a drawing from the La Madeleine cave brings out the more striking points of

FIG. 3.

LATERAL VIEW OF THE SKULL OF A HORSE OF THE FOREST VARIETY.
As in the Elk and Okapi, the face in this variety is short and nearly in a line with the cranium. (From the Roman Fort at Newstead.)

FIG. 4.



LATERAL VIEW OF THE SKULL OF A HORSE OF THE STEPPE TYPE.
In this skull the face, as in sheep and oxen, is strongly bent downwards on the cranium. (From the Roman Fort at Newstead.)

[*To face p.* 557.

the Mongolian wild horse better than any photograph. In this drawing the Palæolithic artist has hit off a very characteristic attitude. The head in its pose is true to life; the outline of the back and hind quarters is surprisingly accurate; and the tail, 'roughened at the root,' seems to me to prove that one of the wild horses in Europe at the end of the Ice age belonged to the same variety as the wild horse now found in the Great Gobi Desert.

The forest variety.—The steppe horse is characterised by a long bent face and long slender limbs; the forest horse, on the other hand, has short stout limbs and a short broad face, almost in a line with the cranium. Until a few years ago the existence of a horse of the forest type had not been recognised. When at Solutré, or in the Rhine valley, or in the vicinity of the Hartz Mountains, fragments of long skulls were found, it was invariably assumed that they belonged to a species with thick coarse legs, because the view has hitherto prevailed that Occidental varieties are characterised by a long narrow head and thick coarse limbs, while Oriental varieties are characterised by a short broad head and long slender limbs. It is, however, only necessary to study the bones in the British Museum from the Essex Pleistocene deposits to perceive that a broad-browed horse with short stout limbs, adapted for a forest life, flourished in the west of Europe at the end of the Tertiary period, or to examine the skeleton of a broad-browed elk-nosed Highland pony, to feel assured that horses of the forest type flourish still. Typical forest forms vary in colour and in their limbs and hoofs; but they agree in having the face nearly in a line with the cranium, and in having the lips, jaws, and teeth adapted for browsing on twigs, leaves, and other soft green food.

In the forest horse the face, in addition to being nearly in a line with the cranium, has the outline of the face concave, except towards the end of the nasals, where, as in the elk, it is distinctly convex. Further, the distance between the orbit and the front (incisor) teeth is relatively less, while the distance between the orbit and the hind portion of the skull is greater, than in the steppe type (see figs. 3, 4). Another important difference is the flatness and greater relative width of the inter-orbital part of the skull. In consequence of these differ-

ences in the skulls, the eyes in the forest horse are far from the ears and relatively near the nostrils, the inner corner of the eye being nearly midway between the nostrils and the top of the head; owing to the eyes being wide apart, the forest horse is 'broad-browed.' In all these respects the modern forest horse resembles the Miocene forest horse *Hypohippus*.

Quite as characteristic as the head are the limbs of the forest variety. In *Hypohippus* the lateral toes helped to prevent it sinking in soft ground. In the modern forest horse, the lateral toes having been reduced to useless vestiges, the hoof of the only toe present (the third) has been greatly expanded, and at the same time the pasterns have been shortened and made more upright. These changes have inevitably led to an increase in the size of the pastern joints, and a widening of the metacarpals and metatarsals. In the forest horse of the Essex Pleistocene the metacarpals are so wide and short that the length is only 5·4 times the width at the centre of the shaft; in Iceland and Highland ponies of the forest type the metacarpals are in length 5·5 times the width of the shaft; in the steppe variety the length of the metacarpals is 7·5 times the width of the shaft.

Forest forms are usually striped or spotted. If they live in dense sunless parts of the forest they may be of a dark colour throughout, like the American Tapir, or have the legs striped like the Okapi; but, if they frequent the more open parts, the body is likely to be striped as well as the legs; while, if they almost invariably move about in long grass, the stripes may be confined to the body, the legs being nearly white. In typical ponies of the forest type the ground colour is dark yellow-dun; and, in addition to a very broad dark dorsal band and to bars on the legs, there are stripes more or less distinct on the face, neck, and shoulders, and on the trunk as far back as the croup. Sometimes there are faint spots on the hind-quarters. The mane, forelock, and tail consist of a great abundance of long wavy hair; at the base of the long dock there is no vestige of a tail-lock. In the forest variety the ears are broad and wide apart; there are six lumbar vertebræ; the outline from the croup to the beginning of the second thigh (gaskin) forms a semicircle, from near the middle of which projects the low-set-on tail; further,

the hocks are not inclined to be close, as in the steppe variety, while the short fore-limbs are decidedly tied-in at the elbow.

In disposition the forest horse differs decidedly from the steppe horse. It is neither suspicious nor stubborn, but, on the other hand, it is timid, and is given to shying; it seems to be ever on the outlook for lurking foes or dangerous swamps, and it hesitates to enter streams which a steppe horse would cross without a moment's hesitation. As in other long-bodied forest forms, it requires a large amount of food; and, partly on this account, partly owing to its conformation, it is not well adapted for covering long distances over dry, arid areas.

At the end of the Ice age the forest horse had probably a wide distribution. It occurred in the south of England; and, to judge by a skull described by Prof. Nehring, it also occurred in Pomerania. From Nehring's description of the diluvial horses, the forest variety seems to have occurred along with the steppe variety in the vicinity of the Hartz Mountains; and it is represented by fragments of broad metacarpals and other limb-bones found at Solutré and elsewhere in the Rhone valley. That horses of the forest type were familiar to the reindeer hunters is made sufficiently evident by some of the engravings recently found in the Combarelles cave.

The plateau variety.—When slender metacarpals occur in deposits along with large bent skulls they are likely to belong to the steppe variety; but when they occur with small, nearly straight narrow skulls, they obviously can neither belong to the steppe nor the forest variety. Hitherto long narrow metapodial bones found in Neolithic and Bronze deposits have generally been supposed to belong to Arab-like horses brought from the East by the Aryans. When, however, it is borne in mind that slender-limbed horses with small heads existed in France during the Pleistocene period, that slender-limbed Arab-like horses have been described from somewhat later deposits (by Prof. Fraas from Württemberg, by Dr Marck from Switzerland, and by Prof. Nehring from Germany), the presumption is that horses with a small narrow head have inhabited Europe without break or interruption since at least the Ice age. The most typical members of the plateau variety occur in outlying more or less isolated

areas of north-western Europe and in the south-western portion of Mexico.

Some of the Icelandic members of the northern race of the plateau variety, e.g. the pony figured above, probably retain all the essential traits of the wild prehistoric ancestors. In Iceland, for centuries, ponies have been living in a semi-wild state, almost uninfluenced by either domestication or artificial selection, with the result that ancestral types which happened to reappear have had a chance of being perpetuated. That some of the Celtic ponies from the north of Iceland are ancestral in appearance is suggested by the fact that—though very different in disposition—they look as primitive, as wild-like, as the wild horse of Mongolia. That some of the Mexican ponies have the characteristics of a primeval race is suggested by the fact that, apart from the coat, they closely resemble the Celtic pony in their external characters, and, more important still, in the skull and limb-bones. In the Equidæ there are several hard portions of skin known as warts or callosities; they seem to be vestiges of sole, wrist, or heel pads, still functional in carnivors, lemurs, and many other mammals. The steppe and forest horses have eight such callosities—one in the centre of each footlock, i.e. one behind each fetlock joint, one above each knee, and one inside each hock; but in the plateau variety only a pad (chestnut) above each knee has persisted, and the four footlock pads (ergots) and the hock pads (hind chestnuts) have disappeared. In having lost the hind chestnuts, horses of the plateau variety agree with asses and zebras, but in having lost the four ergots they differ from all the other recent Equidæ.

The plateau, like the steppe, variety is of a yellow-dun colour with dark points; the striping consists of a narrow dorsal band, and, in some cases, of faint vestiges of bars on the legs. In the southern section the winter coat consists of hair about two inches in length; but in the northern section there is a thick under-coat of fine hair and an outer coat of coarse hair which may reach, over the greater part of the body, a length of five or six inches.

In the Celtic race the mane, very wide at its origin, tends to fall to each side of the neck, and it hangs down over the face as a forelock. As in the zebra, the hair, dark in the centre, is light at each side. The dock is

relatively shorter than in the other varieties; the lower three-fourths carry long straight hair; the upper fourth carries during winter a bunch of hair (tail-lock) which affords a considerable amount of protection during snow-storms. This tail-lock is shed during summer. In the Mexican race the mane is about half as heavy as in Iceland ponies, and there is only a vestige of the tail-lock. In the plateau variety the tail, though not so prominent at its origin as in the steppe horse, is in a line with the croup, and not inserted low down as in the forest horse.

In the number (five) of the lumbar vertebræ, and in the metacarpal and other limb-bones, the plateau closely agrees with the steppe variety; but in its skull and in the vertebræ of the neck and thorax it differs from both steppe and forest varieties. Compared with the forest horse, the skull is very narrow; compared with the steppe horse, the facial part of the skull is short and less bent downwards on the cranium. The most typical skulls belonging to horses of the plateau type hitherto met with were obtained during the recent explorations of the Roman fort at Newstead. One of these skulls belonged to a horse measuring 12 hands at the withers, the other to a horse measuring about 14 hands. The small skull, without doubt, belonged to a native British pony; the large one, being finer in build than skulls of modern Arabs, may have been a primitive member of Prof. Ridgeway's North-African variety.

Of perhaps more interest than the skull is the length of the neck and thorax (chest) in the plateau variety. In some ungulates, e.g. the giraffe, the neck is very long; in others, e.g. the elephant, though made up of the same number of vertebræ (seven), it is very short. In horses the neck, though always consisting of seven vertebræ, varies considerably. It is short in the browsing forest horse and in the long-headed steppe horse, but long in plateau horses. The elongation of the thorax, like the elongation of the neck, is due to an increase in the length of the vertebræ. Other noteworthy points in the plateau type are the small narrow ears, large full eyes, fine muzzle, and the small and usually rounded hoofs. Members of the plateau variety are highly intelligent and amiable; they have no instinctive fear of man, and yet are courageous and high-spirited. One of

the Palæolithic drawings represents the head of a horse of the plateau type wearing what seems to be a halter. This indicates that small-headed horses were familiar to men of the Reindeer age, and were in all probability amongst the first to undergo domestication.

The view arrived at in 1902—that at least three distinct types of horses still exist—is supported by skulls and limb-bones recently discovered during the excavations of the Roman fort at Newstead. This fort was for a time garrisoned by a Gaulish cavalry regiment originally raised between the Rhone and the Alps; and during the first or second centuries A.D. *alæ* or *cohortes equitatæ* from other parts of Gaul, as well as from Spain, Germany, and the Low Countries, were in garrison near the Scottish border. As the Gauls and nearly all the nations of Central and western Europe, with the exception of the Germans, had long been importing foreign horses from the south of Europe, i.e. (according to Prof. Ridgeway) pure or nearly pure North-African horses, it may be taken for granted that representatives of the more important European breeds, as well as the unimproved 'bad and ugly' horses of the Germans, may have found their way to Newstead about the end of the first or during the second century. Of the skulls found at Newstead some belong to the plateau type; others (which probably belonged to 'bad and ugly' German horses) have the face longer and more bent downwards than in some of the wild horses of the steppe type from Mongolia; while others would fit our largest broad-faced elk-nosed Highland ponies.

Evidence having been submitted in support of the view that three distinct varieties or species still survive, the question may now be asked, What part have the steppe, forest, and plateau varieties taken in the formation of modern breeds?

In Prof. Ridgeway's work, 'The Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse,' there is a long chapter on horses during prehistoric and historic times which, for scholarship and painstaking research in widely different fields, surpasses anything that has hitherto appeared in English works dealing with the Equidæ. Having reviewed all the chief breeds of horses, Prof. Ridgeway

arrives at the following among other conclusions: (1) that the horses of Upper Europe and Upper Asia were always dun or white, the vast majority of them being thick-set, slow animals, the minority consisting of the lighter built and more elegant 'Celtic' pony of North-West Europe; (2) that the coarse, thick-set horses of Upper Europe and Upper Asia have continually made their way into the regions south of the great mountain chain which crosses the Asiatic-European continent (p. 422); (3) that the horse has everywhere been driven under chariots before he was ridden, in most cases because he was too small to ride; (4) that, by the blending in various degrees of the coarse thick-set dun and white horses of Europe and Asia with a fleet bay variety from North Africa, all the improved breeds of the world have been produced as well as the various shades of grey, rufous-grey, skewbalds, piebalds, chestnut, and black (p. 423).

Prof. Ridgeway recognises the existence of four kinds of horses, viz. (1) *E. caballus*, (2) *E. c. celticus*, (3) *E. c. libycus*, and (4) *E. prejvalskii*. He says it is 'not unlikely the ordinary *E. caballus* of Europe and Asia and the Prejvalsky horse have sprung from a common ancestor, or, what is less likely, that the former has developed out of the latter' (p. 425). From this it may, I think, be inferred that Prof. Ridgeway holds that *E. caballus* closely agrees with *E. prejvalskii*, i.e. that both are coarse, large-headed, short-necked, thick-set, and slow. The recent exhaustive examination of a series of horse skeletons and of the skulls from the Newstead fort has made it clear that, while some domestic horses in their skull resemble, others profoundly differ from, *E. prejvalskii*. In the forest variety the head is neither large nor coarse, while in the steppe variety the limbs are unusually slender and the body the reverse of thick-set. Hence it follows that, in considering the origin of the modern breeds, one must bear in mind that certainly in Europe, and probably also in Asia, there have been since Pleistocene times (1) a short-faced, broad-browed form with short strong legs, and (2) a long-faced, narrow-browed form with slender limbs. Prof. Ridgeway assumes that the Celtic pony, being limited to the North-West of Europe, took little or no part in improving modern breeds. Undoubtedly the Celtic pony and the Libyan

horse are recent offshoots from the same stock, which in all probability originally reached the south of Europe from Central Asia. As previously stated, there is evidence of the existence of a small horse of the plateau type in Neolithic times in Prussia and Württemberg as well as in England. Moreover, it is possible that a member of the plateau type occurred in olden times in India. In the Rig-Veda it is said the ancient Indian horses had only seventeen pairs of ribs. In a skeleton of a Hebridean pony of the plateau type which I had recently set up, there are only seventeen pairs of ribs—a fact which seems to support the view that horses with a small head and slender limbs ranged, during prehistoric times, from England to India.

The horse, Prof. Ridgeway tells us, was known in Peloponnesus about B.C. 1350; but down to the beginning of the present era only two of the numerous references to horses specially call for attention. The one is the often quoted description by Herodotus of the horses of the Sigynnæ (a barbarian tribe north of the Danube), the other is Cæsar's description of the horses of the Germans. Herodotus says that the Sigynnæ 'had horses with shaggy hair five fingers long all over their bodies, they were small and flat-nosed and incapable of carrying men, but when yoked under a chariot were very swift, in consequence of which the natives drove in chariots.'

Prof. Ridgeway arrives at the conclusion that the horses of the Sigynnæ belonged to the large-headed variety. He says that Herodotus' 'description of the appearance of the little horses of the Sigynnæ of Central Europe agrees very well with the skeletons found near Mâcon; the simous shape of the head tallies well with the ugly-shaped skull and powerful jaws of the bone deposits' (p. 94). He further states that in the horses of the Sigynnæ 'we can hardly believe that we have horses such as those whose bits have been found in the later Lake-dwellings of Switzerland' (ibid.). Elsewhere he says that the horses of the Danube in the time of Herodotus were little, large-headed, and shaggy, like the small ugly breed of horses possessed by the tribes of Germany in the time of Julius Cæsar, i.e. the old small European horse with a big head (p. 113).

From recent enquiries, and more especially from an

examination of the skulls from Newstead, it is evident that, in considering the horses of the Sigynnæ (i.e. of Central Europe in the fifth century B.C.), it is not, as Prof. Ridgeway assumes, a question of choosing between the small horse of the Lake-dwellers and an ugly big-headed, thick-set, slow-moving animal, but between three varieties, viz. the steppe, forest, and plateau varieties. The steppe variety must be eliminated; for in winter the coat is not shaggy in the adult, and the nose, instead of being flat,* is invariably arched, i.e. belongs to the 'Roman' type. Nor could the description of Herodotus very well apply to specimens of the broad-headed (forest) type, for the individuals composing it are not characterised by fleetness. The horses of the Sigynnæ must therefore be more or less pure specimens of either the Celtic or of Ridgeway's Libyan variety, or belong to a variety not yet identified.

If, as is probable, Herodotus was familiar with long-headed, Roman-nosed breeds, he would be especially struck with the flatness of the face in the horses beyond the Danube. Fleet flat-nosed ponies with a short, broad head, short legs and a long body (i.e. ponies consisting partly of Celtic and partly of forest blood) are common in the Faroe Islands. Such horses, being stouter than the pure Celtic ponies, would have been strong enough to drag war-chariots, with the additional advantage of being infinitely more active than pure members of the forest variety and more tractable than horses of the Roman-nosed Prejvalsky type.

In support of the view that the horses of the Sigynnæ were what Herodotus described them, i.e. flat-nosed, and not (as Prof. Ridgeway maintains) characterised by large coarse heads, it may be mentioned that in Finland, Norway, and Iceland, as well as in the Faroe Islands, flat-nosed horses are still common. Nearly all the fjord horses of Norway are flat-nosed. Mr Marshall, who has

* Flat-nosed means to naturalists that the outline from the level of the eyebrows to near the nostrils is more or less concave; hence flat-nosed (simous) is the opposite of Roman-nosed, which, in the case of the horse, implies that the outline from above the level of the eyes to between the nostrils is more or less convex. The name 'simia' was applied by Linnæus to apes and monkeys, because as a rule they are simous, i.e. flat-nosed or snub-nosed.

made a special study of this type, says, 'So far as I have observed, Celtic characters predominate in all the existing fjord horses'; and he states that the Nordlands pony—an old race now said to be extinct—was probably purely Celtic in its characters, and not (as Prof. Ridgeway says) a small horse of the heavy type.* As, at the present day, only about 10 per cent. of the unimproved horses of Iceland have a cross of the coarse-headed Prejvalsky type,† it is extremely unlikely that this type predominated in Central Europe in the time of Herodotus.

It may hence, I think, be affirmed that the horses of the Sigynnæ did not belong to a big-headed, thick-set, slow variety; and, as it is not suggested that they were of Libyan origin—'the shaggy hair five fingers long' precludes this—there is apparently no escape from the conclusion that they were either Celtic ponies pure and simple, or a blend of the Celtic and forest varieties.

This implies that the fleet horses of the Sigynnæ were intimately related to, if not identical with, the small horses which the ancient Britons yoked to their war-chariots. These British horses Prof. Ridgeway regards as members of the Celtic variety which I described in 1902. That this is the case has been proved by the skulls so opportunely discovered in the Roman fort at Newstead. One of these skulls is almost identical with the skull of a 12-hands Hebridean pony of the Celtic type, and in its measurements it only differs from a Newstead skull which belonged to a 14-hands horse of the plateau type‡ in having a somewhat larger cranium. Prof. Ridgeway thought that even in Cæsar's time Celtic ponies were 'more or less mixed with the long-headed *E. caballus* of Europe and Asia' (p. 352). That British ponies were mixed at an early period the specimens from Walthamstow amply prove; but it by no means follows that they

* Marshall, 'The Horse in Norway' (Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh).

† The coarse-headed ponies probably reached Iceland from Ireland by way of the Hebrides.

‡ The skull of the 14-hands Newstead horse would exactly fit one of the small-headed yellow-dun horses I came across in Mexico. As it is finer in make than any Arab skull I have seen, and as it closely agrees with the small Newstead skull of the Celtic type, it probably belonged to a pure member of what I have called the plateau variety. As likely as not, the horse to which this fine skull belonged came from North Africa.

had been crossed by a long-headed variety, for the small British Newstead skull undoubtedly belonged to a Celtic pony saturated with forest blood.

The 'bad and ugly' German horses to which Cæsar refers evidently belonged to a very different type from the British ponies. Some of the skulls from Newstead are almost identical with the skull of a typical Prejvalsky's horse—a horse which, above all others, deserves the epithets 'bad and ugly.' These large skulls, in which the face is long and deflected, may very well have belonged to horses brought from the Rhine valley by German auxiliaries stationed within easy reach of Newstead. Newstead has also produced very broad, short skulls of the forest type, which probably belonged to short-legged, round-quartered horses, such as one sees represented on Roman tombstones in the Bonn Museum and at Cologne.

Enough has, I think, been said to show (1) that Europe in historic as in prehistoric times had three distinct varieties of horses, and (2) that it would not be quite accurate to describe any one of these varieties as coarse, thickset, and slow; for, though the steppe variety has a coarse head, the limbs are unusually slender, while the forest variety, though thickset and slow, and provided with strong limbs and broad hoofs, has a short broad head with the face dished and in a line with the cranium.

According to Prof. Ridgeway all the improved breeds of the world have resulted from the blending, in varying degrees, of a fleet bay horse, evolved in North Africa, with a large-headed coarse variety of Upper Europe and Upper Asia. If, however, Europe and Asia had three distinct varieties in prehistoric times, the origin of the modern improved breeds is not so simple as Prof. Ridgeway assumes. It is possible that fleet varieties were evolved on the plains of Europe or Asia long before horses of the Libyan type were imported from North Africa; and it is certain that the horses of the forest and Celtic, as well as of the steppe type, have played an important part in the formation of some of the most important modern breeds. But, though Europe or Asia may have produced fleet varieties like the pre-Achean 'swift steed of Adrastus that sprung from the gods,' and the long-maned dun horses of Achilles, and the white horses of Thrace that

were as swift as the winds, it is extremely probable that neither in Europe nor Asia were the conditions in prehistoric times so favourable as in North Africa for the evolution of a fleet variety adapted like the *Neohipparion* of Miocene times for a free life on boundless plains. It is also probable that, though without this fleet North-African variety docile breeds with fine heads and slender limbs would have been formed in both Europe and Asia, we should, but for Prof. Ridgeway's *E. c. libycus*, neither have had the desert Arab nor the English thoroughbred.

In preglacial times there were horses in northern Africa allied to, if not identical with, species which ranged from the Siwalik hills of India to England. During the Ice age there were land-bridges between Europe and North Africa. One result of this was that during interglacial periods it was possible for African forms to migrate into Europe, while during periods of intense cold European forms were able to reach northern Africa. While the land connexions persisted, it would have been possible for the various kinds of horses (i.e. horses of the steppe, forest, and plateau varieties) living in the south of Europe to reach northern Africa and mingle perhaps with the descendants of preglacial species.

These varieties, though well-nigh isolated, would probably remain distinct so long as they retained their freedom. The horses most likely to flourish on the Libyan plateaux would obviously not be horses of the bulky, coarse-feeding forest type, or of the slow, heavy-headed steppe type, but horses of the active, lightly-built plateau type. In course of time the plateau variety would adapt itself to the new environment, just as Celtic ponies from Iceland adapt themselves to the milder conditions of Britain. The coat would be modified, the limbs lengthened (which implies a corresponding lengthening of the neck), the hoofs hardened, and all the more striking traits of the yellow-dun horses with a fine head and slender limbs now met with in Mexico would be gradually acquired. When in course of time the tribes of North Africa set about domesticating the horse—granted several varieties were still available—they would almost certainly, at the outset, select a fleet, slender-limbed variety in preference to either the short-necked, broad-hoofed, forest type, or the intractable mule-like steppe variety.

Horses resembling the northern (Celtic) section of the plateau variety still exist in Europe; but horses resembling the southern section of this variety have not yet been met with, either in Africa or Asia. We know that the horses of the Libyans were fleet, small, and slender, and extremely docile; but about their colour, make, and origin, it must be admitted that nothing is certain. Prof. Ridgeway has arrived at the conclusion that the immediate ancestors of his Libyan variety were richly striped, that, as in South Africa, a profusely-decorated zebra gave rise to the imperfectly banded quagga, a richly-striped species in North Africa eventually gave rise to a bay horse which, though in itself all but devoid of stripes, because of its ancestry, readily produced striped cross-bred offspring. This bay Libyan horse, according to Prof. Ridgeway, was especially characterised by a small head and a high-set-on tail, by a star on the forehead, and 'white stockings,' and by the complete, or all but complete, absence of ergots and hind-chestnuts.

It is doubtless conceivable that the Libyan horse was evolved from a zebra-like species long isolated north of the Sahara; but of this there is no evidence. A study of Mexican horses seems to indicate that Prof. Ridgeway's Libyan horse has descended from a yellow-dun variety which had probably all but lost the striped coat of its remote forest-haunting ancestors before it reached northern Africa. It is, of course, possible that under the influence of the African environment a bay or brown colour was, as Prof. Ridgeway assumes, gradually acquired. But that previous to domestication the Libyan variety was characterised by a star on the forehead and by white stockings is extremely unlikely.

In the original Libyan horse it is assumed that the ergots and hind-chestnuts were very small or absent. Little evidence in support of this view is supplied by the modern horses of North Africa, but it is amply proved by the absence of ergots and hind-chestnuts from Mexican horses. Prof. Ridgeway's Libyan variety is also said to be characterised by the high-set-on of the tail. The high-set-on tail, so characteristic of Arabs, may be a product of artificial selection; but, as a high-set-on tail is often met with in shire and other coarse breeds, it is possible that Arabs owe the position of the tail to steppe

ancestors.* In the forest variety the tail looks as if it had been an afterthought, as if it had been inserted at the centre of the half-circle formed by the hind-quarters. In the Celtic variety the tail is in a line with the vertebral column, but its root is somewhat below the level of the croup; i.e. it is set-on somewhat low. In the case of the steppe variety, however, the croup is usually nearly level; and the tail—obviously a continuation of the backbone—is sometimes nearly as high as the highest part of the croup. While the croup is level and the tail is set-on high in many Arabs, the tail in Barbs is often set-on considerably below the level of the croup which frequently droops. Hence further investigations may show that in the horse of the ancient Libyans the tail was set-on, as in the Celtic pony, somewhat below the level of the croup, and that the high-set-on tail associated with certain Arab strains, if not an inheritance from Asiatic steppe-like ancestors, is a product of artificial selection.

Given in prehistoric times a small North-African horse which only differed from the Celtic variety by having a bay coat, relatively longer limbs, a longer neck, more oblique shoulders, and narrower hoofs, i.e. a horse adapted for a somewhat trying life on a more or less arid plateau—given a variety of this kind—the question may be asked, What part has it played in improving the indigenous horses of Europe and Asia? Has it been, as Prof. Ridgeway asserts, to the blending of this fine North-African variety with a coarse, large-headed, slow-moving European-Asiatic variety that we owe all the improved breeds of horses now living? and is it because of this blending that, in addition to dun and white horses, we have now various shades of grey, rufous-grey, roan, skewbald, piebald, chestnut, brown, and black?

The view that the improved breeds have resulted from the blending of a fine bay African variety with a coarse, thick-set, European-Asiatic variety of a dun or white colour is partly founded on the assumption that stripes and a dark colour are in all cases mainly due to an infusion of Libyan blood. This implies that, but for the Libyan variety, the majority of the horses of Europe

* This view is supported by a hybrid obtained two years ago by crossing a round-quartered Hebridean pony with a Prejvalsky stallion.

and Asia would still be of a dun or white colour. It is quite true that by blending horses of a bay, yellow-dun, and white colour, it is possible to obtain horses of a black, brown, chestnut, roan, and grey colour. But, as experiments extending over a number of years have demonstrated, it is possible, by crossing light yellow-dun Celtic ponies with dark yellow-dun forest horses, to obtain bays and chestnuts.* The blending of bays and chestnuts thus obtained with pure yellow-duns may at once result in black and white varieties which, by further crossing, yield greys and roans. I therefore venture to think that the horses of Asia and Europe would have varied greatly in colour without the infusion of bay blood from North Africa.

The presence of stripes seems to me to afford evidence of forest, not of Libyan blood. Mexican horses with stripes are almost invariably built on the lines of the forest type, while in horses with a small narrow head, slender limbs, and a short body (i.e. horses of the plateau type), the only indication of a striped coat may be an indistinct narrow dorsal band. The dun-coloured fjord horses of Norway agree in this respect with the Mexican horses, the nearer they approach the forest type, the richer the striping; the nearer they approach the Celtic type, the fewer and less distinct the zebra-like markings.

By way of indicating how the 'improved breeds of the world' may have originated, it will be sufficient to refer to cart-horses and to the English thoroughbred. Prof. Ridgeway says 'our best English breeds of cart-horses owe their excellence to the North-African horse' (p. 373). The view that English cart-horses are genetically related to a North-African variety is in part based on the assumption 'that the black breeds of the world are the result of mixing African blood with that of the horses of Europe and Asia' (p. 369). In the dark coat, together with the 'star' on the forehead and 'white stockings,' we have, according to Prof. Ridgeway, 'clear proof of that North-African blood which began to be infused into the horses of north-western Europe from about the second century B.C.' (p. 368). The evidence afforded by colour

* 'Coat Colour in Horses,' by J. C. Ewart. Communicated to the Royal Society, Edinburgh, February 1907.

is not conclusive. Dark and light varieties, not uncommon amongst wild forms, frequently make their appearance amongst domestic forms; and, once having appeared, perhaps as the result of intercrossing, there is always a chance that, by artificial if not by natural selection, they will be perpetuated.

For the comparative study of domestic animals, there is little material available. There is, however, in the special collection of domestic animals in process of formation in the British Museum material for the study of shire and thoroughbred horses. By careful measurements I find that the skull of the shire 'Starlight,' though very much larger, is almost identical with the skull of a three and a half year old Prejvalsky horse from Mongolia, and with a strongly-bent skull from the Roman fort at Newstead; in no single point does the shire skull suggest a horse of the plateau type. But, while shires have a skull of the steppe type, the limbs are built on the lines of the forest type. In a typical shire the metacarpal bone is in length 5·4 times the width at the middle of the shaft; it thus agrees with that of a typical forest horse. As the other limb-bones and the vertebræ have the characters of either the forest or the steppe variety, it may be said a study of the skeleton of a shire horse confirms the conclusion arrived at by a study of the callosities and other external structures, viz. that a typical shire horse is a blend of the steppe and forest varieties.

One of the most successful sires in the thoroughbred stud-book is 'Stockwell.' From the drawing of this race-horse by Harry Hall,* it is evident that 'Stockwell' is a blend of several varieties. The forehead is prominent and the eyes are near the ears, but far from the nostrils, as in the steppe type, while the neck and limbs are long and fine as in the plateau type. From an examination of the skull in the British Museum it is at once evident that the face is even more bent downwards on the cranium than in the shire 'Starlight'; and, when measurements are made, it becomes evident that the face was relatively as long as in 'Starlight.' It hence follows that, in its skull, 'Stockwell,' while differing decidedly from the plateau or Libyan type, closely approximates to

* 'The Horses of the British Empire.'

the steppe or Prejvalsky type. In the vertebræ of the neck and trunk 'Stockwell' belongs to the plateau type. In Harry Hall's drawing the body is very long; nevertheless there were only five lumbar vertebræ; the great length was therefore not inherited from forest, but from plateau (Libyan) ancestors. In 'Stockwell' the metacarpals are long and narrow; instead of being in length 5·4 times, they are 7·3 times the width of the shaft, and the terminal phalanx (coffin bone) is narrow, 93 mm. instead of 140 mm. as in a typical shire horse. 'Stockwell' has, like 'Starlight,' a skull of the steppe type; but, instead of having thick coarse legs, he has the limbs, as well as the neck and thorax, of the plateau type. In many respects unlike 'Stockwell' is the thoroughbred 'Melbourne,' who, though 16 hands high, with immensely powerful shoulders and quarters, had 'a very neat head, a short neck, and a long back.' Unfortunately the skull of 'Melbourne' has not been preserved; but, from the information available, he seems to have been a blend of plateau and forest blood.

It may hence be said that a study of the conformation and skeleton of shires and thoroughbreds supports the view that the improved breeds are not merely a blend in varying degrees of a fine bay horse from North Africa and a coarse thick-set slow horse of Europe and Asia, but in some cases a blend of three or more distinct types, including the steppe and forest varieties, and the northern or southern section of the plateau variety.

J. C. Ewart.

Art. XIV.—THE PROSPECTS OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT IN RUSSIA.

THAT there is no salvation for Russia without a democratic Parliament and a Cabinet responsible to the peoples' representatives, and that a governing Duma will right the nation's wrongs and inaugurate an era of material prosperity, is an axiom accepted by almost every newspaper-reader on the globe. Everybody thinks himself familiar with the ills that infect the body-politic of Russia; and everybody is therefore curious to see whether the infallible remedy, which is so simple and obvious, will be applied in time to ward off the catastrophe. Yet Russians themselves behave as though they had no knowledge of this panacea or lacked faith in its efficacy. Some of them are clamouring for a republic; others demand a socialist State; many are working for anarchy; while a large number yearn for the old régime and the good things that came in its train.

Last summer few Russians put any trust in M. Stolypin's promise that a second Duma would assemble on the 5th March, and that a series of Reform Bills would be laid before it. The elaborate preparations made for the meeting of the second Parliament were set down as a hollow mockery; and the present Prime Minister was dubbed a mealy-mouthed shuffler. This theory was disseminated with such perseverance and supported by means of such plausible fiction that only critical minds could shake it off. Before the elections were over, however, it became evident, even to the simple-minded, that the Tsar's Ministers were playing fair. Had they, then, been calumniated by the patriots? By no means. The righteously indignant journalists informed their readers that certain foreign States, France in particular, had made it clear to the Stolypin Cabinet that, if the Duma were dissolved, Russia's financial condition would become unbearable. The Tsar's Government had been frightened into fair play. And now the Russian public, knowing its catechism by heart, is aware that the second Duma would have already fallen a victim to an infamous Government had it not been for the enlightened sympathy and timely support of republican France. That being the current

theory in Russia, is it to be wondered at that the general public in Central and Western Europe still shrugs its shoulders scornfully at the mention of M. Stolypin and his colleagues, to whose tender mercies the Tsar has delivered over his people?

Every competent observer approaching the subject in a fair spirit will probably see that, however estimable the personal character and however statesmanlike the political designs of M. Stolypin were, he gave his enemies a convenient handle against the Government and a strong argument against the régime by adopting a plan of campaign with two fronts. This may have been a necessity, in which case it is his misfortune, not his fault. Against the reactionaries he was leagued with the Liberals; against the revolutionists he relied upon the army; and, like all persons who have to struggle against two opposing tendencies, he went too far now in this direction now in that. Thus, during the period which began with the dissolution of the first Duma last summer and ended with the opening session of the present Parliament in March, his line of action, as marked by repressive measures, and his line of thought, as indicated by liberal promises, far from running parallel, were at right angles to each other. His utterances were uniformly conciliatory and his acts were nearly always provocative. The promises he made were constitutional and reassuring, and the circulars he issued were arbitrary and irritating. He undertook to let the population choose its own representatives freely, but his subsequent action justified the assumption that his definition of freedom was inadequate; for he disqualified as candidates 180 of the obnoxious deputies of the first Parliament, and he disfranchised as voters many categories of peasants and labouring men whose sympathies were revolutionary. Yet he went about the uncongenial task in a clumsy, ineffectual way, drawing a sharp line at downright illegality.

In this work of weeding out, Russian bureaucrats are inexperienced. To 'fudge the ballot-box' is an electoral manœuvre the intricacies of which they have yet to learn. Hence the means taken by M. Stolypin to compass his end were petty, circuitous, unavailing. He eliminated really good men whose presence would have been helpful to the cause of law and order, such men as Prof. Kovaleffsky,

who was excluded on a technical issue; and he opened wide the Duma portals to professional revolutionists. Members of secret and public organisations, who scoff at the milk-and-water methods of a legislative Chamber and believe in blood and fire as means of regenerating the nation, were elected to the Duma and welcomed by the people. Then the Premier arbitrarily divided the political parties into legal and illegal, the former being privileged because they were expected to vote with the Government, and the latter unprivileged because they were not. Civil servants were forbidden to belong to the illegal parties, although, the ballot being secret, they could not be kept from voting for them. Now it may be that those were all measures which the Cabinet had a formal right to adopt; but they certainly did not favour the theory of free elections, and, what is more to the point, while discrediting the Government and embittering the people, they defeated the object for which they were taken.

Nor was this all. M. Stolypin, or his coadjutor, M. Kryshanoffsky, went much further. Recognising the fact that the electoral law was a two-edged sword, they naturally sought to clutch the handle which their enemies were holding. Some officials were for repealing the statute and drawing up another on narrower lines; for the Act had originally been framed with a view to giving the peasantry a decisive part in the elections, on the assumption that the tillers of the soil must necessarily be the staunchest supporters of the altar and the throne. In the meantime, however, that belief had been exploded. The *mooshiks* in the first Duma had proved as revolutionary as any other element except the workmen; and now the authorities would have been delighted to undo what it had done for them—to disfranchise several categories of voters, deprive the peasantry of a part of their influence, and invest the landed proprietors with a larger share. But, unluckily, their hands were tied; the electoral law cannot be modified without the consent of the Duma. This barrier, although raised with the sanction of the Tsar, the bureaucrats would have cleared at a bound. But their intention remained a pious desire owing mainly to the steady refusal of the Premier to break the bounds of legality, which he considered it his duty to respect; and between violating that guarantee

and executing it there seemed no third course, for, conformably with the solemn promise given by the Tsar, neither that particular statute nor any of the fundamental laws may be modified without the Duma's express consent. In this matter, then, where to stretch a point would perhaps have been to score a brilliant victory, M. Stolypin was inexorable; and his self-abnegation merits ungrudging praise.

But he tried immediately afterwards to effect by hook what was impossible by crook; he contrived to rule out several classes of indocile voters in a roundabout way; and, while respecting the letter, he violated the spirit of the Tsar's promise. The expedient looks like one of those petty subterfuges to which politicians have recourse in everyday life, and which reveal the meannesses of the human mind. The Government drew up a list of desirable changes in the electoral law; and the Senate, which is the highest court of appeal in the Empire, effected them noiselessly. A number of senators were officially asked to clear up certain doubtful points that might arise in interpreting the law; and, as their answers were invariably restrictive in tendency and obligatory in character, they differed little from new statutes. Friends of the Government have sought to show that even here M. Stolypin had formal right on his side; and in respect of some of the questions referred to the Senate, the contention may be upheld. But it has been reluctantly admitted, even by political supporters of the Government, that in at least two cases the Senate's interpretation was opposed to the terms as well as to the spirit of the law. And this admission casts a slur on the consistency, although not the good faith, of the Premier.

Against M. Stolypin's policy much worse things have been said with equal reason, even by his fellow-workers. For instance, he has been frequently accused of worshipping God, so to say, and lighting a candle to the devil, of severing a branch of an evil and pouring water on its roots. Thus, having proclaimed freedom of elections, and therefore of electioneering agitation, he nevertheless allowed martial law to supersede the maxims of jurisprudence and to take away the elementary rights of the citizen. A voter, a candidate, anybody in fact, was liable, in virtue of that summary code, to be arrested

or sent out of the district without rhyme or reason, delay or appeal, the will of the provincial governor sufficing. And this was done in the name of order and for the purpose of putting an end to incipient rebellion and growing anarchy. The first duty of a government, it was argued, whatever its political programme, is to ensure respect for law and to maintain public peace. That is true; but the strength of the principle lies in the universality of its application. There must be no islands of anarchy in a pacific ocean of order. M. Stolypin, however, tolerated, and still tolerates, a whole archipelago.

His guiding motive is not sympathy with this party or antipathy for that; he cares only for the good of the community. It is opportunism pure and simple, that unalloyed opportunism which, in latter-day Russia, is subversive of authority. Some of his colleagues, for instance the Minister of Public Instruction and the Minister of Commerce, truckle to the students of various high schools who ostentatiously defy the Government, openly insult the monarch, and perseveringly plot against the régime. Crimes perpetrated within the walls of educational establishments are minimised, condoned, or glorified, like the offences committed by the gods and goddesses of Olympus. *Quod licet Jovi non licet bovi.* In those sanctuaries of 'science,' revolutionists may hold public meetings and secret sittings, plotting against the State in a State building and at the public expense. It is become one of the privileges of their caste. That is an island on the left. On the extreme right a similar kind of indulgence is practised. The reactionary League of the Russian People, whose principal aim is to put back the clock of time and recall the halcyon days of the autocracy, was allowed a degree of liberty which even a Talmudist could hardly distinguish from licence.

This bowing to the right and genuflecting to the left on the part of an administrator professing to abhor all acceptation of parties is more characteristic of the hero of a comic opera than the head of an Imperial Government. An extreme case is fairly described in one of the Moscow reactionary journals as follows: 'Two offenders are in their prison cells. One of them having just been elected to the Duma, the Governor of the province hastens to release him, and most respectfully enquires, "To what

party do you belong?" "I am a bombist." "Very well, here is the money for your travelling expenses. I wish you Godspeed and thorough success."' This equilibristic policy may succeed for a while and enable M. Stolypin to steer clear of dangers to himself and his Cabinet, but the destinies of a great nation cannot fitly be made dependent upon the outcome of such petty makeshifts. It saps the throne, the altar, and the Duma, and puts nothing in their places. It is a policy which only gross flatterers or sarcastic critics of the Premier term Machiavellian.

But Russian politics are even more bewilderingly entangled than might be inferred from the foregoing outline. The wheels within wheels are countless. Even the Prime Minister has to choose his words and shape his acts in accordance with a set of considerations among which awe of certain extremists, zeal for the public good, and indulgence for the parties on whose support he relies for parliamentary results, are but a few. He has also to reckon with the reactionary tendencies of the Court party, with the sensibilities of the Crown, and with the unsolicited and often mistaken advice of candid and importunate friends of Russia among foreign nations. With such a variety of obstacles a statesmanlike policy would be the result of a miracle or a fluke. Hence, in the Minister's occasional successes, chance plays a part more considerable than calculation.

It is on record that several times in the course of his half-year's tenure of office M. Stolypin made urgent proposals to the Crown in favour of a line of action which he honestly believed indispensable to the weal of the community. When his suggestions were categorically rejected, though on grounds which the Premier deemed inadequate, he withdrew them with a good grace. It is clear then that, whatever general policy, whatever particular projects, M. Stolypin may wish to carry out, he never feels at liberty to consider them solely on their merits. Like certain poets of the Renaissance, who undertook to compose verses without employing certain letters of the alphabet, he has to govern the Empire with a limited use of a limited number of means, any of which is liable to be set aside on grounds that are admittedly irrelevant. Under such conditions it would be unfair to expect a firm, rounded policy which, restoring law and

order, will engraft constitutional institutions on the Russian nation. Fitfulness must still characterise the acts of the Government; uncertainty will remain the keynote of the situation; unforeseen incidents will continue to shape the policy.

What the Russian press emphasised and the people grasped in all this was the conflicting character of M. Stolypin's policy; and, as it was open to two explanations, they naturally refused the Minister the benefit of the doubt. Quite naturally; for in Russia the representative of the Government is, to the bulk of the nation, what the devil was to medieval Christians. Every stick is good enough to beat him with; all means, however criminal, are permissible if they help to upset his power. Consequently the belief took root that the Cabinet was resolved to destroy with its right hand what it was fashioning with its left. Behind the scaffolding where political builders were at work the Government was really erecting a vast barracks in lieu of a permanent parliament house. Such being the gloomy foreboding, surprise was naturally great when a series of significant facts belied it. The unexpected was again happening; and this time it was a pleasant surprise. The autocracy then had really disappeared, and the millennium was at hand. From one extreme people rushed into the other, in both cases irrationally. A little encouragement, a slight pretext, was all that they needed. Before the deputies arrived in St Petersburg the outlook had been black and dismal. Once they had come together, spoken, voted, and behaved themselves in European fashion, the world's verdict was not merely quashed, it was reversed, and what had been black became white in a twinkling. And yet the premisses from which the public drew these conclusions were but episodes too slight to serve as the basis for such weighty inferences.

Take for instance the opening of the Duma. It was characterised by an utter absence of pageantry, a minimum of ceremony, and a noteworthy falling-off of public interest. The monarch kept away from the Tavrida Palace; and the people refrained from gathering in the streets. In one thoroughfare only, hard by the Parliament House, there was a throng of socialists, revolutionists, unemployed working-men, and hooligans; and

from their midst came shouts of 'hangmen, murderers, scoundrels, blood-suckers, cannibals,' as Ministers or Conservatives went by. It was a detachment of the proletarian army, containing a sprinkling of individuals with blotched faces, bloodshot eyes, heads which Lombroso would have photographed for his album of degenerates, mostly unkempt, unwashed, embittered creatures, who had emerged from the depths to watch the beginning of a social upheaval. On the return of the revolutionary deputies, splutters of enthusiasm broke out in various places. The dwarfed figure of a socialist member, for instance, was lifted high above the level of the crowd, his pale pinched features now rising now falling on the crest of the human wave—an idol of the moment, a symbol of the new order of things. 'And after a fiery speech he was solemnly borne away,' says an eye-witness, 'as a miracle-working image is borne aloft in religious processions.' Other human symbols—mostly socialists—were also devoutly carried away, under the shadow of red flags and kerchiefs, to the accompaniment of revolutionary songs chanted by mutinous schoolboys and nominal students. Speeches too were delivered in many tones and strange accents, the gist of them all being that the Duma had come to usher in a new order of things, and that its deputies rely upon the people, who must therefore unite, discuss, arm, and be ready to defend them. In one part of the street an officer was being roughly maltreated by students and working-men. Freeing his hand he drew his sabre and brandished it high above the heads of his assailants. The mounted gendarmes, catching sight of this military man who appeared to be in danger, cantered forward, whereupon the surging throng dashed against the houses, burst open the gates, and took refuge in the courtyard of a German church.* The troops were hissed; the mounted police were greeted with the words, 'murderers, hangmen'; and almost every recognised servant of the Government was treated as a public enemy. These introductory scenes were significant.

Inside the Tavrida Palace proceedings were orderly and ominous. At the very outset the sheep and the goats were separated. From the 'Te Deum' which was chanted

* 'Novoye Vremya,' March 7, 1900.

by the bishops the members of the Opposition kept away. 'They honour neither God nor the Tsar,' was the comment of their adversaries. They ought perhaps to have added, 'in public.' When the monarch's greeting was being read in his own words by his Secretary of State, only the Conservative deputies rose to their feet, all the others remaining seated, although this mark of respect has been universal in Russia for centuries. At the end of the words of the Imperial welcome a member of the Right cried, 'Long live the Emperor!' and in response a loud 'hurrah' was uttered by the members of the Conservative and Moderate parties, all the others continuing silent and seated. 'Tu quoque, fili mi,' was the ejaculation of a distinguished dignitary when made aware that ex-Minister Kutler, the Tsar's present pensioner and recent official adviser, deemed the monarch unworthy of any external marks of respect. Such tokens of anti-dynastic feeling were noted all the more observantly and regretted all the more keenly that ex-Minister Kutler and his party constitute the only possible nucleus of a working Duma, the future centre of the legislative assembly, the group without whose efficient co-operation no parliamentary work can be accomplished.

Passing from ceremony to business, the second Duma sustained its character and played its part. But it is not yet one with the nation either in thought or act. The Constitutional Democratic party, which is incontestably the best disciplined, the most thoroughly trained and enlightened group in the Chamber, uniting with the revolutionists, elected a member of its own party to the post of president, and afterwards chose two vice-presidents, one secretary, and five assistant secretaries, all from the Opposition groups, none of which possessed as many members as the United Right. Yet the United Right was excluded absolutely from each of the eight offices of the Duma, and this with the active assistance of that Centre without whose collaboration the second Russian Parliament will be no more than a public meeting. By friends of Russian freedom this strange act, and the still stranger spirit that inspired it, were deeply deplored; for such intolerance may well be fatal to that community of thought and feeling without which the Russian Sphinx question will not be bloodlessly solved. The

beginning of parliamentary wisdom is the fear of intolerance; and that salutary fear has yet to be instilled into the hearts of Muscovite politicians, even of those who possess such long experience and cherish such high aspirations as the 'Cadets,' who might, if they were well advised, become the real leaders of the Duma.

There had been reason to suppose that they were well advised and would rise to the rôle assigned to them; for, shortly before the Duma met, it was announced that these friends of constitutionalism in Russia would change their tactics in the new Parliament, eschew clamorous attacks on Ministers, and discountenance treasonable appeals to the people. It was added that, instead of trying to take the Government citadel by storm, they would lay siege to it in a regular way, relying upon parliamentary strategy, patience, and the growing feeling of dissatisfaction in the country. As the 'Cadets' are past-masters in the art of parliamentary strategy, having served a long apprenticeship in the Zemstvos, the more moderate parties are at a disadvantage, which is all the greater that it is not felt as such. Members of the Right and Left smile unsuspectingly in presence of serious danger, and blithely walk into the nets spread for them by the wily 'Cadets.' And it was generally assumed that the Cabinet too, now that it has lost the assistance of M. Gurko, would prove equally simple-minded and gullible. Since then, however, public opinion has undergone a change. M. Stolypin, whose sole claim to distinction was hitherto supposed to rest upon his personal courage and political integrity, is now admired as a parliamentary strategist, a resourceful leader, a forcible speaker, and an eminent statesman. Great things are hoped of him because the little things which he achieved were unexpected.

The Premier quitted his splendid prison in the Winter Palace and entered the Duma on the 19th March, an untried Minister who had come to read a programme and listen with patience to sharp criticism and biting sarcasm; and he left the building that same evening a political Cæsar, *veni, vidi, vici* writ large in his beaming face. His official declaration, which represented the thoughts of many heads working for several months, was heard in sullen silence. On his lips the magic words had lost

their charm. Yet the Minister was definitely promising all the reforms for which thinking Russia has pined since the days of Catherine II, and he was holding out the prospect of others more important which three years ago few would have ventured to hope for. But the promise was unheeded, and the declaration fell flat. Can any good thing come out of the Winter Palace? deputies asked. Even a Magna Carta in the hands of the Tsar's present advisers, some added, would be surely metamorphosed into a law of coercion, and a *Habeas Corpus* Act turned into a *lettre de cachet*. Less biassed persons, viewing the official declaration as a list of important reforms which the Government is willing to carry out if the people eschew violence, judged it comprehensive as a programme and suasive as a Ministerial manifesto. But it carried conviction to no one. And M. Stolypin might have gone back to the Winter Palace as he had left it, were it not that the adversaries of the Government helped him to a veritable triumph.

Scarcely had the Premier quitted one tribune when the Socialist deputy, Tseretelli, from the Caucasus, occupied the other: after the Tsar's adviser, the throne-breaker. The party upon whom numerical strength, parliamentary experience, and influential position imposed the obligation of replying to the Minister was that of the Constitutional Democrats. Standing between the Government and its foes, they might have parried the blows aimed at the régime without running any risk. But they preferred to step aside and let them fall upon M. Stolypin. With that object in view they had announced that they would waive their right to speak and merely submit an order of the day without any comment upon the official announcement. If all fractions of the Opposition had followed their example, the plan of contemptuously ignoring the Cabinet might perhaps have succeeded. But the scheme was thwarted by the Social Democrats. Their spokesman, Tseretelli, in a speech whose inordinate length was not fully compensated by its fire and eloquence, addressed the people over the heads of the deputies, exhorting them to organise, unite, keep their powder dry, and rely upon their own right arm. The speech was a *vade mecum* for Russian malcontents, the quintessence of the revolutionary catechism, an inflammatory appeal to the people

of Russia, composed for circulation through the length and breadth of the Empire. Intense and ruthless class hatred was the keynote of this war-song, the like of which was never before chanted in the hearing of the Tsar's subjects, in one of the monarch's own palaces. The series of similar discourses which have followed will do more for the cause of revolution in Russia than all the secret agitation and all the millions of leaflets by means of which anarchists, revolutionists, and socialists are rousing the people to revolt. Comrade Tseretelli is a Tyrtæus whose chants are in prose. The Christian meekness and rapt attention with which his Majesty's Cabinet listened to this call of the muezzin of the revolution from the minaret of the Duma constitute one of the bitterest of the many bitter ironies of the present situation.

Comrade Tseretelli's speech was not the only exhortation to the people. Other extremists took up the song of subversion right lustily, the stirring strains of which caused the hearts of millions to thrill on the morrow. And the Cabinet Ministers looked on the while, as the child described by Victor Hugo contemplated and enjoyed the pretty flames that were devouring the house in which it was playing. The rhetoric of the deputies of the Right was just good enough to serve as a foil for the vigorous eloquence of these political iconoclasts. One Conservative speaker had the doubtful taste to sneer at the foreign accent of the Georgian socialist, instead of expressing satisfaction that members of other nationalities should be able to utter their thoughts in the language of their rulers. One remark, however, it is difficult to suppress: the principal spokesmen of the revolution on that memorable day were two Caucasians and one Mohammedan, all three of whom claimed to speak in the name of the Russian people. 'Tu l'as voulu, George Dandin.' The only clever comment made that day by a member of the Right was that, if the people is to settle all its affairs itself, the Duma has no longer a *raison d'être*.

At last the Prime Minister, taking everybody by surprise, rose and delivered the short, dignified speech which has made him famous. The acceptable moment had come, and he utilised it. He and his colleagues had spent several hours in the stuffy air of the Duma, attentive, collected, respectful; and the general impression was that

they had had quite enough of word-weaving and would gladly retire. But the impression was erroneous. M. Stolypin had carefully followed the debates, perceived his opportunity, and then said a strong word at the right moment. The gist of his utterance was this. 'If you have come here to work for the people who delegated you, I will stand by you and co-operate with you. Even if your schemes should conflict with mine, unfold them none the less. I will bring an open mind, a sympathetic disposition, and a spirit of compromise to the study of your projects. Give me a trial and you will find me even better than my word. But, if you have not come for legislative work, if your mission is subversive—well, you will find me prepared for that contingency also. As for the long speeches of the revolutionary orators, they may be summarised in two words, which they address to the Government—"Hands up!" To those two words I make answer, "You shall not frighten me." Bear well in mind that this Ministerial bench is not a prisoners' dock. Here sit the members of his Majesty's Government, which is, and shall continue to be, Russian and resolute.'

Such was the drift of the speech of the day. There was no statesmanship in the ideas or eloquence in the words; but everybody felt that there was a living and self-respecting man behind them, who had spoken with sincerity and would act with energy. And the crowd bowed down before him. After that M. Stolypin rose to his full height, a Brobdingnagian among Lilliputians. That same day the Tsar, who was kept well-informed of everything that was going on at the Tavrida Palace, sent a letter of thanks to the Premier such as no other Russian Minister had ever received from his Imperial master. It was couched in terms which are said to have caused intense pleasure to the recipient. Flushed with success, M. Stolypin forgot his caution and actually walked down the Nevsky unescorted and unattended.

Since then the Duma has witnessed tournaments of rhetoric and contests of strategy, but has done no stroke of solid work. Day after day the Ministerial benches have been occupied by officials who fret and chafe at the life of forced idleness—a life made almost intolerable by the obligation of listening with seeming respect to the lisping of political children at their lessons. Everybody

feels impelled to speak, nobody is moved to work. The Left alone is accomplishing its mission steadily, delivering violent speeches, having them printed and distributed, and keeping in close touch with the revolutionary organisations in the country. For the deputies of those groups the Tavrida Palace is a sort of Roman College of the Propaganda, where black cardinals meet in council, deliberate and direct the campaign. The Prime Minister, sitting motionless for hours in the shadow of the tribune, is impatient to be up and doing, and literally jumps at every opportunity offered him to proceed to business. Thus one day he impulsively applauded the motion of an adversary tending to rescue the Government from the fire and lay it on the gridiron; another day, when asked for his opinion about a proposal before the House, he rose to offer it, but was snubbed by the Speaker gratuitously.

The Parliament is become a mere political meeting. For two days of seven hours each the Duma debated a question which it was eager, yet admittedly incompetent, to solve. A motion had come before the Chamber to repeal, within twenty-four hours, the law creating military field tribunals for the trial of terrorists. A business man would never have begun the discussion, unless, like the revolutionist members, he had ulterior aims in view; for the obnoxious law, being extra-parliamentary in its origin, must be extra-parliamentary also in its end. Promulgated by the Administration acting on its own responsibility, it remains in force for two months after the meeting of the Duma, and is then abrogated automatically. Even if the Duma had been theoretically qualified to raise the question, it would have been well advised to waive its right, because nearly two months would have been needed to carry the motion through the two Chambers and obtain the sanction of the monarch, whereas, in less than two months, the law will have ceased *ipso facto* to have any force. But the Duma acted like the traveller who, having missed his train, refused to wait four hours for the next, and impatiently set out to walk a hundred miles. The level of the debates was below that of a third-class country meeting in England or France. Peasants, working-men, youths, possessed by a fixed idea, uttered aloud snatches of their day-dreams.

The Duma itself resembles a series of numerators to which no common denominator has yet been found. And it is not easy to find one. Patriotism will assuredly not serve the purpose, because 40 per cent. of the deputies are non-Russians. Nor is loyalty to the monarch—a sentiment which supplies the centripetal force in Austria—likely to provide the common denominator for Muscovy; for, if to-morrow the Duma had its choice, it would abolish the Empire and proclaim a democratic republic by a large majority. The present régime is drifting towards its Tsushima rapidly, unconsciously. The horizon of the Duma is narrow. Each fraction or group of fractions is absorbed by its own little interests, which, like Archimedes, it wishes to shield from destruction, whatever fate may befall the community. Hence, while it might be possible to unite the fractions of the Duma on some destructive 'reform'—and not only possible, but more feasible than people imagine—there is little hope of coalition among them for the purpose of doing solid legislative work.

Indeed the Duma, as at present constituted, would seem to lack both the mental equipment and the political dispositions without which no assembly could make useful laws for a nation in straits. Sixty-five per cent. of the five hundred deputies already elected are said to be uneducated, ignorant of the rudiments of politics and the elements of legislation. The peasants' notion of the functions of a legislative Chamber would make a British schoolboy smile. Many conceive of it as a vast politico-ethical clearing-house, the clerks of which are wonder-working overmen to whom nothing is impossible. Hence petitions to the deputies keep coming in from various parts of the Empire, asking to have all manner of blessings bestowed and a variety of grievances redressed. One petition, for instance, calls upon the Parliament to tear up a lease possessed by certain Jews, take the land from them, parcel it into lots and rent it to the peasants at a rate specified. Another petition beseeches the Chamber to deprive the local gentry of their estates and give them to the peasants, who alone should possess the land. Then there is the humble prayer of the peasant who asks permission to marry his sister-in-law, and the supplication of a nun who sets forth how she has been betrayed by a sinful monk and would now like to know what the

Duma can do for her. And as the peasants think and feel in their villages, so they continue to think and feel in the Duma. For them there has been no Pentecost between the elections and the sittings.

One of the most reasonable of Russian reformers, Prince E. Trubetskoy, whose name and efforts are well and favourably known in Great Britain, describes the members of the Duma in the following terms:

'The elections to the Duma' (he writes) 'offer scant promise of solace in the near future. Our pessimistic predictions have unhappily come true. The Centre has suffered defeat, and the two wings have been formed at its expense. Speaking generally, the election returns may be characterised in two words. They signify the victory of nihilism and, at the same time, the defeat of constitutionalism and of culture.

'The victory is with that current which is the negation of the Duma. And in this trait the extreme Right agrees with the extreme Left. The members of the one strive to annihilate the Duma in the name of the autocracy, while those of the other, who discern nothing in legislative work except the soiling of paper, appear in the Duma for the purpose of demonstrating its impotency as a legislative assembly. It is the meeting of two equally subversive currents of Russian life. God grant that they may not combine in a general destructive flood in the Duma.'

There are many other and more sanguine seers who confidently expect that the legislators now assembled on the banks of the Neva will evolve order out of chaos. They hold that, if the Constitutional Democrats, who seemed destined to form the Centre, would but modify their tactics and use their influence with the Left, everything else would move like machinery with newly oiled wheels. But not only is this contingency very remote, but, even if it were realised, the results would be still substantially unchanged.

'It is not difficult' (writes Prince Trubetskoy) 'to perceive that the mass of the Left wing will be found to consist of individuals whose education does not go beyond an acquaintance with halfpenny pamphlets and whose intellectual equipment amounts to cut and dried formulas learned by rote. People of this calibre are incapable of giving laws, even if they are willing. Their refusal "on principle" to set them-

selves to organise work is very convenient for them, inasmuch as it screens their incapacity and ignorance.'*

None of the parties in the present Duma seems numerically strong enough, morally influential enough, or politically clever and enterprising enough to take the lead, stamp its character on the Duma, and prove practically to the world that Russia is ripe for parliamentary or even constitutional government. Not one. The United Right, composed of moderate Liberals, moderate Conservatives, and fanatical reactionaries, is said to be actuated by patriotic motives, for its three groups have agreed to forget their differences and support the Government so long as the policy pursued is tolerable. The point of view is certainly commendable. But how long the parties would continue to hold it, if M. Stolypin's programme were being fairly and squarely carried out, it is not easy to divine. For that programme is decidedly liberal, so liberal indeed that its embodiment in working institutions would of necessity entail all the other concessions demanded by the Left, including the formation of a new democratic government of the South American type. This change would follow from that inevitably. When, in the fairy-tale, the young owner of the magic tablecloth, on which abundant viands appeared whenever it was spread, offered to barter it for the box out of which an unconquerable army of invisible and irresistible soldiers might be despatched anywhither on any errand, he well knew that the box, if he once had it, would soon bring back the tablecloth. And, when the owner of the unseen army naïvely exchanged it for a miraculous piece of damask which he might have readily obtained by force, he merely found his level in this fluent world. In like manner, if M. Stolypin were, for peace' sake, to bestow upon the revolutionaries power enough to uproot the régime stock and branch, it is hardly to be expected that those Conservatives who are Russian patriots first and supporters of the Cabinet afterwards would haul down their colours and surrender their fortresses, for they claim that they are not mere hirelings. They feel conscious that they are fighting for Russia, not for this or that class of the population; for the monarchy, and

* 'Moskovsky Yeshenedyelnik.' Cf. also 'Grashdanin,' March 7, 1907.

not for this or that member of the dynasty. For these and kindred reasons, which will suggest themselves to the observant, it is manifest that the United Right could not lead a Chamber composed of a majority of deputies for whom even M. Stolypin's programme is not sufficiently liberal nor his method of realising it sufficiently expeditious.

If the Conservatives are unable to take the Duma in hand, with a view to making it work, the groups of the Left are both unable and unwilling, for they are the enemies of the present constitution. Republicans, socialists, or fanatical revolutionists—their first impulse would be to have the Duma abolished, just as the first aim of the rebellious students used to be to get the universities and high schools closed. But they have since come to see that the Chamber, like the high schools, may be made subservient to their purposes. They are excellent accumulators of revolutionary forces. Hence the Duma has become to them as the apple of their eye. They are minded to utilise it to the fullest extent. 'With this object in view,' writes an eminent Russian journalist, 'they have changed the word "revolution" into "opposition," and militant outbreaks are forbidden.' They are even said to be ready to make concessions to the Cabinet, to listen to its Bills, to discuss them with a semblance of seriousness, to ask questions respecting them, in order, after a long lapse of time, to throw them out. And during all this, the revolutionary propaganda will go on briskly, successfully. For the revolutionists are neither hirelings nor weaklings, but selfless apostles who often seek and seldom recoil from martyrdom.

These tactics are not only cleverly thought out, but skilfully executed. Every speech delivered by a prominent member of the Left is a judicious mixture of all the ingredients required for arousing the dormant passions of the mob; and in every district there are organisations ready to store the accumulated electricity. The debates of the Duma are the revolutionary seed; and it is being sown by the sack. In a word, the Duma has become a political pulpit; the press is a mechanism for the printing and publishing of diatribes against the régime; while the representatives of that régime hospitably harbour these throne-destroyers, and pay them regularly ten roubles a

day for their subversive activity. The results are abundant. Daily, new recruits flock to the revolutionary camp, fresh converts to anarchy or terrorism abjure the doctrines and traditions which hitherto cemented the Russian nation, and even those who still rally round the standard of Monarchism are furtively making ready to go over to the enemy. Revolutionary preachers are labouring for the cause in the army; revolutionists in considerable numbers have taken service among the police; even the detective department found that some of its employés were terrorist spies; and a vast network of anti-governmental organisations is spread over the Empire.

Who can seriously entertain the thought that the chosen representatives of the bodies who have accomplished, and are still accomplishing, so much to revolutionise the nation will now slink back and undo their own handiwork? What order of considerations will furnish the motives for such a penance? Legislative work in the Duma would necessarily entail tranquillity in the country; and tranquillity in the country would spell ruin to the subversive societies which live on disaffection and thrive on rebellion. An official document of the Russian socialist Labour Party, which has been read in the Duma, lays it down that, 'Only under the pressure of great masses of the people, only under the stress of a national insurrection, will the army, on which the Government leans, give way, and the citadel of autocratic despotism fall.' When the army has become mutinous and the strongholds are taken, the party—according to this document—intends to put an end to the present régime and establish a democratic republic. Yet this is one of the parties from which optimists anticipated useful legislative work in the Duma and salutary influence upon the ranks outside! The truth is that the Duma is revolutionary because the country at large is revolutionary; and the country is revolutionary because the Imperial Government was incompetent, intolerant, despotic, and unenlightened.

If the parliamentary extremes cannot be looked to for light and leading, much is not to be hoped from that more moderate party which might have become the Centre. Yet the Constitutional Democrats or 'Cadets' are the cream of the Duma—cream turned sour. The most elo-

quent orators, the most ingenious tacticians, the best disciplined partisans, the ablest organisers and the quickest trimmers are to be found in their ranks. Professors, lawyers, journalists, physicians, Zemstvo workers, are among its devoted adherents. All, too, are animated by a strong spirit of party, which would work wonders were it a spirit of something broader, better, and more spiritual. It is from this party spirit that the mainspring and the aims of its political action are derived. The 'Cadets,' believing that they alone can save the fatherland, are impatient to see themselves at work. With other political groups they have no patience, indeed, they conscientiously baulk the activity of other parties, considering it harmful and unpatriotic. Averse to bloodshed, they are past-masters in parliamentary tactics and political strategy. Unsupported by force, they practise the cunning of the fox and are consequently regarded with suspicion and listened to with mistrust.

'Jesuits of the Revolution' is the name which a member of the Right conferred upon the 'Cadets' during the historic debate of 26th March. And Russian parties, like individuals, know each other much better than they know themselves. The artfulness of the 'Cadets' is such that they have been caught in the meshes of their own finely-woven nets; and more than once their well-laid schemes were frustrated by their excess of cleverness. All-powerful in the first Duma, they might have governed the Empire agreeably with their party maxims if they had not ruined their prospects by trying to render assurance doubly sure. It is urged against them in the present Duma that they first joined hands with the social revolutionists and other enemies of the régime in order to have the Speaker elected from their own party, after which they endeavoured to shake themselves free from the sinister partnership.

A curious incident, of which the Speaker was the hero, is narrated with relish as characteristic of the tactics of the 'Cadets.' While it would be unfair to suppress the story, it would be a mistake to exaggerate its importance. Shortly after the first sitting of the Duma a French journalist interviewed the Speaker, M. Golovin. The head of the Duma and the correspondent being acquaintances of some years' standing, their relations were friendly, not

formal, and the flow of conversation was easy and smooth. For that very reason the interviewer was careful in listening and cautious in writing. One passage contained a stricture on the Premier which attracted attention. From Paris the interview was telegraphed back to St Petersburg, where it was denied formally and emphatically. Not any one passage in the interview was complained of or challenged, but the whole account from beginning to end was set down as a fabrication. Nay more, the Speaker affirmed that he had had no conversation whatever with the correspondent. But, when the French journal arrived in St Petersburg a few days later, it was seen to contain besides the dialogue a photograph of the interviewer writing in his notebook the words which the Speaker was addressing to him. Challenged to explain or deny these facts, M. Golovin has made no sign.* Rumour affirms that the sweeping denial was made by the party, and that the Speaker, as a docile partisan, had no choice but to acquiesce in it.

The 'Cadets,' who had their chance in the first Parliament, and let it slip, and will doubtless have other opportunities in future representative assemblies, can evidently do nothing to render the present Duma capable of legislative work. Therefore all parties are, so to say, in the same boat, and the legislative assembly is struck with paralysis. The Duma can revolutionise, it cannot tranquillise the nation; and for that reason a Government with a policy and a will would have dissolved it. But it would hardly be an exaggeration to say that the Tsar has no Cabinet, the Ministers have no policy, and the nation has no Government.

Outside the walls of the Tavrida Palace the flood of disaffection, lawlessness, terrorism runs mountain-high; and there is no voice to command the waves. All articulate Russia is smitten with revolutionary fever and its talk is delirious. Students, scholars, women, maidens, boys of fifteen and sixteen, are full-fledged members of fighting legions, manufacturers of explosives, caretakers of bomb-depôts. Universities, high schools, technical

* 'Peterburgskaya Gazeta,' March 20 and 23; 'Birshevya Vedomosti Rossiya,' March 24.

institutes enjoy the privilege of exterritoriality, which is usually termed autonomy, and use it for the benefit of the revolution. The entire school-going and student generation are in a bad way. The revolutionary fever is drying their very souls up. At present the annals of Russian educational establishments are but statistics of crime. There are no other events to record.

Take a typical instance, which may be generalised without fear of error. The grammar-school boys of the enlightened city of Tula are, the press affirms,

'addicted to drunkenness. They take an active part in robbery and murder. That is a genuine fact. In one robbery in Tula a grammar-school boy played a part. Another grammar-school boy murdered the director of the Tula State Grammar School; the armed attack made upon the inspector of the grammar-school six months ago was also perpetrated with the co-operation of grammar-school boys. Over and over again the masters of the State Grammar School have been summoned to the gaol in order to identify their pupils.' *

The masters and professors often defend the guilty or the accused with a degree of zeal worthy of a better cause. Thus recently, in the 'Retch' newspaper, Prof. Wernadski wrote, not to condemn the murder of a Moscow policeman committed by four students, but in order to pour the vials of his wrath upon the authorities who sent these murderers for trial before a military court. He alleges that the students acted in such a silly, thoughtless way that capital punishment seems too severe for them. Consequently the clumsy criminal shall go unpunished!

The other elements of active and thinking Russia are also similarly diseased; their ideas are disordered, their talk delirious, their acts are criminal or suicidal. The workmen, for instance, who are by far the best organised of them all, are toiling to ruin their own prospects. A few years ago they were utter helots, who laboured for twelve, fourteen, and even sixteen hours in order to earn just barely enough to live. To-day, for nine hours of inferior work, they are generally paid well, in some cases so much that the profit of their employers is but nominal. Wherever they are underpaid or badly treated, it is quite

* 'St Petersburger Zeitung,' March 16, 1907: 'Novoye Vremya,' March 15.

reasonable that they should protest and strike. But the demands which they make in the majority of cases are preposterous. Before the strike of the crews of the Caspian steamers was ordered, the employers were asked to abolish all work on Sundays and holy-days even when at sea. If these and other strikers persist in idleness much longer, the industrial population of central Russia will be impoverished, and the poorer classes generally be hard set to satisfy their absolute needs.

The peasants are likewise inoculated with the malady in its agrarian form. They want land without paying for it; but, if they can obtain it by means of crime, they are well satisfied. Socialistic theories saturate their minds. Their political teachers are dangerous fanatics, men of one book, and that a political penny pamphlet. Their schools are often revolutionary temples from which only the goddess Reason is absent. The love of God and the fear of the devil are fast going out of their lives; and they take to violence as readily as a duckling to water. There are still tens of thousands of peasants who cling to the faith of their fathers and respect the traditions of their fatherland; there may even be millions of them; but they are silent, inarticulate, without influence.

Russia, therefore, is revolutionary; and for that reason the Duma is revolutionary. The nation is uncultured; and for that reason the bulk of her representatives are boors. Now an assembly composed of individuals who are partly incapable of reasoning logically, partly unable to reason at all, and most of them eager to pull down the political and social framework of the State, is not the kind of parliament to make helpful laws. Still less is it a gathering of statesmen willing and able to rescue the people from the dangers that compass them round.

The first Duma was as revolutionary as is the second, but it grossly miscalculated its strength. It relied fully on the support of the nation, only to find that it was leaning on a broken reed. The parties of the present Chamber have profited by that bitter lesson. They know that, if the nation is their hope for the future, it is not their mainstay for the present. Aware that the forces of the revolution are scattered, disunited, and only semi-conscious, they are seeking to join, animate, and organise them. And this can be done only by such powerful

centres of attraction and radiation as the Duma, the electoral colleges, the educational establishments, the factories, and the press. Hence the parties in the Duma and the students in the universities will endeavour to avoid everything that might serve the Government as a good ground for dissolution, and they assume that it will not be contented with a mere pretext. That is the alpha and omega of the tactics now being adopted by the deputies, who, to a certain extent, have secured the half-reluctant, half-conscious co-operation of the Cabinet.

But the dissolution will come. It is only a question of time, and of a very short period of time. And yet the Government, longing to find a co-operation in the people's representatives, would have met these halfway. M. Stolypin was literally panting for an opportunity to show how liberal his programme is; and the Constitutionalists have perhaps seriously damaged their cause by refusing to submit his promises to a practical test. But Russian Constitutionalists, like Russians of every other party, are deficient in political acumen. They are incapable of making plans and executing them. If in this respect the Tsar's advisers had been superior to the rest, they would have made hay while the sun shone from August last until March. What they will now probably do is to dissolve the Chamber, promulgate a new electoral law, and perhaps authorise the Council of the Empire to exercise temporarily the functions of a consultative Chamber.

The question has been often asked, whether it is still possible for the autocracy to recover its lost position and rule the country on the old lines without causing a financial smash or a political catastrophe. At present, of course, this is but a speculative query. It is as though sailors, shipwrecked on a sandy, treeless island, should set themselves to discuss whether they could sail across the stretch of ocean that divides them from land. The answer is affirmative in both cases, provided that there is a seaworthy boat for the one task and a ruler of men for the other. History offers a striking instance. Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia conceived the idea of taking back the reins of power thrown to the nation in a moment of fear; and he had his way, despite the opposition of a Chamber that struck the words 'by the grace of God' from his title, and refused to recognise his claim

to adjourn the assembly without its consent. It was a risky design, but he compassed it.

What was arduous in Prussia is easy in Russia—or rather it would be if there were a man of will to undertake the task. Whether such a man is living in the Tsar's dominions, has been doubted. One fact is very obvious, that he is not active. There is no one to raise a breakwater against the spring floods of the revolution, which may at any moment submerge the land.*

There is, however, a group of Monarchists, Conservatives, and reactionaries who are irreconcilable enemies of the revolution and devoted defenders of the throne. For them the throne is a sacred politico-religious symbol; and they refuse to believe its occupant capable of sacrificing the autocracy in the interests of the autocrat. Under a bold leader they feel that they would work wonders. But they are leaderless and probably mistaken as well. They hold that the October charter is already too great a concession to the revolution, and they add that if M. Stolypin's programme were carried out there would be nothing left for them to defend. They censure the Government's policy as suicidal, and speak as though they would brook its realisation only up to a certain point; for it bestows rights upon the Duma which render the refusal of further and sovereign rights dangerous to the peace of the country and subversive of the security of the monarch and his religion. High above the loyalty of this group to persons is their loyalty to principles; and the success of their cause, if it be not already lost irretrievably, depends upon their never being obliged, during the present revolution, to choose between the two.

* There are a few individuals who, while gifted with the strength of will to tackle the problem, lack the moral or intellectual qualities. M. Durnovo or M. Gurko are disqualified by their reputation, M. Pikhno by his unwillingness. The Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolayevich might possibly succeed if he had experience of parliamentary life. M. A. B., who seems to understand the situation and its possibilities better than any one else, is almost unknown to the Tsar.

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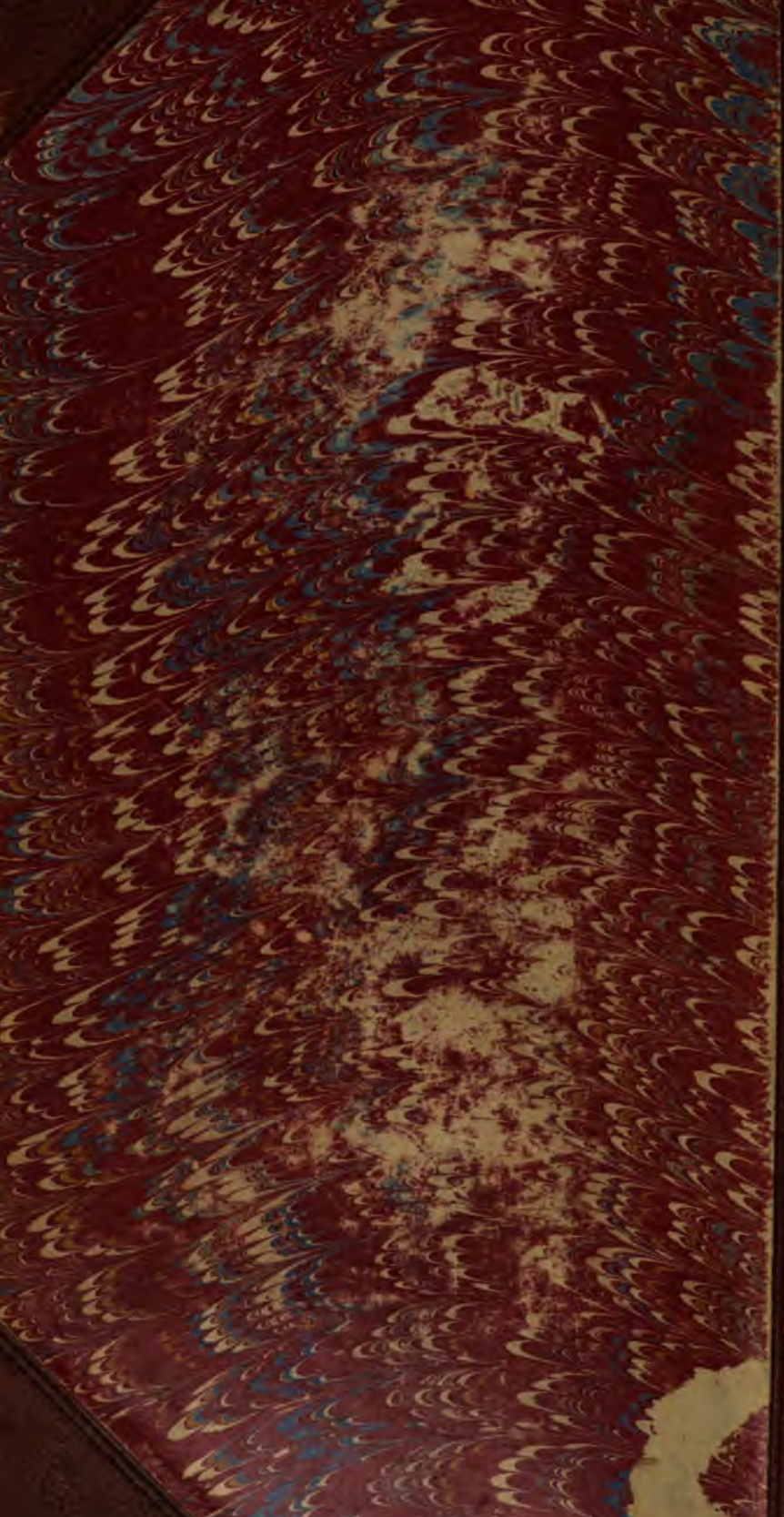
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